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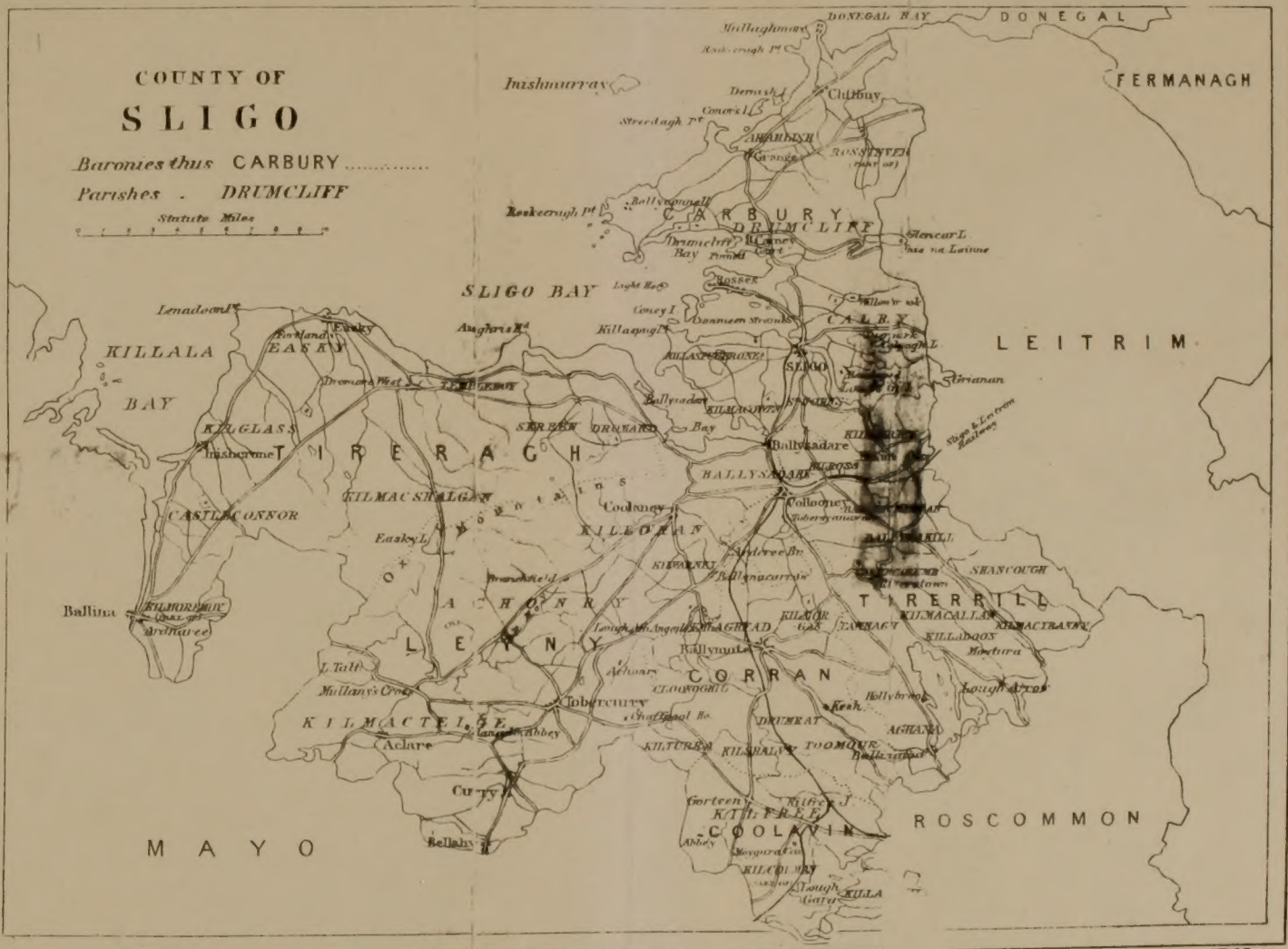


COUNTY OF SLIGO

Baronies thus CARBURY

Parishes . DRUMCLIFF

Statute Miles



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THE

HISTORY OF SLIGO:

TOWN AND COUNTY.

BY

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AUTHOR OF

"BALLYSDARE AND KILVARNET."

VOL. II.

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HISTORY OF SLIGO: TOWN AND COUNTY.

CHAPTER XX.

PARISH OF DRUMCLIFF.

COOLDRUMAN AND LISSADELL.

ON the neighbouring height of COOLDRUMAN a battle, one of the most remarkable, under some respects, ever fought in Ireland, took place in the year 555, according to the Four Masters, but, in the year 561, according to the more correct computation of the Annals of Ulster, and other trustworthy authorities.* Though there was evidence in Colgan,† and in the Martyrology of Donegal,‡ that the battlefield lay in Carbury, its exact position was only recently discovered. When the letter writers of the Ordnance Survey began their labours in the county Sligo, O'Donovan directed one of them, Mr. O'Connor, to try to find out the scene of this famous battle; but he had left his correspondent little time for making the inquiry, when, in a second letter, he stated that he had just come, by accident, on the desired information. Had O'Donovan possessed a personal acquaintance with Carbury, and known it to contain a district called Cooldruman, he must, at once, have concluded this to

* Annals of Tighernagh and Chronicon Scotorum—*Sub an.*; Usher *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*, page 694; Lanigan, Vol. II., p. 147; Adamnan's *Life of Columba*,—By Dr. Reeves, p. 31.

† “Est locus hic in regione Carbrice in Connacia, non procul a Sligoensi oppido versus aquilonem situs.”—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 452.

‡ June 11. The Martyrology, however, errs in placing the battlefield “between Drumcliff and Sligo,” as it lies to the north of Drumcliff, and not to the south, where the Martyrology locates it.

be a modernized name of the Cule Drebene of Adamnan,* the Cul Dreimhne of the Four Masters,† and the Culdremhnense of Colgan.‡ It is nowhere stated why the place was so called, but it would appear, from its physical features, being the high ground that runs away towards Magherow from the heel of Benbulbin, that it received the name from this circumstance of its elevation, Cooldrumán being, or signifying, the angle of the ridge.

The belligerents on this occasion were, on the one side, the southern Hy Neills, and, on the other, the northern branch of that family: the former being represented by Diarmaid, the reigning monarch of Ireland, and the latter, by Fergus and Domhnal, on the part of the Kinel Owen, and by Ainmire and Ainnidh, or Ninnidh, on the part of the Kinel Conel. The northerners were aided by Hugh, son of Eoghy Tirmcharna, King of Connaught.

If we can rely on accounts which would seem somewhat improbable in themselves, but which have been regularly handed down from the earliest times, the causes of the battle were the two following:—In the first place, King Diarmaid had seized, by force, and put to death, a prince of Connaught, named Curnan, who, after committing murder in a quarrel or brawl, at the feast of Tara, had fled for sanctuary to St. Columbkille, and was by him received into protection. In the second place, the saint took mortal offence at a decision pronounced by the monarch in a case submitted to him for judgment by the saint himself and St. Finian of Maghbile.

Columbkille being on a visit with Finian, who possessed a beautiful MS. of the Psalms, or the Gospels, took occasion to make a copy of it without the leave, and, as afterwards appeared, against the will, of the owner. When Finian learned what Columbkille had done, he demanded the copy as his right, but the latter refused to part with what he maintained to be now his personal property,

* Reeves' Adamnan, pp. 31 and 9.

† *Sub anno*, 555.

‡ Trias Thaumaturga, p. 452.

as the fruit of his labour. In this extremity the dispute was carried before King Diarmaid, who decided in favour of Finian, grounding the decision on this false analogy, As the calf goes with the cow, so the copy goes with the original,*—a wrong application of the principle, *Partus sequitur ventrem*.

Disturbed and excited by this award, Columbkille, after threatening the King with the hostility of the northern Hy Neills, retired secretly, according to one account, from the royal presence; dashed off openly on horseback, according to another; betook himself, before he could be stopped, to his kindred, the Cinel Owen and Cinel Connell; and called on them to rise and avenge him for the indignities and injustice inflicted on him by Diarmaid:—first, in violating his right of sanctuary and guarantee in the case of the Connaught prince, and, next, in pronouncing an outrageous judgment in the dispute between him and Finian. At his word the whole clanna Neill of the North flew to arms in such numbers that, including the Connaught contingent, a force of 2,300 men—horse, foot, and charioteers—took up position at Cooldruman, and there awaited the onset of the royal army, who were already approaching to attack them.

The field was well chosen by the northern leaders; for, while they had the river of Drumcliff in front, and were protected, on one flank, by Benbulbin, and on the other, by the sea, they stood themselves on high ground, from which they could bear down irresistibly on the enemy, while struggling up the hill. The two saints, Columbkille, and Finian of Moville, accompanied their respective friends, and, on the morning of the battle,

* Keating's account of the dispute is, "The Black Book of Molaga assigns another cause why the battle of Cul Dreimhne was fought, viz., in consequence of the false judgment which Diarmuid gave against Columcille, when he wrote the gospel of the book of Finian without his knowledge. Finian said that it was to himself belonged the son-book, which was written from his book, and they both selected Diarmuid as judge between them. This is the decision that Diarmuid made: 'That to every book belongs its son-book, as to every cow belongs her calf.'" Quoted in Reeves' *Adamnan*, 249. The phrase in Irish is, *Le gach boin a boinin, agus le gach leabhar leabhran*.

Columbkille harangued the northern troops in words well fitted to stir their hearts, and fill them with courage in the conflict. "As God, my friends," said he, "was with Moses in the Red Sea, so will He be with you to-day. Let me assure you that the Lord is so angry with this haughty king, that, if only one man of you attacked his army, that man, single-handed, would scatter the whole army in flight." Like Moses, on the top of the hill during the battle against the Amalecites, the two saints passed the time of the conflict in prayer, each invoking victory on his own side. The prayer of Columbkille—the legend says—was the more powerful, so that the northern army, aided by an angel, in the guise of an all-conquering knight, gained a great victory, leaving 3,000 of the enemy dead upon the field, and losing themselves, only one man, who, having disobeyed orders, in going beyond the limits prescribed by Columbkille and the leaders, was left, by the saint, to suffer the penalty of his disobedience at the hands of the southerners. The name of this unfortunate man was Mag Laine; * and the writer takes occasion, in passing, to mention his conjecture and decided opinion, that it was from this man the river of Drumcliff got the name of Laine, by which it was formerly known. The river was, most probably, the limit beyond which the northern troops were ordered not to move, and Mag Laine, in crossing it, was either drowned or slain, thus leaving his name to the stream, as a memorial of the event, as Hugh Roe left his name to Assaroe, under somewhat similar circumstances.

We thus find the true origin of Inis-na-Laine, the Irish name given to the eastern crannoge of Drumcliff river. In a foot-note, under the year 1029, in his *Four Masters*, O'Donovan translates *Inis-na-Laine* Sword Island, but quotes no authority for the translation, which shows the etymology to be only a guess. Inis-na-Laine is then the Island of Laine, or, as he is called in the *Annals of Tighernach*, of Lana; and so the epithet *na lann*, that qualifies Calry Laithim in the

* *Chronicon Scotorum. Sub anno 561.*

line already quoted:—"Callraidi Laithim *na lann*," comes, no doubt, also, from the same Laine or Lana, and not from imaginary swords.

The account of this battle, as preserved in the old annals of the country, seems to have been misunderstood, in one or two most important respects, by O'Donovan. The version of the Four Masters is thus given, under the year 555:—"The battle of Cul Dreimhne was gained against Diarmaid, son of Cearbhall, by Fearghus and Domhnall, the two sons of Muirheartach, son of Earca, by Ainmire, son of Sedna; and by Annidh, son of Duach; and by Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, King of Connaught. It was in revenge of the killing of Curnan, son of Aedh, son of Eochaidh Tirmcharna, while under the protection of Colum Cille, the Clanna Neill of the North and the Connaughtmen gave this battle of Cul Dreimhne to King Diarmaid; and, also, on account of the false sentence which Diarmaid passed against Colum Cille about a book of Finnian, when they left it to the award of Diarmaid, who pronounced the celebrated decision, "To every cow belongs its calf," etc., Colum Cille said:—

"O God, wilt thou not drive off the fog, which envelopes our number,
The host which has deprived us of our livelihood,
The host which proceeds around the Carns!
He is a son of a storm who betrays us.
My Druid—he will not refuse me—is the Son of God, and may he side
with me;
How grandly he bears his course, the steed of Baedan before the host;
Power by Baedan of the yellow hair will be borne from Ireland on him
(the steed)."

One of those lines—"The host which proceeds around the carns"—O'Donovan regards as a suggestion, "that the monarch's people were Pagans;" but there is no ground, in the quotation, for this startling statement, which is at variance with all that is known of religion in Ireland at the time. If the King of Ireland's army was Pagan in the year 561, about seventy years after the death of the national apostle, all that has been written of the completeness of St. Patrick's mission, and of the flourishing condition of religion in the sixth century, would be the very reverse of the truth. The line, however, when rightly under-

stood, lends itself to no such conclusion ; for it merely expresses the trouble and regret of Columba, while standing on the ridge of Cooldruman, and looking across Sligo bay at the enemy, as they wound round the carn of Knocknarea, along the then high-road, to the scene of the conflict, that a fog or mist, which prevailed at the moment, prevented him from descrying fully their movements and numbers, which, in clear weather, would be perfectly visible from his point of view.

Had O'Donovan visited the battlefield, and looked from it at the still existing carn of Knocknarea, he would have recognized the great historic value of the line in question, and realized the annoyance of Columba at not being able to reconnoitre the enemy, owing to the mist that magnified or obscured their numbers, and thus gave them an advantage much coveted in war—the advantage which Malcolm aimed at in the order:—

“ Let every soldier hew him down a bough,
And bear't before him ; thereby shall we shadow
The numbers of our host, and make discovery
Err in report of us.”

The writer's opinion is borne out by Mr. Hennessy's translation of the Irish lines, which reads thus:—

“ O God !
Why dost thou not ward off the mist
That we might reckon the number
Of the host which has taken judgment from us.
A host that marches around a Cairn,
And a son of storm that betrays us ;
My druid—he will not refuse me— is
The Son of God ; with us He will act.
How grandly he bears his course—
Baedan's steed—before the host ;
Good for Baedan of the yellow hair
He will win his renown on him.”

—Chronicon Scotorum, A.D. 561.

The Erbhe Druadh which the Annalists mention in connexion with the battle, and from which O'Donovan infers “ the existence of Druidism in Ireland so long after the arrival of St. Patrick,” * as he had already inferred the existence of Paganism

* O'Donovan's Four Masters, A.D. 555.—Note.

from the innocent phrase describing the enemy's line of march, will, no doubt, be found, some day, to admit an equally satisfactory explanation; though the writer regrets that, from his very imperfect acquaintance with the Irish language, he is little able to contribute anything towards the removal of whatever difficulty may be in the way.

That Druidism, as a specific organised religion, if it ever existed in Ireland, which may well be doubted,* had existence there in 561, there is no good ground for thinking. No doubt, persons called simply Druids may have been met with, about this time, in Ireland as in other countries, but it will be found, on examination, that they were Christians, and that they had the name of Druids, not from any religious tenets or practices, but from their peculiar knowledge,

* A powerful article in 241st number of the *Edinburgh Review*, throws great light on this subject. It is supposed to be from the pen of John Hill Burton, the latest, and perhaps the best historian of Scotland, and in the article, the reviewer examines with searching criticism those passages of Cæsar (*De Bell. Gall.* vi., 12, 13.); Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* xvi., 95); Tacitus (*Ann.* xiv., c. 30.); and more recent writers, on which the whole system of Druidism has been built up, and goes far, to say the least of it, to show that they rest on no solid historical basis, but are rather the outcome of rumour, assumption, and idle fancy. Irish writers, who treat of the subject, seem equally unable to adduce tangible proof for the existence of this religious system, as may be seen, by reading over carefully what Moore has on it in his *History* (Vol. I., cap. 3, 4).

The name Druid, instead of signifying a priest of any kind, would seem to designate a wise man, or counsellor; and it may be mentioned in confirmation of this conjecture, that the words in the Gospel of St. Matthew: "Behold wise men came from the East," are rendered in the Irish version, by the equivalent, "Behold Druids came from the East." (Moore, Vol. I., p. 53.) And Druid appears to have the same meaning in the earliest Irish writings, as, *e.g.*, in the Battle of Magh Rath, where Dubhaiadh, the Druid, always figures as wise man and counsellor (Battle of Magh Rath, an Ancient Historical Tale, &c., by John O'Donovan, pp. 47, 51, 61, etc.). At page 63, this supposed idolater speaks thus:—

"O host of many a youth and steed!
The son of Aedh, son of Ainmire,
Through the truth of his judgment—no falsehood—
So protected by Christ."

So late as the close of the 11th century, "the Druid, Ma Carthaigh, was chief poet of Connaught," (*Annals of Four Masters*, 1098), and few will be bold enough to set down this Druid as an idolatrous priest.

or wisdom, or office. Indeed, one of the above lines, that in which Columba says that his Druid is the Son of God, goes far to prove this.

It may be idle to conjecture; but may not the Druid of Cooldruman be the person who arranged the plan of the battle, and the limits of the battlefield? The conjecture derives great probability from the statement of the Four Masters that Mag Laine lost his life for "passing beyond the Erbe Druadh," *i.e.* the appointed limits. This opinion is infinitely more likely than O'Donovan's, which would fill Ireland with heathens, at a time when, if any reliance is to be placed on history, the state of the true religion was more flourishing than at any period before or since. Or, may not the Druid, in the circumstances, have resembled somewhat the herald of olden and mediæval wars, and been employed to go through some form or ceremony to proclaim the war just on the part of the king, and, perhaps to commend it to the God of battles?

Two years after this battle, in which Columba took so prominent a part, he quitted Ireland to devote himself to the conversion of the Picts. The exact circumstances, under which the saint left, are not well known. According to the Rev. Alban Butler, Columba left because he had brought on himself the hostility of King Diarmaid "by his zeal in reproving public crimes;" but, according to a much more common opinion, whether more or less probable, his departure was owing to the part he had taken in the sanguinary conflict of Cooldruman.

Those who hold this latter view, are still divided among themselves; for some will have it that he was urged, if not ordered, by a synod of ecclesiastics, or by his confessor, to expatriate himself; while others maintain, that the resolution of labouring among the Picts was the free and spontaneous dictate of his own conscience, prompting him to the sacrifice in atonement for the share he had, probably from the best motives, in the shedding of so much blood. Under all the circumstances of the case, which it would be out of place to give here in detail, the inhabitants of Cooldruman may fairly claim for it the distinction of being

associated with the conversion of the Picts, and the spread of religion through the whole north and north-west of Scotland.

In passing on to LISSADELL, through the village of Carny, we may pause a moment to correct a common error regarding the name of this village. The people of the neighbourhood take the name to come from some sepulchral carn, which they suppose to have existed there in the olden time, but which, they say, has long since disappeared; and a recent writer or two, deceived by the local opinion, have adopted the error, and given it the dignity of print. The denomination, however, is more commonplace, being merely the name of a family called Carny, who owned the land in the past.

This is quite clear from old maps and official documents. In Petty's printed maps, the place is called Farrencarny, which signifies the land of Carny, as Farrenduany, near Sligo, signifies the land of Duany, or Devanny, and Farrenimaly, the land of Maly, or O'Maly; it has the same name in the depositions regarding non-juring priests, taken before Sligo magistrates, in 1711, when two witnesses, Hugh Gallagher, of Farrencarny—ancestor probably of John Gallagher, relieving officer—and Thomas Ward, of Farrencarny, were deponents; and in the Grand Jury books of the county, where we find a presentment passed at the Lent Assizes, of 1813, to Sir G. Booth, Bart., and John Jones, Esq., "To build two battlements at the north and south sides of the bridge of Farrencarny." The carn then must be given up, and we can afford to part with it, as there are more carns still remaining in the county Sligo, than in any other county of Ireland.

LISSADELL, the seat of the Gore Booth family, stands about midway between Benbulbin and the northern entrance of Sligo bay. It has the name—in Irish *Lis-an-doill*, fort of the blind man—from some blind man who formerly occupied it, whose name, however, has not come down to us. We find mention of the place in the Annals of the Four Masters, under the years 1213 and 1397. At the former date, Lissadell was occupied by a poet, Murray O'Daly, who, if we are to rely on the Annals,

occasioned no small stir in the country; for, being asked for his quota of the tribute, which Carbury used then to pay to the Tirconnell chiefs, he, with the characteristic heat of the "irritable genus," flying into a passion, snatched up a battle-axe, and slew, on the spot, the collector who made the demand.

Fearing the vengeance of Donnell More O'Donnell, the then chief of Tirconnell, O'Daly flew for protection to Richard De Burgo, the "great Lord of Connaught;" but De Burgo, unwilling to offend O'Donnell, who was already in pursuit of the culprit, sent away the trembling poet to O'Brien, Lord of Thomond, who, in turn, passed on the frightened fugitive to Dublin. But the northern chief would not be thus baulked; and going home and collecting additional forces, he marched on Dublin, and compelled its inhabitants to banish O'Daly. The Dubliners shipped him off to Scotland, whither, no doubt, the relentless O'Donnell would have gone in pursuit, had not the bard, finding all his powerful friends fail him, fallen back on his own resources, and composed a glowing panegyric on Donnell More, which so mollified and gratified the chieftain, that, to use the words of the Annalists, "he received the poet into his friendship, and gave him lands and possessions, as was pleasing to him."*

In 1397, Lissadell was again the scene of startling occurrences. The O'Donnell of the day—Turlough—and his allies, the sons of Cathal Og O'Connor, having gained, as they thought, a victory over the Murtough Baccagh branch of the O'Connors, proceeded to divide among themselves the lands of Lissadell and the neighbourhood, as the spoils of the victory; but, while the allies were thus engaged, assisted by O'Donnell, the Murtough Baccagh O'Connors took up position unobserved at "the foot of Bunbrenoige," apparently the portion of the Oyster Bed, which lies to the west of the Glen or Bunbrenoige stream. While they were here, a mounted party, despatched by the sons of Cathel

* The narrative of the Four Masters is very animated, and will repay perusal.

Og, and coming from the direction of Sligo, tried to surround them, but were foiled in the attempt—the tide, which was full in, hindering an attack on the sea side, and Bunbrenoige, which was impracticable to horses, preventing an attack on the land side. Murtough Baccagh, seeing the discomfiture of his enemies, dashed upon them, drove them from Lissadell, and chased them before him through Lower Carbury, and across the Erne.*

It was only in the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Gores began to reside at Lissadell, and only in 1837, 1838, and 1839, their present residence was built. With a fine southern aspect, with a rich soil and gently sloping surface down to the sea, and with magnificent views and surroundings, Lissadell is a most eligible site for a first-class mansion and demesne.

The best view of the ground may be had from the strand, on the Rosses' side of the Drumcliff channel. When you look at Lissadell from this point, and see the protended curve of the side that overhangs the channel, the pointed, or apparently pointed, termination of the Ballinful side, and the vale or hollow to the west, on the Dunfore, and to the east, on the Ballygilgan side, you can't help finding a resemblance between the shape of the place, and that of the shells of the *Cardium* genus, which lie at your feet, with this difference, that the ground is flatter and less rounded at the sides than the shell.

About the centre of the area, stands Lissadell House, or, as it is commonly called in the neighbourhood, Lissadell Court—a name which the stately pile well deserves for the magnitude of its proportions, the beauty and finish of its building material, which is Ballysadare limestone, and the simple but classic elegance of its design. Look at it from what side you will, and you are struck with the solemn and almost conscious dignity with which it reposes, and presides over the scene. Without turret or pinnacle, without pier or buttress, without crocket,

* O'Donovan remarks, that “the original text is here made obscure and imperfect by the Four Masters;” but the meaning of the passage must be that given above, whatever may be said of their text.

niche, or canopy, without any of those semi-detached appendages, which architects sometimes tack on to their work to arrest attention, this pile, with its regular façades, its horizontal lines, and its uniform opes, is more effective than if it were buttressed, niched, crocketed, and canopied all round.

In looking from the Rosses strand at the demesne, it seems to be all covered with timber, without any of those lawns or verdant scopes which add such beauty to woodland scenery; but on visiting the place, it is found to contain a goodly proportion of open spaces, glades, and vistas. The plantations are numerous and thick for the purposes of shelter, which is greatly needed, as the winds tell with exceptional effect on the spot, owing to the exposed situation and the proximity to the Atlantic.

It was only by great skill and management these disadvantages could be overcome. But by planting the hardier species of trees over the sea, along the west border of the demesne, and on the higher knolls, and by planting them thick, a barrier was raised, on which the storm spends much of its force before it reaches the more low lying stretches, where, therefore, softer and more ornamental timber is made to flourish. Still a contest goes always on between art and nature; and if the sickly hue of leaf, and shrivelled appearance of stem or trunk, which one observes, here and there, reminds one of the great principle, "*Naturam repelles furca, tamen usque recurrit*," on the other hand the flourishing state of most of the trees through the grounds, and in the plantations, the soft bloom of the flowers in the gardens, and the vivid green of the grass in the lawns, supply ample proof—that art, and outlay, and energy, can always go a good way in counteracting and neutralizing the most adverse condition of things.

And this observation applies to the Glen even more than to other parts of the demesne. The Glen is formed by a stream which runs down from Benbulbin, and works its way on to the sea through Lissadell. In old times the stream was in bad odour, and received, in consequence, the name of Brenoige, or stinking runlet; but by cleansing it and altering somewhat its

channel; by turning into it an additional supply of water; by making several small cascades where the levels admitted them; and by planting its banks with fragrant shrubs and flowers; the Gore Booths have so altered its character, that it is now the gem of the demesne, and deserves the name of the Sparkling Sweet-scented Streamlet. Owing to the shelter and warmth of the deep glen, and to the running water, delicate exotics that would hardly live a day in most other parts of the neighbourhood, thrive here the whole year round, as in their native habitat.

A fine view is had from the Court of the mountains of Donegal, Fermanagh, Leitrim, Mayo, and more especially Sligo. As the Sligo ranges all stretch out and dip towards the South, they are comparatively tame when looked at in that direction, but the northern sides being bold, precipitous, and soaring, awaken in the spectator ideas and sensations of the sublime; "for in no district of the British Isles," writes Professor Hull, in his *Geology of Ireland*, p. 32, "are there grander escarpments and terraces than in that which lies between Sligo Bay and Lough Erne, overlooking the southern shores of Donegal Bay."

It is this view the inmates of the Court have always under the eye; and as natural scenery contributes largely to the formation of character, it may be very much owing to the huge perpendicular "Heels" of Benbulbin and Benweeskin, the towering sides of Slieve, Slieve-da-En, and Slieve Gamh, and the roaring waves, which are always breaking on the wild coast of Carbury, that the family have got their marked taste for adventurous sports; that Sir Henry, leaving the timid hare, and the half domesticated pheasant to less manly sportsmen, now and again, betakes himself to high latitudes, where his quarry on land is the polar bear, and on sea, the Arctic whale;* and, that even the ladies of the family share, in large measure, this daring spirit, though duly restrained and refined by feminine delicacy and grace.

* See in *Sligo Independent*, October 25th, 1884, an interesting article on "Sir Henry Gore Booth's Arctic Expedition."

This propensity must have developed itself early, judging by a Lady Gore, who, according to the folk lore of the neighbourhood, forced her coachman to drive her round the edge of Derk, at Knocklane, a semi-circular chasm of seething, roaring waters, more frightful to look at, than the crater of a volcano in full operation. The coachman, as was natural, demurred at first to the order; but Lady Gore drawing forth a pistol, and giving him the alternative of its contents, or compliance with her wish, poor Jehu, thinking it as well to have his quietus from water as from fire, screwed his courage to the sticking point, and whipped up the horses. "Fortune favours the brave;" and the resolute lady accomplished, with flying colours, the perilous feat on which she had set her heart, and thus gained for herself local fame, which is likely to last as long as the hill of Knocklane itself. If this heroine lived now, she would still, no doubt, have the fantastic feat of Derk all to herself, but, if she tried a contest, in managing with grace and skill a four-in-hand, or in crossing, with nerve and dash, a high-fenced country, after the hounds, she would probably find more than a match in the young ladies of her own family, in the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century.

The Gore Booth family rank among the highest in the country. Sir Paul Gore, or Goore, was the first of them that settled in Ireland. Coming over from England, in 1598, as commander of a troop of horse, he served under Mountjoy, and soon gained the esteem and confidence of that able man. Being charged by him to escort to Athlone, Rory O'Donnell, and probably, Sir Donough O'Connor, who were the last of the Irish chiefs to submit to Elizabeth, he acquitted himself so well of this delicate commission, that he was rewarded, first, with a grant of lands from the Queen, and, secondly, after her death, with another from James.

While Sir Paul's eldest son, Ralph, is the ancestor of the Earls of Ross; and Arthur, his second son, ancestor of the Earls of Arran; Francis, the fourth son, is the founder of the Gore Booth family. Sir Francis was equally fortunate in politics

and matrimony. By his marriage with Miss Parke, daughter and heiress of Captain Robert Parke, he secured not only an influential alliance in the county, but also a considerable accession of property.* In politics, while taking an active part with the Usurpers, he managed to ingratiate himself with the Royalists so much, that he obtained at the Restoration, a large grant of lands. His refusal, as Commissioner of the High Court of Justice, in 1652, to concur in the sentence, that condemned Lord Mayo to death, gained him the good opinion of all moderate men.†

The pleasant and profitable proceeding of marrying an heiress, was repeated in the Gore Booth family, in 1711, when Nathanael Gore, of Ardtermon, Sir Francis' grandson, married Letitia, only daughter and heiress of Humphrey Booth. Captain Humphrey Booth was one of the Tituladoes of Sligo town under the Cromwellian regime; and contriving to run with the hare as well as to hunt with the hounds, he continued, in 1687, in possession of various houses and lands in and around Sligo, including the Custom House, Oyster Island, a park in Knappagh More, Oakfield, and Rathbroghan, with its mills.‡

In the Gore Booth pedigree, occur the names of some men of distinguished ability. Sir Paul himself, from the manner in which he demeaned himself, as servitor; as undertaker; in war and in politics; under Elizabeth and under James; must have been a man of vigorous and versatile talents, though the part he is supposed to have had in the massacre of Island Magee, now Tory Island, has left a dark spot on his character.§

A far greater man, a man second to no one of his time, was

* See page 462, Vol. I.

† The Commissioners who acted as judges at the trial of Lord Mayo, which lasted from the 30th December, to the 12th January, were Sir Charles Coote, Peter Stubbers, Humphrey Hurd, Francis Gore, John Desborough, Thomas Davis, Robert Ormsby, Robert Clerk, Charles Holcroft, John Eyre, and Alexander Staples. Lord Mayo was condemned and shot; but Gore, Davis, Clerk, and Holcroft, were for acquittal.—Cox, *Hibernia Anglicana*.

‡ Tripartite Deed of Partition of the county Sligo estate.

§ The *Irish Monthly*, for October, 1881, in a paper of great value, being

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, whom Sir Paul, by marrying the Earl's niece, has connected with the Gore family. And Sir Oliver Lambert, Governor of Connaught, who became a link in the lineage, by the marriage of Emilia Newcomen and Sir Robert Gore Booth, distinguished himself in the Low Countries, Scotland, and Ireland, as a statesman and soldier in the reigns of Elizabeth and James; though common honesty was not among his virtues, as he was always trying to aggrandize himself with what belonged to others—a failing which brought on him more than once the reprehension of his superiors, including Lord Mountjoy himself.

The more modern representatives of the family have taken no great part in public life. Though the late Sir Robert Gore Booth loved a seat in Parliament, and held one up to his death, his ambition went no further, and he left to others place and office, for which, perhaps, he felt himself but indifferently fitted. His tastes were for a private station, the duties of which no one knew better how to discharge. His time was divided between London and Lissadell. While in London he was much in society, both as a generous, hospitable host, and as a favourite and honoured guest; and at Lissadell he passed the time in patronizing local sports, helping local charities, at least those of his own co-religionists, and making things pleasant for his servants, dependents, neighbours, and all round. As a landlord Sir Robert must be classed with the best; for he let his lands at their value, and never pressed for rent, as is sometimes done by

written by Very Rev. Dr. Russell, the late learned, accomplished, and amiable president of Maynooth College.

This massacre is said to have occasioned the outrages, of which the Irish were guilty. "Soon after this," writes Colonel Henry O'Neill, "the Scotts, in the North, began their bloody massacres in the counties of Downe and Antrim, at Island Magee, Ballydavey, Clonleek, Cumber, Gallagher, and Magheravorn, 500 poor souls destroyed without regard to age or sex, *and that before one drop of blood was spilt by any Roman Catholick*; though, afterwards when these unparalleled murders were known, some of the loosest of the Irish rabble, being exasperated thereat, did, by way of retaliation, murder some British at Portadown, Clancant, Curbridge, and Belturbet."—Gilbert's History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641, 1652; Part III., p. 197.

the wretched tenant. "These people," says Lord Palmerston, "taking a certain quantity of ground, they reserve to themselves a small portion, and let out the rest to under tenants. They make these unfortunate devils pay the rent of the landlord, and an excess, which they keep to themselves, and call a profit rent; while they live upon the part they reserve without paying any rent for it." * Of those bloodsuckers his lordship resolved to get rid, by degrees, conforming in this to the desire of his tenants and to the advice of Arthur Young, who conjures landlords, "as friends to themselves, to their posterity, and to their country, to let their estates to none but the occupying tenantry."† Other landlords, if the case was theirs, would soon make short work of the four or five acre cotters; but Lord Palmerston, instead of throwing them out on the high road, as others, in his place, would certainly have done, felt it a duty to leave them where they were, and to better their condition by freeing them from the incubus of the middleman or petty landlord, by enlarging their holdings, as the reclamation of his bogs enabled him, and by providing them, in the meantime, with remunerative employment.

His measures against the blowing sand were entirely efficacious. Knowing, no doubt, that bent (*Agrostis*) was successfully employed in parts of the Continent for the purpose, he planted this grass round the edges of the exposed tracts, and soon stopped the ravages of the sand. In this he not only benefited himself and his tenants, but proved himself a public benefactor; for Sir Robert Gore Booth, Mr. Gethin, and other landlords, whose lands by the sea-shore had suffered, and were suffering like his, followed his example in planting bent, so that thousands of acres, lying between his property and Sligo, were saved from threatened inundation, and thousands, even after a little, restored to tillage and pasturage.

* Letter from Lord Palmerston, dated Cliffoney, September 12th, 1808.

† "A Tour in Ireland." By Arthur Young, Esq., F.R.S. Vol. II. *Appendix*, page 21. As to the wishes of the tenants, Lord Palmerston writes:—"Their universal cry was, give us roads, but no petty landlords."

His stretch of bog he treated with the same satisfactory results. Associating with himself Mr. Nimmo, the distinguished engineer, they studied on the spot all the conditions of the task, and applied to its execution first-rate skill and unstinted capital. At first they were thinking of constructing an iron railroad six miles long, by which shelly sand could be brought from the beach to the bog, and in return, peat brought down from the bog to the shore; but on second thought they abandoned this project as less suited to their purpose, and made, instead of the railway, macadamized roads. Such was the vigour with which they proceeded, that, in the October of 1826, the first year of the works, they had thirty acres of the "worst bog and most troublesome to cultivate," producing potatoes, turnips, and rape; though in the previous March, the land "was wet unwalkable bog," as Lord Palmerston writes. The *modus agendi* was, first, "to drain the ground slightly, which was begun in April; then to dig up the surface, and pile it in heaps, and burn it; then to level the ground, and form it into ridges, and plant it with potatoes, or sow it with turnips and rape, throwing the ashes on as manure, and adding a top-dressing of sea sand and clay." Proceeding with the reclamation at the rate of sixty acres a year, his Lordship soon had it in his power to enlarge the small holdings of his tenants.

A much weightier and more expensive work was the harbour, which he constructed at Mullaghmore. Eight hundred feet long; three hundred feet wide; fourteen feet deep at spring tide; with a massive well built quay running all round; a substantial solid jetty, projecting beyond the entrance of the port several hundred feet into the sea, so as to protect vessels from the west wind while entering the harbour in a storm; and an excellent anchorage in front, where vessels might ride secure while waiting the rise of the tide, to enable them to enter; this great undertaking, which would reflect credit on the government of the country, if executed by advances from the public treasury, was begun, carried on, and finished at Lord Palmerston's sole expense. This harbour, which, during construction

had to be enlarged beyond the original design, and otherwise remodelled, cost him much more time and money than he had reckoned on. To bring it business, he relied not only on the fishery, of which it was to be the head-quarters, but also on a manufacturing village he was establishing in the centre of the estate; on a linen market he had started; on an export of turf to Sligo and the coast beyond, which he anticipated; and on a railway between Mullaghmore and Lough Erne, which he hoped to see constructed. These expectations have not been fulfilled. Though his main purpose, that of developing the fishery, has been in considerable measure accomplished, there is little sign as yet of the commerce he expected to spring up; but there is a good time coming; and when the Sligo and Bundoran Tramway is completed, and connects the northern and western railway systems with Mullaghmore, it is likely enough that Lord Palmerston's previsions will be realized.

And he took steps to make Mullaghmore a watering place also, or sea-side resort, but one, apparently, of too exclusive a kind; for while he put up for the rich a terrace of fine houses, to let at ten or twenty pounds a month, he made no provision for the lodging of persons belonging to the humble classes. As the rich have already so many of the good things of Ireland, it was hardly fair of him to create for them a monopoly of the finest sea bathing on the western coast. Whatever may have been his motive in this, we may be sure, that it was acted on in the interest of his tenants, for every line of his letters from Cliffoney, and every act of his there, show that this was the paramount consideration with him in the management of his Sligo estates.

The present owner of the Palmerston estate, the Honourable Evelyn Ashley, resides a good part of the year at Mullaghmore; and the writer, having taken occasion of a recent visit to Mullaghmore, to find out the opinions the inhabitants entertain of that gentleman, is glad to be able to report, that they all speak in terms of admiration and gratitude of the neighbourly kindness and attentions of himself and his family.

While thus earnest in labouring for the material well-being of his tenants, Lord Palmerston was not less zealous in promoting their mental and moral improvement. From the very beginning he had this duty at heart; and in the first letter he wrote from Clifton, after examining the estate, he reckons as the "first objects he must set about, to put the parish church in repair, and to make it fit for service, and to establish schools." At this time he seems to have taken no thought about the ministers of the Catholic church, as if they were to count for nothing in his proceedings regarding their flocks; and even after he opened the schools for his tenantry, he was so clear and decided on this point, that he writes:—"I have just got two schools on foot, but am at war with my priest, who, as usual, forbids the people to send their children. I know that if I was resident, I should beat him in a moment, and I hope to do so even though an absentee."

Softly, my good Lord! Take a friend and admirer's advice, and let the priests alone. If you must be "at war," choose some other adversary. With your commanding talents, your fearless spirit, your mastery of party strategy, you can hold your own against Metternich and Talleyrand; you can take a fall out of Lord John Russell; you can grapple with, and get the better of, Nicholas of Russia; but, for all that, you may meet more than your match in "my priest." Without the diplomacy of Metternich and Talleyrand; without the backing of Lord John Russell; without the power of Nicholas; he may still, as an antagonist in his own sphere, prove more formidable than any or all of these. Clothed in the authority of his world-wide church; fixed immoveably in the affections of his people; armed at all points with the "*Non possumus*" of the Apostles; he is impervious to all your arms of the flesh. Even if he should die before the contest is decided, a younger, and probably an abler man would rise to confront you; and if this man too should succumb, or be called to a different sphere of duty, another, and another, and another would start up and force you at last to cry, "Hold! enough."

Lord Palmerston seems to have turned over some such thoughts as these in his mind, for in his next letter on the subject, he writes:—"I made a concordat with my bishop about my schools, and by agreeing to all he asked—which, after all, was not very unreasonable—I have got him to assist me; and have heard since my return, that my girls' school has increased from five scholars to one hundred. The boys' school has not yet got a master; but when I get one, it will be equally thriving, I have no doubt."

It was fortunate that the parties to this controversy were both such sensible and well-meaning persons. If Lord Palmerston were a narrow-minded and punctilious man; if he were a stupid or a malignant bigot, like many another landlord; and if Right Reverend Doctor Burke, instead of being the rock of sense and virtue he is known to have been, were a self-opinionated, a self-willed, and a self-asserting man, the dispute would have been embittered and perpetuated; the material, as well as moral, improvement of the district would, probably, have been stopped; and the pall of ignorance might still rest on the minds, and the pall of sand on the lands of the inhabitants.

After this there was no further unpleasantness between Lord Palmerston and the priests. Seeing that the stand they had made, was made merely with the object of safeguarding the faith of their flocks, he seems to have thought only the more of them for their fidelity to duty. The incident, too, opened his eyes to the true position and claims of the priests and their flocks, and ever after he treated Catholics and Protestants with the most perfect impartiality. As the rector of the parish enjoyed an endowment, his lordship made over a glebe to the Parish Priest, to put him on a level with the Parson. As he spent money on the Protestant parish church, to fit it for service, he showed equal liberality in improving the places of worship of the Catholics; and, as to popular education, he built several good school-houses, put into them first-class teachers, and made such arrangements as to their management, as satisfied priests and bishop. The principle of even dealing he carried into

domestic life, making the priests as welcome, and as honoured guests at his table, as the parsons. After a little, he and Lady Palmerston could hardly digest their dinner if they had not Father Malachi with them to help them to eat it; and few things supplied them in after life with such pleasant reminiscences as the racy anecdotes and the sparkling wit of the genial P.P. of Palmerston Glebe. If more of the gentle folk of the county followed the example of Lord Palmerston it might improve their digestion, and serve them in some still more important respects as well.

The island of *Inismurray* is part of the parish of Ahamlish, and, by its associations, is by far the most interesting spot in the parish. On the Ordnance map it resembles a bay leaf,



INISMURRAY WITH ITS ECCLESIASTICAL CASHEL. *

Rue Point corresponding to the point of the leaf, and Kinavally to the petiole or foot stalk; and if you look at the island itself through twilight or a thick mist, it will remind you of the long, low, rakish-looking craft, in which pirates are in the habit of plying their lawless trade, and in which Danish marauders once infested these very waters. In itself, Inismurray is a bare, barren, dreary island, two hundred and nine statute acres in extent, three or four times as long as it is broad, and running from north to south, in a direction parallel to the neighbouring

* Drawn by Mr. Wakeman, and engraved by Mrs. Millard.

shore, from the nearest point of which, at Streedagh, it is divided by about five miles of sea. If one may apply the word to so small an area, it is a table land, level from end to end, and standing about forty feet above the sea, the western side, which is worn steep by the wild Atlantic waves, rising still higher.

The geological formation is sandstone, covered with four or five inches of yellowish earth, which produces naturally nothing but a short grass, scant in quantity, as well as hard and insipid in quality. There is neither tree nor shrub, neither river nor streamlet, neither lake nor pond, on the island; though, still, Nature has, perhaps, sufficiently provided its one hundred and nine inhabitants, fifty-eight males, and fifty-one females, with the mere necessities of life—meat, drink, fuel, and clothing:—meat in abundance of wholesome fish; drink in two excellent wells, that never run dry; fuel in a stretch of bog, which, though long drawn on, is still far from exhausted; and woollen clothing—the only clothing the islanders wear—in the wool of the hardy sheep; which, with a good stock of black cattle, and a number of asses, constitute all the flocks and herds of Inismurray. The separate dwellings are fifteen in number, one story high plain houses, rudely built of flags or slabs of sandstone, and roofed with straw, as strongly and elaborately tied down with ropes as though the owners feared that, if the ligatures were slackened, their residences would be carried up like balloons into the air. Down to the year 1836, when police were stationed in the island, the inhabitants were much given to the making of *poteen* for the mainland, but now, that this “profitable occupation is gone,” they devote most of their time to fishing, in which they are diligent and expert, dividing the remainder between the *Dolce far niente*, which they love as dearly as any fisherman of Naples, and the managing of their little holdings, which they take to only *en pis aller*, and in which they seem nearly as much out of their element as a fish out of water. Fishing, then, is the only occupation for which they have any heart, or from which they derive any profit; and as profitable fishing is impossible the greater part of the year in the wild sea that

surrounds the island, it is clear that the islanders have a hard time of it while that season lasts.

But creature comforts were the last thing thought of by those who first settled on Inismurray. Those who valued such things would studiously avoid a place where they were conspicuously absent; nor could anything but those aspirations after a higher life, which beget a disregard for ease and enjoyment, reconcile one to the privations and hardships which must be always encountered in a barren, desolate, tempestuous, and generally inaccessible island.

Most probably then the place remained unoccupied, till some of the fervent souls that Ireland produced in the sixth and seventh centuries, passed over to it from the mainland, and erected for their habitation the religious establishment, the ruins of which now form the great object of interest in Inismurray. O'Donovan holds the cashel or stone wall that surrounds the ruins, to be of Pagan origin, which would imply Pagan inhabitants on the island; but there is little or no probability in the opinion. He gives nothing but his *ipse dixit* for it; and what is asserted without a reason, may be denied without a reason, according to Logic.

But while nothing solid can be alleged in favour of O'Donovan's assertion, there are convincing reasons against it. The cashel is built of sandstone flags, is, on an average, about eight feet thick, encloses an area of half an acre or so, and, though much dilapidated in parts, is fifteen feet at the highest points, which would go far to show this to have been the original height of the entire structure; and the very fact, that so remarkable a building is not mentioned in our early annals, as a relic of pre-Christian times, is a good proof that it had no existence in these times; for had it existed, it must have been often seen from the well frequented shore near which it lay, and, having been seen, could hardly fail to receive some notice in primitive Irish writings.

Again, its composition disproves the pre-historic character; for instead of being "composed of unhewn masses rudely built

up, with no further adjustment than the insertion of small blocks in the interstices," like the cyclopean work of these rude times, it is built of quarried and split flags, similar to those in the structures it encloses, thus showing, that both were practically contemporaneous. And the most conclusive evidence of all is found in the form of the cashel; for the wall does not trace a circle, or an ellipse, or any other regular figure, but exhibits, here and there, deviations of direction, caused plainly by the desire of the builders to take in pre-existing structures. "There are certain irregularities in the form of the wall," says Mr. Wakeman, in his admirable Guide to Ireland, "as it follows the outline of the space occupied by the buildings it was required to enclose; and the same peculiarity is noticed by Miss Stokes, and by a lively and graphic writer in the *Irish Monthly*, for November 1883, who observes: "Most decidedly one of the beehives is built into the wall, which means, that the wall-builders found it a little in their way, and built round it, thus incorporating it in their defensive masonry." And the Right Reverend Dr. Healy, whose opinion, on any subject he treats, must carry great weight, and whose opinion on all that concerns Inismurray, which he knows better than any other man, from his long ministerial connexion with it, may be regarded as decisive, goes even further than the writers quoted, and states, "The cells were constructed in the wall; seven of them yet remain." We may then set down O'Donovan's view as opposed alike to reason and authority.

The buildings within the cashel, and the cashel itself, taking them together, afford the best example, perhaps the only perfect example [extant, of a primitive Irish monastic establishment; the examples which must have existed in large numbers through Ireland, having disappeared under the changes and demolitions which are constantly taking place on the mainland. The antiquities here are various weird, old world structures, distributed rather irregularly over the area:—1st, three small quadrangular churches of different sizes, the largest, called Tempul-na-fear, twenty-four feet long, by about twelve wide;

the next in size, Tempul-na-teined, seventeen feet long, by twelve wide; and the smallest, Tempul Molaisse, twelve feet long, eight wide, and ten high; the two former being now and long roofless, while Tempul Molaisse is still covered with its roof of stones, corbelled inwards till they meet at top; 2nd, three



MOLAISE'S HOUSE, OR CHURCH, AND SUPPOSED STATUE.*

cloghauns or beehive shaped cells, each about fifteen feet high, and still covered with their corbelled stone roofs; 3rd, four rough flat-topped tables or pillars of stones, three feet high, which, with three similar erections outside the cashel, form,

* Drawn by Mr. Wakeman, and engraved by Mrs. Millard.

like stations of the cross in our churches, pausing places at which those going through the station, rest to recite certain prayers before passing on; and 4th, to omit other objects, an underground passage to the sea, a perfect cyclopean doorway, of which O'Donovan has left a pen and ink sketch, and a number of headstones—Lord Dunraven counted seventeen in 1866; several of them bearing incised crosses, “curious and often beautiful in design,” says Mr. Wakeman, three of which may be seen in Miss Stokes’ *Christian Inscriptions*, and the whole in Colonel Cooper’s Portfolio of Drawings, and in Mr. Wakeman’s inestimable Monograph on Inismurray, as published in the number for October, 1885, of the Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

In Tempul Molaise is preserved, to use the words of O'Donovan, “an oaken figure about the height of a man, with a long emaciated face, the hands, which the natives say, were placed in the position of thanksgiving, having been taken off.”

This statue has given rise to much diversity of opinion, as to its origin and character; the natives maintaining it to be a statue of St. Molaise, which has been in the island since the sixth century, but which was mutilated about one hundred years ago, by some ill-conditioned person or persons from the mainland; others taking it to be a figure-head detached from the prow of one of the wrecked Armada ships, and wafted by the tide to Inismurray; while certain fanatics or hypocrites allege, that it is an idol of wood, and charge the islanders with having paid it divine honours.* It was this horrid imputation that stirred up the ire of O'Donovan—a man as free from the *odium theologicum* as anyone that ever existed—and drew

* “Some of the churches on the west coast of Ireland, had life-size wooden figures of saints, which were placed beside the altar. One of these in the island of Inismurray, though obviously early Christian, was taken about thirty years ago by a Protestant missionary for a Pagan idol. Accordingly, he took it out to sea and threw it overboard. Fortunately, however, in this case, as I am informed, the attempt failed.” These lines are from an article in the *Nineteenth Century*, of April 1877, written by Sir John Lubbock.

from him a scathing denunciation of the “canting scoundrels,” as he calls them, who spread abroad the slander.*

Outside the cashel are various antiquities and curiosities, as Tempul Muire—Church of Mary—or Tempul n-mbhan—church of the women—a building, which, though not so old as the structures within the inclosure, must date from a time, when monks were still in the island, and women were forbidden to pass the cloister; fifteen objects ranged round the margin of the island, and described by O'Donovan, as “crosses, stations, and cars;” St. Molaise's well, which is to Inismurray, what the Kilsellagh stream is to Sligo, serving as an unfailing and abundant supply of water the whole year round; and “some small heads of rock, advancing on the sea, through which the fury of the waves have perforated large holes, not unlike ancient arches, where the sea roars horridly in tempestuous weather.”†

As nothing certain is known of the founder of this establishment, it is to be regretted that those who write about Inismurray avoid investigating the point. Without giving any reasons for their opinions, some of these writers take the foundation to be the work of Molaise and Columba, some of Molaise alone, and others, of Muredach alone—the person after whom the island is called.

As to Columba, there is not an atom of evidence in any of the lives of the saint, published by Colgan, to show that he had anything to do with the work; nor is Inismurray as much as

* When O'Donovan was blamed by Sir Thomas Larcom, for his remarks on this subject, he replied:—“Why should lies of any man be allowed to pass as truth through Christendom, upon a very curious and important point of human knowledge? . . . Mr. Smyth, of College Green, will send you a pamphlet, in which a drawing of the God Molaise is given, and an account of the divine honours paid it by the islanders. Read this, and then read my remarks.” Ordnance Survey Letter Book of County Sligo.

† Tour through Connaught, in 1779, under the direction of the Right Hon. William Burton, by Gabriel Beranger; a manuscript quoted by Sir William Wilde, in an interesting article, published in the *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, of 1870, and headed, “Memoir of Gabriel Beranger, and his labours in the cause of Irish Art, Literature, and Antiquities, from 1760 to 1780, with illustrations.”

mentioned in the lists of Columba's foundations given by Colgan, or by Dr. Reeves, in his learned edition of Adamnan's "Life of Saint Columba." Apparently this opinion dates only from 1779, when Beranger and Bigari heard it, with several other groundless statements, from the islanders, and recorded it in their note-book, from which Archdall and some later writers have copied it.*

Those who attribute the foundation to Molaise alone are divided among themselves as to which of the saints of that name the honour belongs:—Molaise of Devenish, Molaise the son of Declan, or Molaise of Leighlin. And there is similar diversity of opinion as to the identity of Muredach. In this uncertainty one is forced to try a new solution of the problem; and as a Muredach certainly left his name to the island, and as a Molaise is associated with all its traditions and remains, no solution will satisfy that shall not square with these two facts.

While keeping this requirement in mind, the writer is led to believe, first, that Muredach of Inismurray is Muredach of Killala, a belief which is confirmed by the tradition throughout the diocese of Killala, that the patron of the diocese was buried in Inismurray, and thus gave the island its name;† and, second, that Molaise of Inismurray, is no other than Molaise, the founder of Aughris, a fact which seems to follow clearly from the dependence of the island on Aughris.

It is strange that this dependence, which is the key to the history of Inismurray, has not been noticed before, though the proofs of it are abundant in official documents. In an Exchequer inquisition, sped at Sligo in 1584, under Sir John Crofton, the

* Beranger writes, "There is an abbey, as it is called, very rude, a church, and some other old buildings, said to have been erected by Saints Molast and Columbkil." And Archdall, in his *Monasticon Hibernicum*, p. 635, says "The abbey was erected conjointly by Saint Molasse and St. Columb." Archdall plainly borrows most of what he says about Inismurray from Beranger.

† This tradition is attested by Rev. Thomas Walsh, a native and missionary priest of Killala, who writes, in his "Ecclesiastical History of Ireland," p. 648, "According to tradition, St. Muredach, the patron of Killala, has been buried in the island of Inismurray."

jury find that "the priory of Acheras, *alias* Kylmaltin, in the barony of Tireragh, is the property of the Queen, and that the vicarage of the church of Ahamlish (Aghumlys), in the barony of Carbury, with one quarter of glebe land, and one small island situate in the high sea, *belong to the aforesaid priory.*"*

In the Indenture of Composition between Sir John Perrot and the Sligo chiefs, it is stated that there is in the barony of Carbury a quantity of land called the "Benan, 4 quarters, belonging to her Majesty in *right of the abbey of Aghrosse;*" and in several public instruments of a later date, as in King Charles the Second's grant in 1666 to Lord William Strafford and Thomas Radcliffe; and in the Tripartite Indenture between Lord Strafford, Joshua Wilson, and Dr. Leslie, the rectories of Aughris and Ahamlish are always conjoined and disposed of together. From what has been said, then, it appears sufficiently certain that the Muredach and Molaise of Inismurray came from Tireragh, and not, as some would have it, from Devenish; and now, to go a step further, it is probable that these two names belong to one and the same person—Muredach having the second name of Molaise, as Fechin had the second name of Moecca; as Carthagus had the second name of Mochuda; and as other old Irish saints had similar second names. The incidence, in the Martyrologies, of the festival of Muredach and that of Molaise on one and the same day, the 12th of August, goes far to establish this probability; and the identity of the saints would explain a fact, otherwise rather unaccountable, namely, the neglect by the islanders, of Muredach, of whom they never think or speak, though, apparently, the founder of their monastic establishment, and therefore their natural patron, while they are always talking of, and magnifying, Molaise, who can have no such claims on their remembrance, unless *he is Muredach*, honoured by them under the name of Molaise. Whether, however, they are two

* Exchequer inquisition taken at Sligo by John Crofton, on the 17th March, 1584. The words of the inquisition are, "quod vicaria de ecclesia de Aghumlys in barronia de Carbria cum 1 qur terræ ut gleba dict vicariæ ac 1 parva insula ibi in alto mare spectant ad dictum prioratum de Acheras."

different persons, or only one, it is certain that the two or the one, whichever it be, came from Tireragh.

From all this, it appears that Ahamlish is indebted for its religion to Inismurray, and that the island, after receiving itself the Gospel from Aughris, evangelized this district, just as Iona evangelized the north of Scotland. As soon as Muredach or Molaise had settled the insular establishment, his zeal carried him to the neighbouring shore, where he set up the cross of which Columba's hymn speaks. About the same time he founded a church there, and, as an endowment, secured the tract of land, called by the inquisitions, the Benan, from, apparently, the little hill at present called Dunan; for we find a similar little hill named, in the Annals of the Four Masters, Benan Breachmagh, go now by the name of Dunan Breaffy. At that time it was easy for the Tireragh saint to obtain the endowment, for the entire seaboard, from the Stags of Broadhaven to the river Erne, belonged to Tireragh chiefs, as it belonged also to the diocese of Killala, the boundaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction following, and fluctuating with, the boundaries of civil or secular rule.

Such being the antecedents of Inismurray, it is no great wonder that the inhabitants should have high notions of their island; but their credulity, on this head, exceeds all bounds; for they will tell you that a handful of its earth would banish or destroy all the rats and mice in Ireland; that the water of a well at the north end of the island, when teemed into the sea in a storm, would calm the waves; that, in case the fires of the island were extinguished, a bit of turf, laid on a flag in one of the ruined churches, would at once ignite, so as to supply the means of relighting the fires; that if an urgent case of sickness called for the presence of a priest from the mainland during a tempest, the waves would settle the moment the boat of the messenger touched the water, and would continue settled till the priest had arrived, performed his ministry, and returned home; and, there being separate cemeteries for men and women, that if a male were buried in the cemetery of the females, or a

female in the cemetery of the males, the intruded corpse would be supernaturally ejected by the desecrated grave, and projected to its own place in its proper cemetery:

But these extravagances cannot affect the genuine claims of the island to our respect and veneration; and the reverent visitor to the area within the cashel, who ponders on the history of that sacred spot; who thinks of the many holy souls, that, with a fervour equal to that of John the Baptist, fled the world, betook themselves to this desolate place, and shut themselves up in those cold, solitary, and sombre cells, that they might commune alone with God, and pray, uninterruptedly, for themselves and their fellow men; who feels that the earth on which he treads, consists, for the most part, of the remains of these devoted men; and who looks back to the time when that fire of faith, which Christ came to cast upon the earth, was carried from this enclosure, as from a furnace, to the mainland, and there spread around so effectively, that it lasts in undiminished heat and brightness, to the present day, must have his soul moved to its lowest depths by the associations of the spot, and must feel as if he heard, directed to himself, the words formerly addressed by God to Moses, "Put the shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

When the monks quitted Inismurray is nowhere stated. Very probably they abandoned it about the beginning of the fourteenth century, the O'Connors having, by that time, fully established their rule over Carbury. As the monks had come at first to the island in the wake of the Tireragh chiefs, and had lived there under their protection, it was natural enough that they should quit the place when these chiefs were driven definitively out of the territory.

And it was all the more natural, as the Cistercians of Boyle acquired, at the same time, possessions in the neighbourhood; the O'Connors, who were attached to Boyle, as the burying place of their family, having bestowed the district of Grange on that monastery. It is true that, so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century, Maeleoin O'Daly was buried in

others, at a moment when poor people are obliged to part with their stock or farm produce at a loss, always allowing his tenants plenty of time to wait for, and sell in, the best market.

Sir Henry has inherited the virtues of his father, and added to them many of his own. Large-hearted and genial like Sir Robert; a thorough sportsman like him; a kind and indulgent landlord like him; he takes, besides being more frequently at home, greater practical interest in the poor of the neighbourhood, and evinces, on all occasions, that genuine Good Samaritan charity which knows no distinction of creed in those that need relief. When sickness and destitution covered the face of the country in 1879, the conversion, so to speak, of Lissadell Court into a provision store, where Lady Gore and Sir Henry dealt out with their own hands, from morning till night, food to the needy, was an event unique of its kind, at the time, in Ireland.

And when a thunder-storm, in 1882, wrecked the roof of Magherow chapel during Mass, inflicted a fatal injury on one of the congregation, and injured several others, Lady Gore and Sir Henry flew, on the moment, to the scene of the calamity, and then, and for many months afterwards, seemed to have nothing on hand, or at heart, but to help and console the afflicted, and to repair the damage done to the place of worship. These noble acts, and the same impartial aid to Catholic charities, which they extend to the charities of other denominations, have endeared the present Lissadell family to Catholics, and should endear them to all, inasmuch as the precedent, thus set, is calculated to remove those obstacles to intercourse which bigotry, and cunning, and selfishness, have raised up between the different classes of society in Ireland.

The attitude of the Gore Booth family towards the school children round Lissadell furnishes a new proof of their impartial regard for all their neighbours. Lady Gore Booth and her daughters are always anxious to promote the intellectual and moral, as well as the material, well-being of the young people on the Lissadell estate. Unlike too many of their class, both in

the county and out of it, who affect great interest for the education of the humbler classes, but who confine the practical manifestation of that interest to their own co-religionists, the Gore Booth family make no distinction between Roman Catholics and Protestants, between the children that attend the National schools, managed by priests, and those that frequent the Church Education Society, or other such schools under the management of parsons. To both they give similar marks of encouragement and approval, and for both alike are their school feasts prepared.

We hear, sometimes, of school feasts in other places, but we generally hear, at the same time, that none but the professors of a favoured creed are admitted to them, a state of things which proves that your Lord or Lady Bountiful is not concerned so much for the education of the little ones, as for some advantage of party or sect. Horace tells that good-natured teachers in his day used to give sweets to children to coax them to learn their lessons; but they gave to all alike; and if our "charitable Christian ladies" think well to borrow this laudable principle from benevolent Pagans, they should not show themselves too partial and one-sided in its application. One thing, however, we may be sure of, and that is, that if ladies and gentlemen make distinctions in conferring favours on the children around them, the children themselves will thus learn to make distinctions too; and while, as it is to be expected and hoped, they will know how to requite the kindness of Lady Gore and other benefactors with gratitude, and with such services as may be in their power, they will, it is to be feared, think themselves warranted in making a very different return, both in feeling and act, to those by whom they shall remember themselves to have been so differently treated. "Better late than never;" and even now, at the eleventh hour, if members of leading families were to entertain, occasionally, the school children of their estates, irrespective of the religion of these children, or of the schools they attend, they would do a gracious thing, and one they might find, in the end, to be of no little benefit to themselves.

It is a pity that Sir Robert did not content himself with the extensive stretch of land, which lies between Ballygilgan on the east, and Dunfore on the west, and which, down to his time, had formed the demesne of Lissadell. Had he done so, he would have avoided the odium, which the annexing of Ballygilgan attached to his name while he was living, and still attaches to it now that he is dead.

Ballygilgan was locally known as the Seven Cartrons, and contained about 800 statute acres. It was church land, belonging, first, to the monastery of Drumcliff, and next to the bishop of Elphin; and, like most of the church land of the county, was granted at the dissolution to John King, ancestor of the Kings of Rockingham, in whose family it remained, till it passed to the Gore Booths. In 1834, a lease of it, held by Mr. Martin, a middleman, having fallen in, Sir Robert arranged with him and Lord Lorton to take the tract, there being, apparently, some understanding, that Martin should get possession from the tenants in occupation, who were numerous, and who, for the most part, were fishermen as well as small land-holders.

In Sir Robert's evidence before the Devon Commission, he states, that all the tenants, except two or three, gave possession to Martin, and that to those who acted thus, land was offered elsewhere; but he does not tell where the land lay that was offered, or how much was offered, or whether the offer was accepted in any cases. It would appear, that the alternative was given these people of having their passages to America paid, and that they elected the alternative, which would go to show, that the offer of land was not such as it was worth their while to accept.

All the compensation for disturbance which those unfortunate creatures received was the passage money, which was at the rate of £2 a head; while the compensation for improvements was confined to £4 an acre for their patches of potato track; and though these terms were not so hard as those of certain heartless landlords of the day, who turned their tenants out on

the roadside, and left them there without aid or compensation of any kind ; still, £2 a head for disturbance, and £4 an acre for potato track, was a mere *bagatelle* in comparison of what evictions would cost at present. The great object, no doubt, was to be rid of those disagreeable neighbours, and to be rid of them at as little cost as might be. Much of the blame of these proceedings was laid on Mr. Dodwell, who was Sir Robert's agent, and who passed with the people as the very worst specimen of the agent kind. But, allowing Dodwell his full share of the blame, Sir Robert, who employed him and backed him up, must bear his part ; and humane as he is acknowledged to have been in his general relations with others, it must be admitted, that his treatment of the unfortunate occupants of Ballygilgan has left a dark spot on his name, in the estimation of many.

After passing Johnsport, or, rather, Johnes-port, so called from a family of the name of Johnes, or Jones, that resided there, the scene suddenly changes. Except Knocklane—Broad Hill—which is a bright looking and regularly proportioned conical elevation, the tract before and around the traveller is as dreary a one as could easily be found. Devoid of every element of beauty, either in contour or in colour, as well as treeless and shrubless, it is about the coldest and bleakest bit of landscape in the county. The effect is all the more felt after coming through Lissadell, with its verdant undulating grass lands, its rich symmetrical tillage fields, its stone and mortar fences, and its numerous plantations, all this being in striking contrast with what appears in Ballyconnell—scraggy patches of sickly oats, potatoes, and cabbage ; scraps of yellow withered grass ; open ditches half filled with putrid water ; and a string, along the road, of low thatched cabins, each of which is covered with a net-work of straw ropes, fastened to iron or wooden spikes, stuck in the gables and side-walls : all this elaborate defence against storms, suggesting to the spectator the violence with which the Atlantic gales sweep often over this bare and exposed region—violence so terrible, that a facetious jarvey,

who sometimes encountered it, describes it as "fit to blow away the legs from under the horses."

The houses do not form groups or villages, but range, detached, in single file by the roadside; being so numerous, that you wonder, at first, how the inhabitants can manage to subsist in so barren a district, till you learn, that they take most of their livelihood out of the neighbouring sea as fishermen. The men are usually clad in coarse, home-made, flannel, which, in general, looks much in need of soap and water, and the women in drugget—both men and women being often without shoes and stockings. Numbers of the women pass their time in gathering corrigeen-moss for the Sligo market.

The land seems to be in great part peat-bog, from which as much of the peat as could be conveniently reached by the spade has been cut away, while what remains, here and there, is worked by the hands and feet into hand-turf. In passing through Ballyconnell during the Summer months, you are sure to see men and women at work in the bog, mixing the mud, or forming it when mixed into turves, or ranging the turves, thus formed, into rows to be dried by the sun and wind; and—a circumstance that cannot fail to interest—while the parents are thus engaged, the young children are generally sprawling about on the banks, it being deemed safer to have them there, than to leave them at home without anyone to mind them. Ballyconnell has its name from a family named O'Connell. The Survey of 1633 says of it, "Ballyconnell, the inheritance of my Lord Bishop, who setts it to under-tenants for £4 *per annum*, but they ought to have it by right—their names are, Gilledoney O'Connell, Brian O'Connell, and Donnell O'Connell."

The most striking artificial object about this place, is the conspicuous roofless structure, called Ardtermon Castle, Ardtermon, signifying the height of the termon or church lands, which belonged in the past to the religious of Drumcliff. It is generally taken to be an erection of the Gores, but it appears that it was built by the O'Harts, the old owners of Ardtermon; for the Survey of 1633, in describing the place, states, "A good

castle is built upon it." Later, the Gores occupied it before they went to reside at Lissadell. The Survey notices thus the neighbouring townland of Dunfore, "A kind of ould building is upon it." Dunfore appears to signify the *dun* or fortress of the fountain, or spring, in allusion, no doubt, to some well of exceptionally good water in the neighbourhood. Mr. Frank Barber, in his evidence before the Devon Commission, stated, that at that date, 2,000 acres of land in the district of Knocklane, was covered with the drifting sand, and that 700 of those acres were covered in his own time. The suffering caused by this invasion was great, numbers being obliged to abandon house and home, and some, who held on to their habitations, having to go in and out through the roof, as the doors and windows were blocked up. This formidable evil was stopped by the bent which Lord Palmerston set the example of planting, only for which the whole of Magherow would be converted, by this time, into a Sahara.

As to the succession of Parish Priests in Drumcliff, the first we meet with is Rev. Cormack Feeny, who was ordained in 1697, and held the parish in 1704, at the registration of the county Sligo "Popish Priests," as he still held it in 1711, when depositions respecting these priests were taken by the county magistrates. See Vol. I., page 234.

The next Parish Priest, of whom there is record, is Rev. Philip Costello, whose occupation lasted from 1760 to 1767. He is buried in Drumcliff graveyard, and his tombstone bears the inscription:—

"Here lieth the body of the Reverend PHILIP COSTELLO,
Who departed this life December 19th, 1767.
Aged 33 years."

To Father Costello succeeded Rev. Brian O'Beirne, who went to his reward in 1814, in the 79th year of his age, as the following epitaph testifies:—

"Orate pro Anima Rdi. BERNARDI O'BEIRNE, Canonici Elphinensis,
Et per annos 48, pastoris vigilantissimi hujus parœciæ Drumcliff.
Qui tandem laboribus attritus cæloque maturus Gregi fideli
verbo et exemplo,
Mortem usque præluens e vivis excessit die 24 febr., A.D. 1814.
Ætatis vero 79."

It would appear that, owing to the ill health, or some other canonical cause, this good priest was aided in the administration of the parish by Reverend Thomas O'Flynn, who is buried in the same grave, as the tombstone tells us:—

“Sub hoc lapide sepulchrali jacet.
 Rev^{us}. THOMAS O'FLYNN,
 Hujus parœciæ de Drumcliff, annos 20, coadjutor Deo et hominibus charus.
 Obiit Sep^{is}. 7^a, 1810.
 R.I.P.”

Father O'Beirne's successor was Father Roger Burns, who, too, is buried in Drumcliff. On his memorial stone we read:—

“In memoria æterna sit
 R. R. BURNS, Pastor et Archidiaconus,
 Qui traducta 40 circiter annos vita in militia clericali maximo cum fructu.
 Tum in Ahamlish, tum in Drumcliff.
 Cursum pie consummavit, 22 Nov^{is}. A.D. 1832.
 Ætatis vero 70.”

Reverend Michael O'Callaghan succeeded, and was Parish Priest from 1832, to his death in 1842. Rev. Patrick O'Gara came next, and held the parish to his decease in 1860. The remains of both these priests rest in Rathcormac church in uninscribed graves.

Father Pat Kelly became Parish Priest of Drumcliff in 1860, but was transferred to Strokestown in 1866, when he was succeeded by the actual incumbent, Father Andrew Moraghan.

Before passing away from the Parish Priests interred in Drumcliff, and from the thousand religious committed to its consecrated earth, between the days of St. Columba and the Reformation, we must take note of Father Owen O'Connor's grave. Father Owen was a native of the parish, being born at Castlegal, and belonged to a family which could trace its descent back to a branch of the O'Connors, who were, for centuries, Lords of Carbury and Sligo. After his ordination he served for some time as curate in Magherow, and, next, in Killglass, where he became so ill, that he had to quit the mission and return to Castlegal. Though young in years when he died, he was ripe

for heaven—*Consummatus in brevi implevit tempora multa.*
The stone that covers his grave is inscribed with the words :—

“Ora pro anima EUGENII O’CONNOR,
Qui obiit die 9^a Aprilis, 1850,
Anno ætatis suæ 31.

Sacerdos erat doctrina Theologica morumque sanctitate præluens.
Requiescat in pace.”

As might be expected of a parish where there was such an extent of church land, there have been many churches in it. To say nothing of Drumcliff monastery, the sites of various places of worship are still pointed out in other districts—one at Keelty, on the side of Benbulbin; one in Ballynagalliagh; one at Kilcregan, on the road to Rosses Point; two in the Rosses; one at Kilmacanon, which, with its cemetery, has been wiped out by the blowing sand; one at Ballintemple, *recte*, Ballintemplebeolan, which was so called from the ecclesiastical family named Beolan, modernized, in some places, into Boylan; and in others, as Tireragh, into Boland; and one in Lissadell, which, according to John O’Donovan, stood near the sea, just on the site of the old stables.

The present churches of Magherow and Rathcormac are not the first that rose on their respective sites. About a hundred years ago a nice chapel was erected at Magherow, which was repaired and much improved, in 1845, by Father O’Gara. An idea, however, had got abroad, that it was shaky; and a cry, “The chapel is falling,” having been raised, on Christmas Day, 1856, when the floor and galleries were filled to overflowing, numbers had bones broken, or received other severe injuries, in a wild attempt to get clear of the building. Father Moraghan, who was then curate in the parish, acted towards the injured the parts, at once, of surgeon, physician, and priest, resembling, in this, not a little, the great and good Archbishop Fenelon, who, after the battle of Malplaquet, moved about among the wounded soldiers, ministering surgical and medical, as well as spiritual aid—a scene immortalized in a noble painting by a great French Artist.

It was in the fine Gothic church, built in 1862 by Father Kelly, on the site of the old chapel, the lightning accident, already referred to, occurred on the 12th November, 1882. While Father Christopher O'Connor was preaching after Mass, a vivid flash of lightning, accompanied by a loud peal of thunder, struck the belfry, and shot about its stones, some into the yard, and some acres away into the neighbouring fields, while several fell down through the roof into the body of the house. The casualties were far fewer than might be expected. They were:—A little boy, who was outside the church, near the door, was laid up for a few days, though suffering from no visible hurt; a girl, who was also outside, escaped personal harm, though the soles of her boots were cut clean off as with a knife; and one man of the congregation, who got injured in the spine—it is not known whether by the electric current or by a stone that fell beside him—after lingering on in great suffering, for nine weeks, died.

As in Magherow, so, also, at Rathcormac, an old place of worship stood on the site of the present church, which was built in 1833 by Father O'Callaghan. This house was greatly improved by Father O'Gara; and Father Moraghan, along with adding a sacristy, has widened the sanctuary, seated the whole of the ground floor, and erected a beautiful altar of marble and Caen stone.

In this church rests all that is mortal of the gentle and amiable Father Pat Moraghan. Resigning, in 1871, his parish of Aughrim, on account of ill health, he withdrew to the friendly home of his good brother, Father Andrew, who, after caring him tenderly for the eight years he still lived, surrounding his death-bed with all the helps and consolations of religion, and celebrating his obsequies with edifying solemnity, provided for the preservation of his memory: first, by raising over his remains a cut stone monument, with the following simple, but tasteful inscription:—

“Hic jacet Reverendus PATRITIUS MORAHAN,

Natus 1815 ;

Obiit iii. idus Junias, 1879.

‘Vir fidelis multum laudabitur.’—*Prov. c. 28., v. 20.* ;”

and, next, by putting up on the Gospel side of the high altar, a beautiful stained glass window, which is, at once, a striking ornament to the church, and a perpetual call to the congregation to pray for the soul of the dear departed.

It may be permitted to mention that Father Moraghan, by way of companion picture, has placed, on the Epistle side of the altar, another stained glass window, which, though mainly intended by him as a contribution to the “beauty of God’s house,” is also designed to serve one day—a day which every friend of religion and admirer of personal worth will wish may be a far distant one—as a request for a prayer for his own departed soul.

Education is in as flourishing a state, in the parish of Drumcliff, as religion. In 1860 there was only one National school in the parish, and that in a wretched thatched cabin, whereas, at present, there are eleven fine schools, all in connexion with the National Board, the Parish Priest being, in every case, both patron and manager. At first there was great difficulty in getting sites for the houses, but, by degrees, the difficulty diminished, and has now nearly disappeared. It is only fair, to Lady Gore Booth and Sir Henry, to state that this better state of things is owing very much to their action and example. In 1878 Sir Henry gave a site, at a nominal rent, for a school-house at Ballyweelen, and, in 1882, when he was yachting in the Arctic Ocean, Lady Gore Booth, by his authority, signed, with her own hand, a lease for a site of two schools in Carney, and performed her delegated function with such singular good-will and graciousness, that her co-operation enhanced, infinitely, in the estimation of all concerned, the value of her husband’s kind and generous act.

The following is, as far as could be ascertained, the succession in the parish, of the clergymen of the late Established church :—

Rev. Hugo Hohy is the first we meet with. He is mentioned

in the Visitation book of 1615. Rev. William Rycroft was appointed in 1622. Rev. Robert Brown is supposed, by Cotton, in his "Fasti," to have followed in 1661. Rev. Eubule Ormsby was Vicar in 1733; Rev. Edward Munns, in 1755; Rev. Richard Doherty, in 1759. Rev. Michael Obins, Vicar of the parish, died in 1783. A mural tablet in the vestry wall contains this epitaph:—

"M.S.
MICHAELIS OBINS, hujus parochiæ Vicarii.
Viri probe pii omnibus bonis flebilis obiit.
Anno Salutis MDCCLXXXIII.
Ætatis suæ LXXV."

Rev. Richard Wynne was the next Vicar. He was transferred from the County Roscommon, where he was Rector of Shankhill, Killmacumsey, Killcorkey, Killcoola, and Creeva. A stone in the tower of the church bears the words:—

"Rev. RICHARD WYNNE, 1811 :"

which was the year of his death.

Rev. John Yeates succeeded in 1811. This parson's name is still popular, as that of a straightforward, high-principled man. It is told of him, that, when he, with Sir Robert Gore Booth's agent, Mr. Dodwell, and a bailiff named Barber, went among Sir Robert's tenants, asking them to send their children to the Milltown Protestant school, and was told, by a man named James O'Hara, that a child of his would never darken the door of that school-house, Mr. Yeates commended him for his spirit, and observed, that he was the honestest man they had come across that day.

Rev. Mr. Crawford succeeded Mr. Yeates, died in 1871, and is buried in Drumcliff, under a stone which bears the inscription:—

"In memory of Revd. THOMAS CRAWFORD,
For 24 years Vicar of Drumcliff,
He died July 25th, A.D. 1871.
Aged 83."

After Mr. Crawford came Mr. Finerty, either as curate or vicar, who, after a few years resigned the living. His successor

was Rev. Mr. Griffith, a somewhat bellicose gentleman, who figured in Petty Sessions courts oftener, perhaps, than was desirable. He removed to Tipperary, where, no doubt, he met his match. And this brings us to the actual Rector, Very Rev. Canon French, who, it is pleasant to be able to record, is admitted by all, Catholics as well as Protestants, to be a zealous clergyman, as well as a ripe scholar, and an accomplished archæologist.

The Protestant church of Drumcliff was built in 1809, though the tower was not finished till 1811. According to Sergeant Shee's book on the Irish Church, the revenue of Drumcliff parish, under the Establishment, was £350, the glebe lands 64 acres, the ascertained cost of glebe house, in 1836, £369, the ascertained cost of church, £738, the number of persons for whom accommodation was provided in the church 300, and the number of members of Established Church in benefice 2,290. As compared with the number of Catholics in the benefice, which is set down as 11,648 in 1835, the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is unusually large.

CHAPTER XXI.

PARISH OF AHAMLISH.

AHAMLISH is the most northern district of the county Sligo and the most northern parish of the diocese of Elphin. It is often called Rathamlish, and is even so called in the Sligo Survey of 1633, but this is certainly an error; for there is no room for doubting that the first syllable of the name is *Ath*, as it is invariably so written in all our authorities, including a very old poem ascribed to St. Columba,* and in Irish maps, ancient and modern.† The *ath*, or ford, which has given the name, cannot now be identified, owing to changes in the surface of the soil, effected by draining and cultivation, but it must have been somewhere near the present Protestant church of the parish.

In point of scenery or fertility, Ahamlish bears no comparison with Drumcliff. With the exception of the mountain ranges from Benbulbin Heel to Kinlough, the Donegal mountains, and the sea, which serve or seem to serve, for the frame of the picture, the whole stretch within view is monotonous and uninteresting. When the traveller, on the way from Sligo, reaches Cooldruman rising ground, and looks northward, he is chilled by the change of scene, finding before him a bleak, bare, cheerless country, instead of the rich smiling landscape through which he has been passing; so that it was not altogether the spleen that occasioned Carlyle's exclamation at Cooldruman, "Lord

* "Were it not for Molaisi's words,
At the cross of Ath-Imlaisi,
I should not now permit
Disease or distemper in Ireland."

—Adamnan's Life of St. Columba. By William
Reeves, D.D., M.R.I.A., p. 287.

† Down Survey Map. Ordnance Maps of County Sligo. Census of Ireland, etc.

Palmerston's country—a dingy, desolate looking country. Would we were well out of it all!" Bits of good green land may be seen at Grange, Cliffoney, Moneygould, and some other spots, but the run of the parish is a low moory expanse, without any elevation to speak of, without hill or dale, without visible lake or river, without trees or other timber, except the white-thorn hedges along the sides of the highway, and some plantations at Mullaghmore, Cliffoney, and along the road to Bunduff. The sea shore too is for the most part rugged, and lined with a brown drift sand, still more sombre in hue than the moor of the inland.

From what has been said, it is clear that the soil in general is far from rich. No doubt, there are patches in the parish which can fatten a bullock, and yield cereal or root crops, as well as the better lands of other districts, but such places are much fewer than in the neighbouring parishes. A considerable area of the surface is still bog, and a much greater area reclaimed bog; the subsoil being, in both cases, freestone gravel, except towards the south, where the limestone region of Benbulbin begins.

Even the sea, that washes the shore, shares, or seems to share, the dark and cheerless look of the land. And the impression one derives from the appearance is deepened by the bodeful names applied to spots up and down along the coast, names derived, for the most part, from rocks and holes. Carricknaneana, Carricknaspania, Carrickfadda, Carricknacarta, Pollnaleam, Pollbrean, are all names ominous or unsavoury, each, probably, if the past were known, with its own sad record, but none of them with so enormous a bill of mortality as Carricknaspania (the rock of the Spaniards); for this rock has its name from the havoc it wrought among the ill-starred ships of the Armada that wandered along the Connaught coast in 1588, when Carricknaspania shattered three of the ships, strewed the sea for leagues round with fragments of the wreck, and sent to the bottom crews and troops in such numbers that the tides kept, for weeks, casting up dead bodies on the adjoining shore, where the official

count reckoned, at one time, eleven hundred corpses.* According to a return, signed by Geoffry Fenton, the three ships contained 1,500 men; † but the greater number of such as may have escaped the sea, by swimming, were, no doubt, either executed by the authorities, or knocked on the head by ungrateful and unnatural natives, as happened the luckless Spaniards in other places. ‡

Owing, probably, to their roughness and wildness, these coasts have always been a favourite resort of the whale. In his Discourse, concerning the Danish Mounts, Forts, and Towers, in Ireland, § Sir Thomas Molyneux, mentions the capture, not far from Ballyshannon, of a whale seventy-one feet long, which yielded a large quantity of the true spermaceti; in 1740 was killed, about the same spot, another fish of the same species, measuring fifty feet in length, and forty-four in girth, and yielding five and a half hogsheads of oil; || in 1779, Messrs. Beranger and Bigari, during their tour in Connaught, being in the neighbourhood, saw one of these monsters in the offing; ¶ and, what shows that the numerous steamers now plying between Sligo and Liverpool and Glasgow, have not frightened this fish away, the writer of an article in the *Irish Monthly* of November, 1883, saw, that year, in these waters, “a whale, a

* Letter of Sir Geoffry Fenton to Burleigh.

† Spanish Ships and men sunk, drowned, and taken prisoners, upon the coast of Ireland in September, 1588.—At Sligo; ships, 3; men 1,500.—Carew MSS. 1575-1578.

‡ In a letter of Sir George Carew to Sir Francis Walsingham, in the Calendar of the Carew MSS., Vol. 1575-88, p. 471, the writer says, “Of the Spaniards that came to land by swimming, or were enforced thereto by famine, very near 3,000 were slain . . . Before the defeat of the Spanish Fleet, the English nations, as well as the Irishry, stood agaze how the game would be played, but, after the news had arrived, they not only put to the sword them that arrived, but the gentlemen are now ready to attend.”

In a Commission of Lord Deputy Fitz Williams, to Sir Thomas Norris and others, he orders them “to apprehend and execute all Spaniards found, of what quality soever,”—adding, “Torture may be used in prosecuting the inquiry.” Idem, p. 491.

§ Page 146.

|| Ware’s “Antiquities of Ireland.”—Vol. II., p. 173.

¶ *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*.—Vol. XI., p. 133.

mighty whale, at least forty feet long." And additional proof of the frequent presence of whales in the bay is furnished by the ambergris which has been, sometimes, found on these shores,* and which, whatever opinions may have been formerly entertained respecting its origin, is now generally admitted to be the morbid secretion of the spermaceti or cachalot whale.

The PALMERSTON ESTATE, giving it the name it should always go by, is a stretch of land, six miles long, by two or more wide, running between the Benbulbin range of hills on the east, and the sea on the west. When it came into the hands of Lord Palmerston it was very much in the state in which Nature formed it: without houses worthy of the name, without cultivated land to speak of—a mere patch here and there, for potatoes, barley, or oats—and with two thousand Irish acres of bog, abandoned, in the less sunken spots, to ground game, and, in the swamps, to the snipe, the curlew, and the long-legged crane. The fine green land, that stretches along the shore, was fast disappearing under the drifted sand which, being blown inland by the Atlantic breezes, swallowed up, as swarms of locusts do in the East, every green, and every growing thing, and wrapped the earth in a covering of sand, which gave the appearance of a beach to the whole seaboard. In presence of this visitation, which had already destroyed six hundred acres,† the people felt themselves powerless, and resigned themselves to the loss, as to the inevitable.

Another untoward circumstance of the estate was the extreme populousness of its inhabited portions, the tenants holding only four or five acres apiece; and a still greater bar to improvement was the middlemen, from whom, and not from the landlord, many of the occupants held. Those middlemen were no "fools in the middle," but rather knaves in the middle; living much at the expense of the landlord, but mainly at the expense of

* Ware, Vol. II., p. 173, speaks of a parcel of this substance which was found "near Sligoe," and which weighed 52 ounces.

† Letter of Lord Palmerston, dated Londonderry, October 21st, 1826. In Honourable Evelyn Ashley's "Life and Correspondence of Viscount Palmerston."

Inismurray, but this only shows that the place was used as a graveyard, by people of the neighbourhood, long after the religious had left, a circumstance common to nearly all the burying places of the country with Inismurray.

The trip across the sound appears to act as a powerful stimulant to the appetite, judging by the racy record which visitors to Inismurray have left us of their performances on the island in eating and drinking. Omitting the accounts of others, Beranger's reminiscences deserve special mention. Artist and all as he was, "the lobsters and broiled whiting caught before their eyes," on which he and his party breakfasted, made a deeper impression on his susceptible nature than the antiquities and curiosities in which the island abounded. Above all, an "olio," on which they dined, and which he describes with a gusto that savours of the steam of the *ragout*, left him supremely happy. As the dish is not found in Dr. Lister's *Apicius*, nor in Brillat Savarin's *Physiologie du Gout*, nor in the *Cours Gastronomique*; and as it is not the invention of Careme or Soyer, but of a county Sligo country gentleman, Lewis Irwin, Esq., of Tanrego, who maintained it to be "the best olio ever tasted," it has a claim to a place in these pages, as well for the honour of the inventor, as for the benefit of future visitors to the island; and lest any of the virtues or essences of the ingredients should be spoiled by the unskilful handling of the writer, he feels it a duty to give the *recipe* in the very words of Beranger, which are:—"Mr. Irwin ordered our rabbits, a turkey, some fowl, and ducks to be cut up with a leg of mutton, to which he added some greens, turnips, and carrots, and a piece of a hare, which, being put in a large tosspan, he had brought with him, and having seasoned it properly, put it down on a slow fire: the olio to be served up in the tosspan, to have it hot." The following gushing testimonial accorded to this *Olla Podrida*, and accorded, as will be seen, after a very practical acquaintance with it, by this cultivated Frenchman of the eighteenth century, when gastronomy had reached, in France, the dignity of a science, proves Mr. Irwin's invention to be a

very *chef-d'œuvre* of the culinary art, having the property, so much desired by the epicure, of whetting the appetite, while satisfying it to the full :—"Never did I taste of a better dish, nor never did I eat so much ; notwithstanding, when our desert of fine lobsters appeared, we fell to again, so that we were obliged to drink a glass extra to wash it down." While Inismurray, then, has always its great attractions for the pilgrim and the antiquarian, it may, thanks to Lewis Irwin, be made to minister to the tastes, even of the *gourmand*.*

* To give a fuller idea of Inismurray, the Account written in 1779, by Messrs. Beranger and Bigari, of the island, its inhabitants, and their social conditions, is here reproduced :—

"Inismurray is a rock rising out of the sea, which goes sloping gently and like steps to the edge of the water on the east side towards the main shore, but on the west is high, craggy, and all precipice, with some small heads advancing on the sea, through which the fury of the waves have perforated large holes, not unlike ancient arches, where the sea roars horridly in tempestuous weather. About 130 acres are covered with a thin soil of about 5 or 6 inches deep, which produces grass to feed about 4 or 5 cows, as many horses, and 30 sheep ; there is also some arable land that produces about 20 barrels of corn, besides some garden stuff ; the houses are 5 in number, and as many barns ; and the inhabitants 45 or 46, including children. They are all fishermen, and sell their cargoes on the mainland. They have inhabited this island, from father to son, for upwards of 600 years, and when crowded send the supernumerary to seek their fortune on shore ; they only speak Irish, except one man and an old woman ; they are very hospitable to strangers, will treat and lodge them without reward ; they love Colonel Irwin (by whose means they have been exempted from some county charges), and who, every year, pays them a visit, by which they never lose. There is an abbey, as it is called, very rude, a church, and some other old buildings, said to have been erected by St. Molash and Columbkil ; the figure, or statue, in wood, of the first, they have there in a cell, and have daubed him all over with red paint to make him look handsome. Mr. Bigarry described his holiness upon the spot. They have many traditions, which were all gathered in Irish by our interpreter, and filled some pages of paper.

"In the winter months they subsist on what provision they have gathered, as potatoes, dry fish, milk, and now and then, on mutton. The inhabitants are all Roman Catholicks ; seem very innocent, good-natured, and devout, but at the same time, very superstitious and credulous. They told us, as a most undoubted fact, that during the most horrid tempests of winter, when a case happens where a priest is required, such as to give the extreme unction to a dying person, etc., they go to the seaside, launch one of their little vessels, and as soon as it touches the water, a perfect calm succeeds, which continues until they have brought the priest to the island, that he has performed the

The O'Connors owned all Ahamlish, including Inismurray, as they did the rest of Carbury, down to 1641. In 1633, the whole parish, except three quarters and three cartrons belonging to Mr. Ridge, son-in-law of Sir Roger Jones; and Grange, which had passed, some years before, into the hands of Andrew French, was the inheritance of O'Connor Sligo; though every foot of it was either mortgaged or incumbered; the mortgagees being the Frenches, the Creans, and the representatives of Sir Francis Blundel; and the incumbrancers, the Countess of Desmond, as widow of Sir Donogh O'Connor, and her daughter Lady Cressy as relict of Sir Donogh's brother and heir, Daniel, or Donal O'Connor. At the Restoration, the whole was granted to the Earl of Strafford, except the town and castle of Grange, and about three hundred acres in the neighbourhood, which was passed to Thomas Soden.

rites of the Church, that they have carried him back, and that the boat is returned to the island and hauled on shore, when the tempest will again begin, and continue for weeks together. On asking them how often this miracle happened, and to which of them the care of the priest had been committed, they were veracious enough to confess, it never happened in their days, though the fact was true. There are thirteen places of devotion on the island, called stations, which the Roman Catholicks visit, and where prayers are said, their names are:—

1. Monument of the Trinity, said to be built by St. Molash.
2. Do. of St. Columb Kill.
3. Do. of St. Patrick.
4. Laughty Roory.
5. Tubberpatrick.
6. Tranew.
7. Clushmore.
8. Altbuy.
9. Classahmore.
10. Parcel of small Laughties (Cloughauns).
11. Relick oran.
12. Temple Murray—a small old church.
13. The Abbey.

“The first eleven stations consist in, or are squares of ten or twelve feet, with a wall of dry stones, breast high, and a cross, altar, or pillar, in their centre (like the Aharleas of Aran), and might have been made by any one as well as the saints they are said to be made by.”

Grange was always a place of some importance, as it stood right in the thoroughfare between Donegal and Sligo. It was the most populous spot in the district, except Bradcullen, at the taking of the census of 1659. As has been stated, Grange belonged, according to law, to the abbey of Boyle, down to the dissolution of monasteries; though long before that time the O'Harts, as assigns of the O'Connors, had got into possession of it, and thus obtained for it the name of Grange Muinter Hart. The place throve under the O'Harts, for we read in the inquisition of 1604, that "a new castle and seven cottages were built by Hugh O'Hart, in the town of Grange, in O'Connor Sligo's country." This was the castle referred to in the survey of 1633, where, in describing Grange, it is said, "There is an old castle built upon it;" for there is nothing to show that the place ever had any other castle, except that for which it was indebted to Hugh O'Hart. It is a pleasure to add, that the O'Harts, or as they now call themselves, the Harts, are still numerous in and near Grange, and, if they are no longer the lords and rulers of the district, that they occupy highly respectable positions in it, both as shopkeepers and farmers.

The Thomas Soden who obtained Grange, being a *persona grata* to the Usurpers, was the Titulado of the district, under the Commonwealth. Having thus got possession, he kept so firm a grip of the property, that the shock of the Restoration was not able to relax the hold, so that he transmitted Grange as well as the island of Dernish (*dair-inis*, oak island,) to his descendants, who, as thorough-paced Cromwellians, have since occupied a prominent position in the county, and have had a share of the good things going, some of them being magistrates, some high sheriffs, and one (Thomas Soden) provost of Sligo for several years.

The present representative of the Soden family, is Captain G. M. Eccles, J.P., a young gentleman, who is favourably spoken of by those who know him best.

In the list of the Popish Parish Priests of 1704, Bryan Heart is named as the then Parish Priest of Aughamlish. Rev. Dr.

O'Connor was Parish Priest in the second half of the last century, and, resigning the parish, removed to Elphin to conduct a classical school there.

Father Hart was the next Parish Priest, but after a few years was transferred to Frenchpark. Father Hart was succeeded in 1796, by Father Roger Burns, who vacated the parish in 1814, being transferred that year to Drumcliff.

Father Stephen Fallon succeeded in 1814.

Father John Hanly was the next incumbent, having succeeded Father Fallon in 1818:

Father John McHugh succeeded Father Hanly in 1826. Father McHugh had been for some time on the English mission; and it is told of him, that he was the first to introduce, among the priests of this part of Ireland, the fashion of wearing trowsers in place of the knee breeches and leggings, which up to that time, formed a distinctive part of clerical costume.

Father Malachi Brennan succeeded Father McHugh in 1836, and continued Parish Priest for the fifty-two following years. This worthy priest died on the 12th March, 1888, and was buried in Cliffoney church, on the 15th of that month, in presence of an immense congregation, including a goodly number of Protestants, who attended to testify their respect for the deceased. Born on the 6th January, 1797, Father Malachi was in his 92nd year at the time of his decease. Throughout his long clerical career, he was one of the most admired priests in Ireland, being a special favourite in the dioceses of Elphin, Kilmore, and Achonry—in Elphin as a priest of the diocese; in Kilmore, as a near neighbour, living almost as much with the Kilmore clergy, as with his own; and in Achonry, as sprung on the mother's side from that diocese, and regarded, in consequence, by Achonry priests as one of themselves.

Numerous as were the friends he acquired through life, he never lost one, except by death or some other cause, that he could not control; for the amiable and sterling qualities which first attracted people, showing themselves daily more and more on nearer acquaintance, constantly increased the

esteem and love in which his friends held him. And this effect was manifested in persons of very different conditions—in the simple fishermen of Mullaghmore and Inismurray, who were daily discovering new perfections in their beloved pastor, as well as in Lord and Lady Palmerston, who, after showing him from the beginning great attention and consideration, came in the end, when they knew him well, to treat him with unreserved affection.

It would be hard to tell which of Father Malachi's many fascinating talents counted for most in his rare popularity. Even apart from his characteristics as a priest—which were zeal for religion and love for his people—his social qualities were singularly engaging and entertaining, more especially his wit and quiet humour, which lightened the hearts and brightened the faces of all who came near him, without ever hurting anyone; his unfailing store of interesting anecdote and inimitable tact in drawing on it; and above all, that *bonhommie*, that "simplicity and gaiety of childhood," which, according to an able obituary notice in the *Champion*, he retained to the end, and which, more perhaps than anything else, helped to gain him all hearts.

The Protestant church of Ahamlish was built in 1811, during the incumbency of Rev. Mr. West, and according to Sergeant Shee (p. 112), the ascertained cost of the building in 1848 was £830; the annual revenue £102; the number of persons for whom accommodation was provided 100; the number of members of Established Church in benefice in 1835, 73; and the number of Catholics at the same date, 7,789.

As to the Protestant incumbents of Ahamlish; Rev. Eubule Ormsby was Vicar in 1769, and was succeeded that year by Reverend Andrew Knox. Rev. William Wade was Vicar in 1773, and Rev. Matthew Browne in 1776. After Mr. Browne came Rev. Charles West, towards the close of 1776. Like so many others of his order, Mr. West was a Justice of the Peace, as well as a land agent. He took an active part in the civil affairs of the country, and was one of the magistrates named by

the Government in 1798, to adjudicate on the claims of the so-called Suffering Loyalists. The names of succeeding Vicars or Rectors are, Rev. John E. Green, Rev. Isaac Coulter, Rev. J. Todd, and Rev. John McCormack.

To the east of the parish of Ahamlish there is a strip of the county Sligo, four miles long, and about three and a half wide, which belongs to the parish of Rossinver, the remainder, which is the larger part of that parish, lying in the barony of Ross-clogher, and county of Leitrim. The intrusion of Rossinver parish into Carbury, dates from the time when the O'Rorkes extended their rule into that part of Sligo; and Sir Frederick Hamilton, who succeeded the O'Rorkes, was not a man to surrender an inch of land, either for the sake of symmetry, or for the convenience of the public. As the greater part of the parish lies in Leitrim, and as the priests live there, the inhabitants of the Sligo portion have more in common with the county Leitrim than with their own county.

This strip consists, for the most part, of rough upland, though it contains some good soil along the banks of the Ballintrillick rivulet, which flows into the river Duff. Sir Henry Gore Booth is the landlord; and the houses and farms of the tenants show the comfort which appears everywhere on that gentleman's property.

Ballintrillick signifies the town of the Three Stones, and must have been so called from three memorial stones which once existed in the place, though they have not been there within living memory.

From the names Trillick—The Three Stones—and Ballintrillick—Town of the Three Stones—as well as from what we read in the *Vita Tripartita*,* we may infer, that such memorials

* “At a beautiful spot, commanding a very extensive view, St. Patrick, with some bishops that accompanied him, made a halt near three pillars or lofty stones, which the Pagans had erected there in memory of some events or Pagan rites; and on these stones the Saint caused to be inscribed in three languages the name of Christ, the corner stone—on one Jesus, on another Soter, and on the third Salvator.”—*Vita Tripartita*; Pars. 11., c. lii.

were not uncommon. The Three Stones to which the passage of the *Vita Tripartita* refers, were put up to commemorate some Pagan events or rites; and St. Patrick, to make them subserve Christian purposes, marked them with the name of the Redeemer, inscribing it on one in Hebrew, on another in Greek, and on the third in Latin.

CHAPTER XXII.

BARONY OF LEYNEY.

PARISHES OF KILLORAN AND KILVARNET.

THE barony of Leyney contains the five parishes of Achonry, Kilmacteige, Ballysadare, Kilvarnet, and Killoran. In the past, Leyney was a much more extensive district than at present, for Luighne, or Leyney, was an *alias* name of Coranna, which comprehended :—in Mayo : Slieve Lugha, in the barony of Costello, as well as the whole of the present barony of Gallen ; and in Sligo, the areas belonging to the baronies of Leyney and Corran.* History, or, to speak more correctly, certain historical writers tell us, that these territories were inhabited by the Firbolgs down to about the middle of the third century, when King Cormac granted them to Cormac Gaileng and his son Luigh ; the new inhabitants being sometimes called Galengs, or Galengans, from Cormac Gaileng ; sometimes Lugnians from Luigh ; and sometimes Corco Firtrians, from Lugny Firtri, the step-father of King Cormac.† In the progress of time, the more southern portion of the district came to be called Gailenga, and the more northern Luighne, while a tract, not identified by any of our writers, got the name of Corco Firtri—a tract, which in the writer's opinion, lay on, and near, the northern end of the

* O'Flaherty's Ogygia.—Hely's Translation ; Vol. II., p. 236.

† We read that these places were inhabited by Damnonians and Galenians—*Ibidem*. It was this circumstance that led to the imposition of a heavy tribute on the new inhabitants, for we read in the Book of Rights :—

“ Although the Luighne bring hither
Their tribute for their territory,
It is not the tribes here are ignoble,
But the grass and the land.”—Book of Rights, p. 105.

Ox mountains, for it comprehended the present Coillte Luighne, which was sometimes called Coillte Lugna Mac Firtri.*

From the dispossession of the Attacots or Firbolgs down to the seventeenth century, most of Leyney belonged to the O'Haras, O'Garas, and O'h-Uathmharains;† though the O'Higgins had acquired several thousand acres of it, and considerable scopes had passed in mortgage to others, before the close of the sixteenth century. At the Restoration, the O'Haras (with the exception of Kean O'Hara), the O'Garas, and the O'Higgins disappeared, while Lord Collooney, Edward Cooper, Sir Theophilus Jones, Jeremy Jones, Philip Ormsby, Robert Parke, Sir Arthur Gore, Sir Francis Gore, John Boswell, Francis King, William Webb, Francis Weaver, and some others, got their lands. Many of these lands have passed away from the families of the Restoration grantees, but Colonel Cooper still owns not only the lands of his ancestor, Edward Cooper, but also those of Lord Collooney, purchased from his Lordship by the Coopers, and entailed in the male line of that family; Lord Harlech possesses the lands of Phillip Ormsby; Sir Charles Gore, most of the lands of Sir Arthur Gore; and the Knoxes, other lands of the same grantee.

KILLORAN parish lies in the north-west of Leyney, and is a secluded district, being bounded both on the north and the west by the Ox mountains, which rise here to about nine hundred feet above the level of the sea. The land is of various qualities, some in the neighbourhood of Coolany and in the townland of Killoran being rich, some in other places of medium quality, and the residue either reclaimed bog or wild mountain, still in a state of nature.

Great improvement has taken place in the parish since the beginning of the century, owing partly to the industry of the

* Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, p. 418.

† In the Topographical Poems of John O'Dugan, etc., O'Donovan remarks, that the name, "O'h-Uathomharain" is obsolete, but this is a mistake, for O'Haran, or Haran, the present form of the name, is still common in Leyney, more especially at the foot of the Ox mountains.

people, who have been constantly carrying tillage higher and higher up the slopes of the mountain, and partly to the exertions of the late Major O'Hara, who was all through life one of the most improving landlords in Ireland; for while he incited tenants to improve their holdings by compensating them for every improvement effected, he had always in his immediate employment a large staff of labourers, under the directions of his land steward, who moved here and there over the estate where their services were needed, and were constantly engaged in draining, levelling, stubbing, fencing, planting, or road making. In this way stretches, which were in great part wild wastes of heath and morass, wear now an air of superior cultivation, with symmetrical fields, white-thorn hedge rows, macadamized roads, and clumps of planting, so judiciously distributed, as to be useful for the shelter they afford, and ornamental for the variety and richness they impart to the appearance of the country.

From time immemorial the district of Killoran belonged to the O'Haras, as it belongs to them at present, with the exception of two or three inconsiderable patches.

The chief place of Killoran is the little town or village of Coolany, which is so called from standing on the bank of the river, Coolany being a corruption of *Cuil-abhan*, the quarter of the river. Down to the seventeenth century it contained a castle of the O'Haras Boy, one family of whom occupied it, while O'Hara Boy, "chief of his name," lived at Templehouse.* Some remains of the castle might be seen till very recently at the west end of the village, in a garden that lies between the Carrownacleigha road and the river. In its present state, the village consists of one long and broad street, flanked on each side by a row of substantial houses, nearly all slated and two-storied.

Like the rest of the parish, Coolany was greatly benefited by the weaving and bleaching operations of the early part of the cen-

* In the General Pardon granted by James I. on his accession, to the inhabitants of the county Sligo, we find mention of "Owen O'Hari, of Cowllany, gent.; Brien O'Hari, of the same, gent.; Mortagh Duffe O'Hari, of the same, gent., and Rorie O'Hari, of the same, gent."

tury. To encourage these industries, Mr. Charles O'Hara, then one of the members of parliament for the county, brought a number of weavers and bleachers from the north, located them in and around Coolany, and at the same time erected, for a bleach mill, the house now owned by Mr. Conboy, and called still Greenville, from the bleach green that formerly surrounded it. The first manager of the bleach mill was a Mr. Armstrong, of whom nothing particular is handed down; but after him came a Mr. Adam Blest, who was much better known in his day as a super-zealous Baptist, than as a successful bleacher. It is said that much of his time was passed in efforts to proselytize both the Protestants and the Catholics around him; an occupation which after a while affected adversely his business, without, it appears, benefiting much his religion or sect. The noted Thady Conlon was one of Mr. Blest's *proteges*. The country people point out the part of the river in which Blest used to "dip" his proselytes.

Though Major Wood Martin* and one of the Ordnance Survey Letter Writers, take Killoran to signify Oran's church, this is not the true signification; for the word comes from a female saint named Luathrenna, or Luathren, and not from St. Oran. This is clear from a note which Colgan appends to his life of St. Cormac,† and in which he gives the genealogy of Luathren as a daughter of Colman, who was a descendant of Kien, the ancestor of the O'Hara family. In the same note Colgan states that her festival falls on the 8th June, and that she is honoured on that day "in the church of Kilueren and district of Corran," meaning by Corran, the present Leyney, as Leyney was anciently so called. In an inquisition taken before Richard Boyle, at Ballymote, in 1593, the place is given as

* History of Sligo, p. 108.

† Sancta Luathrenna Virgo filia Colmani, filia Falbei, filia Fennflathæ, filia Dalei, filia Dronei, filia Sualii, filia Fideni, filia Fidchurii, filia Artchorbi, filia Fidchorbi, filia Niacorbi, filia Lugæ (a quo Lugnia dicta), filia Corbmaci Galengii, filia Tadgei, filia Kieni, filia Ahlili Olum.—*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 756.

The "Martyrology of Donegal" has the following regarding this saint:—"Luaithrem—(*Acta Sanctorum*, p. 756)—Virgin, of Cill Luaithrenn, in Corann, in Connacht. She is of the race of Corbmac Gaileng, son of Tadgh, son of Cian, son of Olioll Ollum. Page 149.

Killouren, a form which renders, fairly enough, the Irish pronunciation. Considerable ruins of the church, including the whole eastern gable and most of the south side-wall still remain. The graveyard adjoining it is the burying place of the parish, and contains some handsome monuments, with inscriptions, the prevailing names on which are Coleman, Higgins, Gorman, McCarrick, Haran, Battelle, McManus, Cunningham, Hunt, Treaner, and Morrow. A handsome monument, inscribed with the last mentioned name, was erected over his parents by the filial piety of Mr. Patrick J. Morrow, of Pittsburgh, Pa., during his recent visit to this country. No doubt, it is from the same saint we have the surname Killoran, which is a corruption of Gilloran, that is, Gilla Luathren, the servant or client of Luathren or Loran.

In the large townland of Gortakeeran, there are some megalithic remains of the kind usually named Giants' Graves. One of them stands about midway between Cabragh cashel and Coolany river, and, judging by present appearances, was about twelve yards long, and nine or ten feet wide. On the west end there is still *in situ* a covering flag eight feet long, five broad, and near two thick. No doubt, other flags covered the east end of the structure, but they have disappeared, and have left no tradition of their fate after them.

Two or three hundred yards lower down the slope, and nearer to the river, is another Giant's Grave, but in a very ruined state.

The covering flags which still remain, but off their supports, are among the largest of the kind in the county—one being 11 feet by 6, and another 12 feet by 8, the thickness of each, 12 inches or so.

In the same townland is a little enclosed space called Killeen, in which unbaptized children used to be buried. Though local seanachies would connect Killeen with Ossian and his contemporaries, it is clearly the site of a primitive church, as would appear, even from the curious tradition, that some stones, which were set up there to mark the bounds of an intended church,

were removed miraculously by night to Killoran, where, in consequence, the sacred edifice was built: the legend only showing that the church of Killoran came after that of Killeen.

It is probable that Gortakeeran—the garden or field of Keeran or Ciaran—has its name from St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, that monastery, as we shall see later on, having, in early times, several appropriate churches and lands in Leyney. Killeen appears to have been one of these churches.

Not far from Gortakeeran, but on the right bank of the river, and in the townland of Knockadoo, men engaged, about fifteen years ago, in removing a field fence, came on a find of English silver coins, one man getting about 1 lb. weight of them, and another close on two pounds. They were small coins of the early Edwards and Henrys.

The first Parish Priest of Killoran, met with since the Reformation, was Richard Cloane or Coleman, who was registered as the "Popish Priest" of the parish in 1704. He lived in Carrow-cloonine, and had for sureties of his good behaviour, Francis King, junior, and Thomas Jones of Rathmore, son of Sir Roger Jones, Sligo. In the latter half of the last century Fathers O'Gara and Dillon were successively Parish Priests of Killoran, but the exact time that each held the parish is not known.

Reverend Anthony MacDonogh succeeded Mr. Dillon in 1790. He resided in Meemlough, where, in olden time, there was a prebendal church. This good priest was evicted from his little holding by a rich grazier named Owen Haran, who, soon after, came by his death in a very tragic manner; for, as he was passing along the public road on horseback, a large stone, which had just been blasted in a neighbouring field, fell upon him and killed him on the spot—a fate which the neighbours took to be a judgment on him for his treatment of Father Anthony.

Father Daniel O'Connor came next after Father MacDonogh, taking charge in 1808. On Rev. Mr. O'Connor's resignation, in 1825, Father Matthew Healy succeeded. To Father Healy succeeded, about 1836, Rev. Paul Henery, who died in 1847. His successor was Rev. Patrick Hurst, who, dying in 1861, was

followed in the parish by Rev. Luke Hannan. Father Hannan being transferred in 1870 to Achonry, Father Patrick Lowry became the next Parish Priest of Killoran. On Father Hannan's death, in 1878, Father Lowry was appointed to Achonry, when the actual incumbent, Reverend P. J. McDonald, was instituted Parish Priest of Killoran.

After the church of Killoran was taken from the Catholics, they had to worship, like their co-religionists of other places, in the mountain or the morass. About the middle of the last century they built a small thatched chapel in Carrownacleigha, on the O'Hara estate; and in 1827 the existing church was erected on the site of the old chapel—the cost of erection being defrayed partly by the subscriptions of the parishioners, and partly by a donation of £100, given, with other valuable aid, by the late Major O'Hara.

The names of recent Protestant incumbents of Killoran and Kilvarnet are Rev. Josiah Hern, instituted in 1772, and the Venerable Archdeacon Verschoyle, instituted in 1818. The actual incumbent is Very Rev. Dean Townsend.

The Protestant church of Killoran, at Rathbarron, was built at a cost, according to Sergeant Shee, of £921, and was intended to accommodate 450 worshippers. The glebe house of Killoran was built in 1811, at a cost of £942. The union of the two parishes of Killoran and Kilvarnet was effected in 1819 by Act of Council.

This church of Rathbarron or Raverren was built in 1767-8 on an acre of ground granted, in a lease for ever, by Charles O'Hara to the then churchwardens, Philip Percival, and Thomas Armstrong, and their successors, the witnesses of the instrument being Peter McCormick and Thomas Church. The lease was executed on the 5th of March, 1767, conveying, as the lessor states, "an acre of ground, plantation measure, for, and in consideration of, the promotion of religion and the service of God, and in consideration of his good will towards the inhabitants of the said parish." On the 28th of November of the same year the Lord Lieutenant and Council sanctions the change of site

“from Killoran to Raverren;” from which we may infer that Protestant service was sometimes held in the old church of Killoran after the place had been taken from the Catholics.

Speaking at a public meeting held in Sligo, on the 11th March, 1886, Dean Townsend informed his audience how “an old document in his parish told” that Mr. C. W. O’Hara’s grandfather gave an Irish acre as a site of a church “for the glory of God, THE GOOD OF PROTESTANTISM, and the benefit of his tenantry.” It is certain that this “old document” can be no other than the original, or a copy, of the lease, of which the exact terms are quoted above; and the twist given to the words in the speech, must be a slip, as it is hardly in keeping with the fairness and truth—*absit injuria verbo*—which one would expect from the Dean. No one would resent the altered, not to say perverted, version more than Mr. Charles O’Hara himself, who, in his day, was as ready to give a site for a Catholic place of worship as for a Protestant one, and would feel himself acting in one case as in the other, “in consideration of the promotion of religion and the service of God, and in consideration of his good will towards the inhabitants of the parish.” The man who received with open arms the poor fugitive Catholics and settled them comfortably on his estate, after they were driven away from the North, like wild beasts, towards the close of the last century, by the Peep o’ Day Boys or Orangemen, was the last man in the county who would act the bigot or proselytizer that the Dean would make him out.

The parish of KILVARNET lies to the south of Killoran, but is a richer, more cultivated, and more picturesque tract. It contains the entire, or nearly the entire, of the two fine demesnes of Anaghmore and Templehouse, which, from their advantages of soil and situation, and from the great care bestowed on keeping them, are equal in beauty to anything of the kind in the country; while the fine mountain ranges of Slieve Gamh and Slieve-da-En to the north, and the curiously outlined hills of Keash, Knocknashee, and Mucklety to the south, add that

element of the wild and romantic which serves to complete and perfect landscapes of the highest order.

The river which runs through the demesne of Annaghmore contributes largely both to its appearance and fertility. From scenting the water, the trees and shrubs, which are in every case the best of their kind, have a particularly healthy and rich look. The late Major O'Hara must have taken rare pains, first, in the selection, and, next, in the after treatment of his plants, for the trees into which they have grown, are all singularly sound and beautiful. The lines of Scotch firs ranged along the southern avenue at regular intervals, look, as you pass them, so like in height, in form, in grace of proportion, and in richness of colour, that each one seems the exact counterpart of the other; the whole leaving on the mind an impression of order and harmony which it would be hard to efface.

Through the demesne are some noble secular ashes and oaks; and an arcade, formed by two rows of magnificent beeches, intertwined at top, is full of interest, not only for the æsthete, who is reminded by the picture before him of the groined aisle of some old Gothic church, but also for the politician, who happens to know the fact, that the arguments for and against the Union were discussed, near a hundred years ago, by members of the Irish Parliament, as they paced slowly up and down this historic walk.

There are a few fine horse-chestnuts to the north-east of the house, and not far from the new stables; and to the saunterer through Annaghmore, in the month of May, few objects are so striking as those chestnuts, then in full bloom, with their tall, showy, pyramidal flowers, looking for all the world like so many Chinese lamps, lighting up the regularly graduated heights, of these symmetrical and towering trees.

There is no spot in the demesne which grows timber so luxuriantly as that around Ardree lodge. The exuberant growth of the trees here on the banks of the Owenmore, affords a fine illustration of what the Psalmist and the prophet Jeremias say of the tree "planted by the water." It is this fruitfulness which

has given the place its name, for Ardcrec* signifies the height of the rich leafy spot.

And this brings us to a castle which is mentioned in all our old annals, but which has hitherto eluded identification. The Four Masters, under the year 1265, record, that Hugh O'Connor and O'Donnell burned and destroyed the castle of Rath-Ardcreeve, of which place O'Donovan says in a note to the entry, "This name is now obsolete;" and Major Wood Martin, instead of merely repeating, as he usually does, the opinions of others, ventures this time on a suggestion of his own, but only to discover a "mare's nest." "Rath and Creeve," says he,† "is probably Ardclare, in the parish of Kilmacteigue, and barony of Leyney," whereas, the fact is, that there is no Ardclare either in the parish indicated, or in any other in the county; Aclare (the ford of the plain), the name of the well-known village in Kilmacteigue, being quite a different word from Ardclare (the height of the plain), though the Major manifestly considers them the same.

Rath-ard-creeve, which, in English, is Ardcrec-fort, still exists, and under its old name in the demesne of Annaghmore, in the townland of Ardcrec, and within a thousand yards, or so, of Ardcrec bridge. The rath, or fort, is surrounded by a deep fosse, and measures, including the fosse, forty-seven yards in diameter, or, excluding the fosse, thirty-three yards. It is remarkable how the name has adhered to it since 1265, for while other raths or forts in the same townland have no distinctive name, this one is still known by the people of the neighbourhood as "Ardcrec Fort," so that there can be no doubt as to the identification. The castle erected on Rath-ard-creeve, was, like most Irish castles of the time, constructed of wood, which accounts for there being no remains of the structure visible at present. We shall be the less surprised

* In James the First's grant to Teigue O'Hara, the place is given as "Carrow-arderoughteragh and Carrowardcriweightragh."

† History of Sligo, p. 201.

at this absence of remains at Ardree, as we learn from O'Donovan,* that no ruins of the castle of the King of Connaught, at Ard-an-Choillin, are now to be seen, "except three earthen forts."

The house of Annaghmore is worthy of the fine demesne. It is quite a modern structure, being built only about a dozen years ago by Mr. O'Hara, and it is just what a modern residence ought to be. The time for castles and castellated mansions, like the time for round towers, is gone, and these structures would be as much out of place in our peaceful days, as the fighting chiefs



MR. C. W. O'HARA'S RESIDENCE, ANNAGHMORE. †

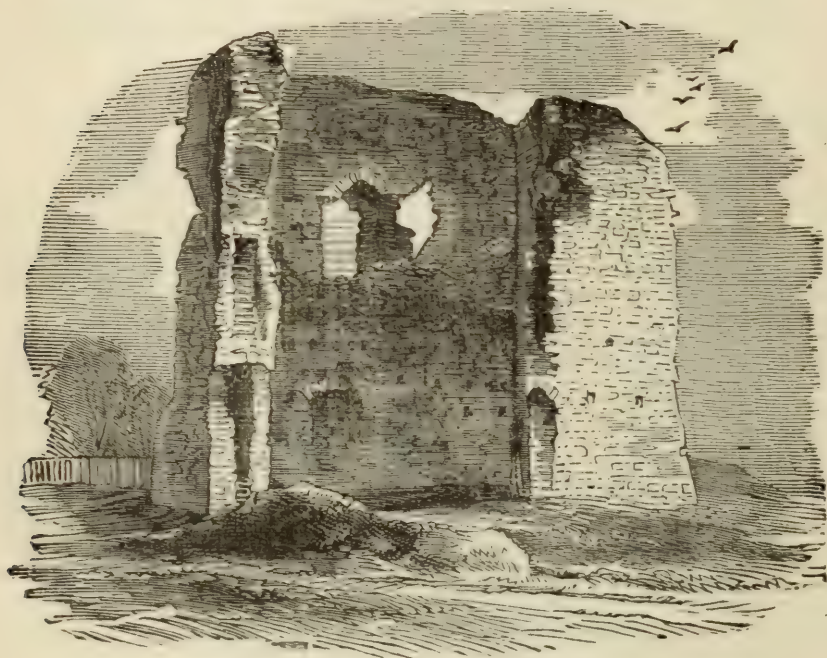
who once occupied them. In the present condition of society, when there is no need for a residence that can stand a siege, strength is not, as of old, the great desideratum in a building, but beauty of form and suitableness of accommodation. And all this is found in the house of Annaghmore. Three stories high—one a basement, and the other two over-ground; extended like a Roman villa, partly in curved, and partly in

* Note under the year 1368, in Annals of the Four Masters.

† Drawn by Mr. Wakeman, from a photograph by Mr. Edward Smith.

straight lines over a large area; studded with numerous windows, all admirably proportioned and suited to their respective positions; and standing on a gentle, pleasant eminence, which overlooks a vast extent of picturesque country, it ensures all the advantages to be looked for in a modern mansion—air, light, charming views, and apartments at once spacious, comfortable, and elegant.

The family of O'Hara is one of the most distinguished in the



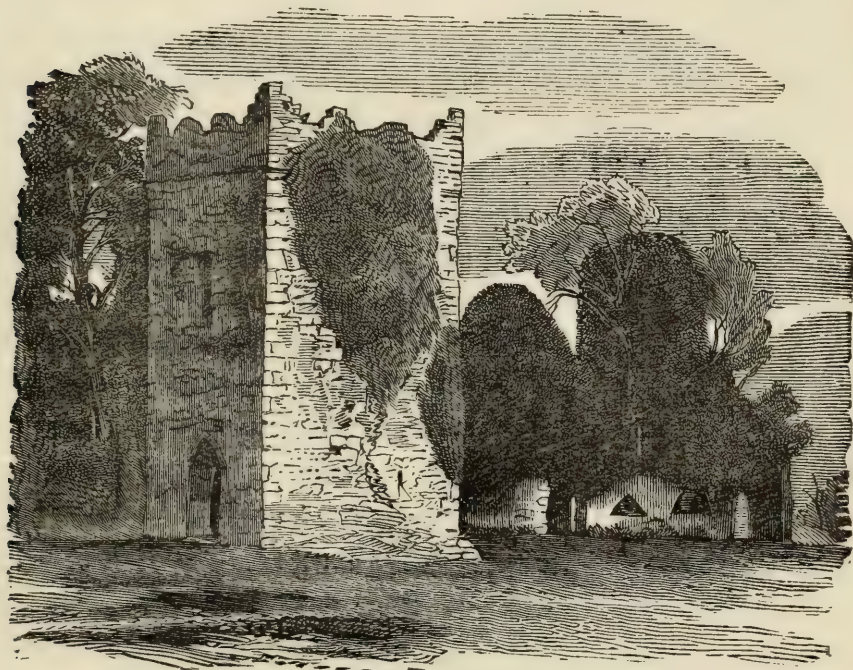
O'HARA'S CASTLE, MEEMPLAGH. *

country. Considering the character of its alliances, it may be called a composite family. Before the Reformation, the O'Haras intermarried with the O'Conors, the O'Rorkes, and such genuine Celts; but since Kean O'Hara, towards the middle of the seventeenth century, abandoned the religion of his ancestors, the connexions have been all English or Anglo-Irish, so that English and Irish, Protestants and Catholics, Catholic Saints and Queen Elizabeth's pet prelate, Adam Loftus, have alike

* Drawn on the wood by W. F. Wakeman, Esq., F.R.H.A.A.I., from a photograph by Mr. Edward Smith.

a place in the O'Hara genealogy. Notwithstanding this heterogeneousness of composition, similar tastes always prevailed in the members of the family ; for, however they may have differed in other respects, they all exhibited a passionate love of horses and hounds—a passion as marked in Mr. Charles Kean O'Hara as in any of his ancestors. Since the fourteenth century, the family is divided into two branches, the O'Haras Buidhe, and the O'Haras Rivagh ; the former residing at Templehouse, Tullyhugh, Coolany, Meemlough, and Annaghmore ; and the latter at Balliara, Belclare, now Aclare, Cashel Caragh, and the island of Lough Mac Farry.*

The demesne of Templehouse is equal in fertility and beauty



TEMPLEHOUSE CASTLE.

to that of Annaghmore. If the river, which flows through the latter place, adds much to its appearance, Templehouse shares that advantage, being traversed by the same river, and possesses, besides, a beautiful lake, about two miles long, and one broad ;

* For a detailed memoir of the O'Haras, ancient and modern, see *History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet*, pp. 363-469.

as charming a sheet of water, for the size of it, as it reposes tranquilly within its green sloping banks, as one could meet with in any part of the country. The mansion, which was built for the most part by the late Mr. Perceval's father, is, with its two stately fronts, its imposing size, and its masonry of chiselled and polished limestone, a splendid house; while the terraces and pleasure grounds, which surround it, are appendages that surpass everything of the kind in the county. The venerable ruins of the old castle, standing out in such marked contrast to the bright, gay scenes around, form a striking, and, to thinking minds, a suggestive feature in the landscape.

As at Annaghmore, and, no doubt, from the same cause, proximity to the water, the trees are very flourishing. Two ashes near the old castle, cannot fail to arrest attention by their exceptional size, their strength of boughs and branches, and their richness of foliage. While strolling through the extensive, well kept grounds, the connoisseur will admire many rare exotics, including some fine specimens of the cedar of Libanus, and of the Wellingtonia of California, but will still feel bound to award the palm of beauty to an indigenous tree, the long-lived yew, four specimens of which stand on a small quadrangle of the garden lawn, one at each angle, and all four so stately, so graceful, so exquisitely proportioned, that they throw everything about them into the shade.

Not to go back beyond Anglo-Norman times, the antiquity of the Perceval family is sufficiently seen in the fact that they descend from Ascelin Goval de Perceval, who accompanied William the Conqueror to England, The first of the family that settled in Ireland was Richard Perceval, who became a special favourite with Queen Elizabeth by an important and interesting service which he rendered to the state in connexion with the Spanish Armada, and which is described in Sir Bernard Burke's "Peerage and Baronetage," under the article "Egmont."

Ralph's son, Sir Philip, took a leading part in the transactions of 1641, and after acquiring large estates in these revolutionary days, lost, eventually, more than he had gained. It was his

son George that married Mary, daughter and heiress of William Crofton, and thus acquired the Templehouse estate.

The modern Percevals have lived generally at Templehouse, and have shown themselves liberal-minded and kind-hearted. No doubt, Colonel Perceval said some ill-sounding things of Catholics in the House of Commons and elsewhere, but the Colonel's bark was worse than his bite, as Bishop Burke, of Elphin, once said of him and to him ; and after complying with the exigencies of party, by echoing some of its catchwords, he satisfied the promptings of his own heart, on returning to Templehouse, by providing, without reference to sect or party, for the widows and the orphans of the estate.

The Colonel's son, Mr. Alexander Perceval,* from the day he took possession of the property, to the day of his death, on the 8th of May, 1866, practised the virtues of his father, with others of his own, so that those who knew him best, and saw how he took to heart the welfare of his tenants and labourers, could have only one wish, namely, that all other country gentlemen would go and do likewise. Mrs. Perceval was a wife worthy of such a husband, and seconded zealously his efforts to make the people about them happy. She not only fed the hungry and clothed the naked, but, by her charity to the sick, which she often carried to the length of feeing doctors to attend them, she benefited numbers, more than one of whom survives to thank her under God for the blessings of life and health.

No member of the family excited a heartier regard than the late Mr. Alexander Perceval. Had his lot been cast in happier times he would have been the idol of the people ; and even as it was, though diversity of interests brought himself and his tenants into legal conflict, the trouble passed off without diminution of friendliness on either side. As a country gentleman there was hardly anything wanting to him, being attentive to his public and private duties, fond of field sports, frank and genial with his equals, kind and sympathetic towards inferiors,

* See Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, p. 355, for a short memoir of this gentleman.

and freer from bigotry and one-sidedness than county Sligo gentlemen commonly have been or are.

What, perhaps, struck you most in him, was his singular manliness of character, a quality which came out well in his prosecution of field sports; for, though lamed by an accident when a child, to such an extent, that others, similarly circumstanced, would feel such sports beyond their reach, and impossible, Mr. Perceval, like Napoleon, would hear of no such word as impossible, but took to them so passionately, and pursued them so vigorously that, while borne over mountain and morass by the energy of his mind, even more than by the crutch or staff he was always obliged to use, he soon gained the reputation of being about the keenest sportsman and best shot in the county. That his intellect, too, was much above the average he proved on several occasions when taking part in public meetings, and, notably, in a lecture, which he delivered shortly before his death, and in which he exhibited a rare faculty of observation, as well as superior powers of expression, while describing a tour round the world which he had made some years before.

Of what has been stated of Mr. Perceval's freedom from bigotry, it would be easy, if this were the place, to adduce many proofs, but it will be enough to observe here, that he, like his father, evinced a lively interest to see Ballinacarrow chapel a neat and commodious place of worship, and that one of his last acts was to grant the writer of these lines a most eligible school site, on a long lease, and at a nominal rent. To the Parish Priest, then, and the parishioners of Kilvarnet, this was a special reason why they should feel deeply the death of Mr. Perceval, even apart from the general reasons which moved the rest of the community, and in which they shared to the full.

For instance, it was well-known that Mr. Perceval was the fondest of fathers, and the most attached of husbands, and everyone was saddened at finding him taken away so early from his infant and only child, and from his young and devoted wife. Indeed, this premature and melancholy separation of Mr. and

Mrs. Perceval, was nothing short of a public loss, for, from the first day of their wedded life, they were models of conjugal union and affection to all the country, as well as rivals of one another in diffusing benefits around them. Mr. Perceval died on the 22nd July, 1887, and is buried in the family vault, Rathbarron: the monument erected over his remains bearing the inscription:—

IVERY.

ALEXANDER PERCEVAL,
OF TEMPLEHOUSE,

ELDEST SON OF ALEXANDER AND ANNIE PERCEVAL,

BORN OCTOBER 13TH, 1859;

DIED JULY 27TH, 1887.

AGED 27.

When drawing up his memoir of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, the writer took it to be settled, that Templehouse Castle is a foundation of the Templars; and while, even then, he had doubts about the correctness of this conclusion, and expressed them more or less strongly, he felt constrained, by the authority of Ware and others, by some legal documents, and by a kind of local tradition, to put aside his doubts and acquiesce in the common opinion. The reasons which led to this acquiescence may have still some force; but the arguments tending to disprove connection between the Templars and Templehouse Castle seem now much stronger.

Instead, then, of the so-called castle of Teaghtempul being a work of the Templars, as Ware,* Harris,† Archdall,‡ Allemande,§ and others maintain, the writer contends that it is the castle erected by Mac William Burke, in 1263, at *Ath-angaile*, in

* De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus ejus—in Thom's "Tracts and Treasures," Vol. I., p. 342.

† Harris' "Ware's Works," Vol. II., p. 271.

‡ "Monasticon Hibernicum," p. 639.

§ "Histoire Monastique du Royaume d'Irlande," p. 129, where the author writes:—"A Teach-Temple (dans le comte de Slego) c'est a dire Maison du Temple; il y a eu une Commanderie de Templiers. Je n'en sais pas autre chose, car il est inutile de dire, qu' elle fut donnee avec toutes les autres de cet Ordre aux Chevaliers de Saint Jean de Jerusalem."

Corran, which has been hitherto unidentified, notwithstanding the studies and inquiries of John O'Donovan, who in one of the Ordnance Survey Letters to Mr. O'Keefe, then at Boyle, states, that he has been "five years on the look out-for the place."

And, first, if the Templars built a castle in the thirteenth century at Templehouse, it is inconceivable that our annals should not have an express record of the fact, as they have of similar facts that occurred in the neighbourhood about the same time. We are told by them who built the castle of Sligo,* who built the castle of Ballymote,† who the castle of Collooney,‡ who the castle of Ballindoon,§ and will anyone believe that all our annalists, Irish, and Anglo-Irish, could fail to notice the most remarkable foundation of all, as Templehouse certainly would be, if it had the Templars for its founders?

This, though a negative argument, is a very strong one. Another negative argument of great weight is the following, that in a state inventory of the possessions of the Irish Templars, drawn up in 1307, the first year of Edward II., the year of their suppression, while the property of the Knights in the other counties of Ireland is detailed with great accuracy, there is not a word of Templehouse Castle, or the county Sligo property, an omission which seems to prove, that those religious had nothing to do with the property. This important paper is in the British Museum,|| and may be seen in print in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*.¶

But we are not confined to negative arguments, for the old name of Templehouse lake establishes positively the writer's contention. The name of the lake in the patent granting the property to William Crofton,** is Lough Elly—manifestly an

* Four Masters, 1245.

† Idem, 1300.

‡ Idem, 1408.

§ Idem.

|| 6165. Plut., clxxix., D, p. 373.

¶ Vol. XII., 1872-3, p. 331.

** Dated 16th July, 1618.

attempt by Englishmen to write the words Lough Awnelly—but Elly is only part of the Irish name; for two or three inhabitants, whose ancestors have been connected for about two hundred years with the district, state, that in their young days, they always heard it called by old people Lough Awneely, or Lough Awnally—Awnally being the modern form and pronunciation of *Ath-angaile*—a fact which is decisive in the matter. The Perceval family themselves bear witness to the tradition; for on a charming little grot erected by them some years ago on the banks of the lake, they inscribed the words, Lough Awnally View.

In a foot-note to the year 1263, of his *Four Masters*, O'Donovan translates *Ath Angaile*, “Annally’s, or Henelly’s Ford,” but this is clearly a guess; and that it is a mistaken guess, seems to follow from the fact, that Annally, or Henelly, is not at present, and never has been, a county Sligo name.

A much more probable explanation of the words is, that *Ath Angaile* stands for *Ath-eanaigh-gheala* (pronounced, according to Joyce’s *Irish Names of Places*, p. 19; First Series, *Ath Annayalla*), Ford of the white marshes—a most appropriate name for Templehouse river, where it issues from the lake; for there both its banks are, in the season, *vast sheets of white, owing to the white bog flowers that cover them*.

Nor does it affect the identification, here contended for, that Templehouse is now in Leyney, and not in Corran, where the castle of *Ath-angaile* is said to have been erected; for, in the thirteenth century, Leyney, as well as the present Corran, went by the name of Corran, so that even Cunghill and Killoran, both now in the heart of Leyney, were then spoken of as parts of Corran.

Passing over minor difficulties, which admit an easy solution, a more formidable objection is found in state documents—the lease, in 1578, to Thomas Chester and George Goodman; the inquisition sped before Richard Boyle, at Ballymote, in 1593; and the grant, or re-grant, to William Crofton, on the 14th July, 1618; Templehouse being described in all three, as at

first, a commandery of the Templars, and subsequently, a possession of the Hospitallers.

The only answer that can be given to these documents is, that they are the outcome either of fraud or of error. The mistake might easily arise from the *alias* name of the adjoining townland Rabane, which was Cloon Tempul, that is the cloon or meadow of the old church of "Kil;" so that this very ancient church of "Kil," or Tempul, and not any structure of the Templars, would be the Temple from which Templehouse derived its name. A similar mistake actually exists in the minds of some, in regard to Killinabree, or Tempulnabree, in Coolerra, for some inhabitants of the district will tell you, that it has the latter name from having been an establishment of the Templars, who took up position there, to guard the pass across the Strand, between Leyney and Carbury, though it is notorious that the Templars had never anything to do with the spot.

It is just as probable, however, that the documents referred to were the outcome of fraud, and that those engaged in drawing them up, twisted adroitly the term Cloon-Tempul to their purposes, in order to be able to rob the O'Haras of this property, by making it appear, that it had all belonged to a religious order, and was therefore an escheat to the Crown, which might be granted to a favourite. This was the view of the O'Haras themselves, as we learn from the following rescript of Rinuccini, in reply to a petition addressed to him by Errill O'Hara on the subject:—

"Joannes Baptista Rinucinus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia Archiepiscopus et Princeps firmanus ac in regno Hiberniæ, Nuncius Apostolicus Extraordinarius.

"Dilecto nobis in Christo filio Domino Urieli O'Hara, Capitaneo Diocesis Achadensis Salutem. Accepimus per dilectum patrem fratrem Bonaventuram Mihanum Minoritam, tuas supplicationes quibus exponebas quod tui proavi ab immemorabili tempore fuerint in possessione pacificâ Castelli Teachteampla, cum sexdecim quarteriis terræ ipsi adjacentibus in Diocesi Achadensi quæ june hereditario in tuam possessionem translata etiam

pacifice possedisti donec per quemdam pseudo-episcopum hæreticum predicta possessione pacificâ ante circiter 40 annos, deturbatus fueris pretextu quod dictum castellum spectaverit olim ad Templarios sive equites Melitenses prout ex sono vocis videbatur inferre; quare veritus ne per episcopos subsequentes utpote recenti hæreticorum registro in hæretico Dominio Castellum cum terris adjacentibus tanquam bona ecclesiastica inseri debeant (*sic*) ac proinde a tua legitima possessione expelli cogaris nomine tuo humillime coram nobis supplicavit quotenus super hujusmodi pretensionibus juris ecclesiæ et liberare et absolvere ac super predictis Castello et terris adjacentibus opus fuerit dispensare dignaremur. Nos igitur consulentes tuis commoditatibus propter merita tua et propter calamitates et incommoda plurima quæ ob fidei Catholicæ incolumitatem et ejusdem ecclesiæ splendorem et nuper passus fuisti prout fide digno testimonio commendaris, etc., in primis auctoritate Apostolica a quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti vinculis aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis et poenis si quibus quomodolibet innodatus es ad presentium duntaxat assecutionem absolventes et absolutum fore consentientes in hac parte tuis supplicationibus inclinati super predicto pretento jure eadem auctoritate liberamus et absolvimus; nec non super predicto castello et sexdecim terræ quarteriis adjacentibus quatenus opus sit dicta auctoritate Apostolica dispensamus ita ut tuta conscientia uti ac frui predicto castello et bonis adjacentibus tam tu quam tui descendentes valeatis et in foro externo etiam non obstante supradicto recenti hæreticorum registro nemo quacunque dignitate præfulgens turbare aut molestare audeat soluta tamen per te et descendentes tuos respective congrua sustentatione Parochi si noveris ductu temporis dicta bona spectare ad ecclesiam, et Parochum ex eorum redditibus sustentari consuevisse vel si non eleemosyna aliqua arbitrio confessarii et non aliter nec alias aut alio modo. In quorum fidem presentes manu nostra firmavimus et sigillo muniri fecimus. Daluili ex nostra residentia, die xvi. Januarii, 1648, stylo veteri.

“Jo. B. Archiepiscopus Firmanus Nuncius Apostolicus.”

“JOHN BAPTISTE RINUCCINI, by the grace of God, and the favour of the Apostolic See, Archbishop and Prince of Fermo, and Nuncio Apostolic in the kingdom of Ireland, to our beloved son in Christ, the Chieftain Errill O'Hara, of the diocese of Achonry, health.

“We have received through our beloved father, Brother Bonaventure Mihan, Minorite, your petition, in which you state that your forefathers, from time immemorial, enjoyed peaceable possession of the Castle of Templehouse, with sixteen quarters of land adjoining in the diocese of Achonry; that you too held peaceful possession of this property, which had descended to you by hereditary right, till you were disturbed in the possession about forty years ago, by an heretical pseudo-bishop, *on the pretext, that the said castle belonged formerly to the Templars or Knights of Malta*, which he seems to have inferred from the word Temple (*ex sono vocis*). Fearing, therefore, that the castle and adjoining lands should be counted by future bishops ecclesiastical property, having been set down as such in the recent register of the heretics, and that you should in this way be deprived of your lawful possession, he has humbly begged of us to secure you from such ecclesiastical pretensions, and, as far as may be necessary, to dispense you in regard to the aforesaid castle and lands. Wherefore, consulting for your interests, and mindful of your merits, and the many sufferings and losses you have endured for the safety of the Catholic faith, and for the exaltation of the Catholic Church, as we have learned from trustworthy witnesses, we do hereby, in virtue of our Apostolic authority, first of all absolve you from all excommunications, interdicts, and other ecclesiastical sentences and penalties (should you in any way have incurred such), so far only as may be necessary to qualify you from receiving the present favour; and, in the next place, in compliance with your petition, we, in virtue of the same Apostolic authority, absolve you from all obligation in reference to the alleged right of the Church, and also, so far as may be necessary, dispense you, to the end that you and your descendants may, notwithstanding the aforesaid

recent register of the heretics, use and enjoy with a safe conscience the aforesaid castle and lands, even in the *forum externum*, and that no one, whatever may be his dignity, shall presume to disturb or molest you; provided, however, that you and your descendants respectively accord congruous support to the Parish Priest; if you should learn, in the course of time, that the said property belonged to the Church, and, that the Parish Priest used to derive maintenance from it; and if not, that you give such alms as your confessor shall enjoin, but not otherwise, nor at any other time, nor in any other manner. In attestation of which we have set our hand to this letter, and had it confirmed by our Seal. Given from our residence at Killaloe, the Sixteenth of January, 1648, old style.

“Jo. B., Archbishop of Fermo, and Apostolic Nuncio.”

The “heretical pseudo-bishop” referred to in the preceding document, must be the notorious apostate, Milar Magrath, who received Achonry, *in commendam*, about the time indicated by Errill O’Hara, that is, about forty years prior to the date of Rinuccini’s letter;* and the connexion with the Templar theory of this unprincipled man, who is as untrustworthy in the eyes of Protestants, as in those of Catholics, would of itself suffice to taint that theory, and to render it unacceptable, except on irrefragable independent testimony. Considering then the strong positive reasons, which show the castle of Templehouse to be the work partly of Walter Burke, and partly of the O’Haras,† and the strong negative reasons, which go to disprove

* Grant (17 Feb., 5th Jac. I.) to Milar, Archbishop of Cashel, of the custody of the bishopricks of Killalagh and Aghaconry, and of their temporalities and spiritualities—also Castleconnor and Skreen rectories, in Killalagh diocese; and Kilmacallan vicarage, in Elphin diocese; the prebend of Doughorne, in Aghaconry diocese—*Inter Duos Pontes* rectory in Elphin diocese; and the prebend and rectory of Killoshin (Killorin?), in Aghaconry diocese; to the use of the said Archbishop, without accmpt or payment of first fruits, or twentieth parts, to hold the same for life, in union with the Archbishoprick of Cashel, in like manner, as the bishopricks of Lismore and Waterford are granted by other letters patent of Queen Elizabeth.—*Patent Roll, James I., p. 106.*

† Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, p. 314.

all connexion of the Templars with the structure, we are well warranted in holding the Templar origin of the castle to be not only unproved, but improbable.

The preceding account of Templehouse was already written when Pope Nicolas' Taxation of 1307 came under the writer's notice. Had the document come earlier to hand, some of the foregoing remarks would have been omitted, or modified in terms, but now that they are written, they are left as they were penned; the chief contention contained in them, namely, that *Templehouse Castle is not a work of the Templars*, being untouched.

No doubt, we find on the Taxation Roll the entry, "Kellecath, whose rectors are Templars;" and it is certain that Kellecath stands for what is now called "Kil," the old word, in losing the suffix, *cath*, faring, like many other Irish compound words, which have dropped, through time, part of the compound.

There is nothing, however, in the entry, regarding Templehouse *castle*, or any *temporal possession*, the *rectory* of Kellecath or Kil—a *spirituality*—being the only thing mentioned.

We are not told how the Templars came by the rectory, but we may take it, that Walter Burke first endowed it, and then conferred it on the Temple, in the same way as some Anglo-Norman chief of Sligo, very probably the Red Earl, bestowed the rectory, *Inter duos pontes*, on the Priory of Saint John, outside of Newgate. A rectory, which was merely an ecclesiastical living, given by way of endowment, was a very different thing from a Commandery or Preceptory, which would be an establishment occupied by the Templars, and ruled by a superior, termed a commander; but English lawyers, finding the Templars having a claim on a *rectory* in the neighbourhood of Templehouse Castle and lands, adroitly extended and manipulated the claim, so as to make it cover the castle and lands, and thus secure for the king, as an escheat of the Crown, this valuable property.

In the Insurrection of 1641 the castle of Templehouse was besieged and captured by the Irish. Failing to take it by

surprise, about eight hundred men, belonging chiefly to Leyney, Tirerrill, and Carbury, sat down before it towards the middle of December, and continued the investment to about the middle of February, when Mr. William Crofton, the owner and occupier, surrendered it on articles. The losses during the siege are not recorded, from which, probably, we are warranted in inferring that they were not much; but some loss of life occurred after the surrender, which calls for a remark or two.

The conditions of giving up the castle were: first, that Mr. Crofton and his party should be free to remain in it for nine days; second, that in quitting it, they were to depart with bag and baggage; and third, that they should have a safe convoy, on the occasion, to Boyle. Unfortunately there arose conflict of opinions as to the meaning of the article authorizing the stay of nine days—Mr. Crofton and his friends holding, that under it, they should have exclusive possession during these days, and the Irish, on the other hand, maintaining that the stipulation gave them a right to be joint possessors of the place for the time. Irritation was the consequence of this misunderstanding; Mr. Crofton and those with him attempted to eject the Irish in possession; and a quarrel ensued, the outcome of which was that Mr. Oliphant, “a preacher of God’s word,” and two others, Marriot Careless and wife, were taken out and hanged. Later, when the party were starting for Boyle, a wrangle occurred between a Mr. Wray, “another preacher of God’s word,” and some of the Irish, when he received a wound, from which, after a few days, he died.

These are all, or nearly all, the *certain* casualties, however rumour may have magnified the number; and, considering that the siege lasted more than two months, that such numbers were engaged, and that feelings were so embittered on each side, the list, even if we add to it a couple of stragglers from the county Mayo, who may have been regarded as spies, is far from formidable, and would soon have been little

talked of, if efforts did not then begin to be made, under pretext of punishing crimes, to rob the Irish gentry of their estates.

In pursuance of this spoliation project, Commissioners were appointed for examining witnesses, and taking depositions regarding the events of 1641. To understand the character of the proceedings which ensued, we should bear in mind that the Commissioners themselves coveted the lands of the accused; and that the witnesses, if not formally suborned, as it is highly probable many of them were, had a direct interest in criminating the Irish, and magnifying their own sufferings and losses, and the sufferings and losses of their friends and patrons, in order to secure proportionable compensation. If claims for compensation for malicious injuries, or alleged malicious injuries, are notoriously exaggerated, to an enormous extent, even at present, when claims are preferred in open court, under the check of public opinion, and before judges, who, for the most part, have no bias, it is not hard to conceive how extravagant such claims must have been when put forward in some hole or corner, before one or two Commissioners, who were, perhaps, the only persons present, and who had nothing so much at heart as to gain credit for the story which the deponents were telling. Naturally the proceedings were all the more reckless, as they took place behind the back of the accused, who, it was commonly thought, could never show their faces again, or be in a condition to give any trouble; so that from whatever point the notorious Depositions are viewed, they are worthless as evidence, according to all received notions on the subject of human testimony.

All that has been said by writers against the Depositions, that, and a great deal more, may be charged against Miss Hickson's selections from them; for while the bantling inherits all the original sins of the parent, it has added enormous actual sins of its own.

History, for the last three centuries, according to Joseph De Maistre, has been a conspiracy against truth, and the

collaboration of Mr. Froude and Miss Hickson affords a good illustration of the saying; for the efforts of both have, apparently, no other object than to palm off on the public for historic truth, the most monstrous collection of lies and perjuries, of which there is any record in the annals of the world, not even excepting those of the Popish Plot, when Scroggs was judge; when Jeffries was Crown lawyer; when Oates and Bedloe, and hundreds like them, were witnesses; and when scenes were enacted in the courts against Catholics, which, to borrow the language of the Protestant *Quarterly Review* (Vol. 36, p. 531), "make the heart sink with shame, and thrill with abhorrence."

Leaving at present out of the account Mr. Froude, who has been dealt with so effectively by Mr. Prendergast, Father Tom Burke, and others, a word or two may, with propriety, be said of Miss Hickson's share in the "Massacres of 1641." It would be out of place to speak now of how she deals with the general subject, as it is contained in the thirty-two folio volumes in Trinity College, but her treatment of such of the papers as regard the county Sligo, call for some notice here, and may, besides, be taken as a fair specimen of her principles and her *modus agendi*.

The number of Depositions taken in connexion with the county Sligo, as it includes both the town of Sligo and Templehouse, is forty-two, out of which this lady selects three or four, and publishes them in full as a sample of all. If the selection were a fair one, no one could reasonably object, as the publication of the entire, considering the enormous mass, was out of the question. Far, however, from acting in this way, she picks out the three or four which contain the most atrocious charges, leaving it to be understood, that they are of a piece with the rest, while she carefully keeps out of view those of them which would prove the charges to be false and calumnious; acting all through the transaction like a fraudulent dealer, who while professing to sell according to sample, and after exhibiting an average specimen of his goods, his coffee or his butter, would

deliver to the buyer chicory instead of coffee, or butterine instead of butter.

Let us see whether this is so. Of the forty-two witnesses, who, between 1641 and 1654, made depositions regarding the doings of 1641 in the county Sligo, she selects Christian Oliphant, Jane Boswell, Anne Loftus, Jane Brown, and William Walsh, whose allegations, if sustained, would be more damaging to the Irish, than those of all the other deponents taken together, as may be seen in the following extracts from the manuscript depositions :—

“Christian Oliphant, relict of William Oliphant, clerk, being sworn upon the Holy Evangelists, doth affirm, that John Crean, being of the chief command at Templehouse; her husband and herself being in the lower parlour, in the presence of the said Crean, were brought forth by the souldiers of the said Crean and the O’Haras unto the place of execution; notwithstanding this deponent’s earnestly pressing the said Crean to delay her and her husband’s going out there, until she had spoken with Mr. Crofton and his wife. The said Crean would afford her no answer, but suffered his souldiers to bring them forth, to wit, herself, her husband, Henry Norwell, an elderly man, and one ancient woman, at which time her husband and these were executed.”

Jane Boswell deposes—“The next day the said Irish took out the said Mr. Oliphant, and another Scottish man, called Henry Begg, and their wives; and one Margaret Branagh, a Welsh woman, and her husband; one Duffe, an Irishman, and their five children; and this examinant and her three children, she being then great with her 4th child; all which persons the said Irish led to the midst of the town, where was about four ash trees, the said John Crean, Brian O’Hara, Hugh McDonogh being principal actors; and on the said trees they hanged the said Mr. Oliphant, having first stripped him stark naked, and after he was dead, they dragged him at a garron’s tail, through the mire to a ditch, where they buried him; and further saith, that at the same time they hanged the said Henry Begge and

Margaret Branagh in this examinant's presence, who expected nothing but death all the while; and they stripped Mrs. Oliphant and her children most barbarously to the skin, this examinant being first stripped herself to the skin *by the said Crean*, after which herself and the rest were all brought back to the town."

Anne Loftus deposes, that "John Crean was in said chamber all the time" the preparations were making for Mr. Oliphant's execution. Jane Brown—"This deponent saith, that Captain Luke Taaffe, Captain Francis Taaffe, Teige O'Connor Sligo, Cormac Oge O'Hara, Esq., James French, and his son Jeffrey French, Robert O'Crean, and many others of the Irish gentry of the said county Sligo, were at the seige of Templehouse, and did questionless encourage the said rebels and their confederacy to besiege the said castle, and to rob, kill, and despoil the Protestants then in the said castle. . . . This deponent and her children did beg up and down the county for a quarter of a year, and had been killed for not going to mass, had not Farrell O'Gara charitably prevented and relieved them."

William Walsh's testimony regards the town of Sligo; and he deposes, among other things, that "the said Luke Taaffe and Brian McDonogh, and divers of the afore mentioned captains, accompanied with great numbers of armed men, did upon Easter last, 1643, march towards Manorhamilton on purpose to kill and destroy the British Protestants there, and to despoil them of their goods and chattels. . . . Teige O'Connor Sligo, the reputed general for the Irish in the said county. . . . The same British were, by consent of O'Connor Sligo, put into the gaol, about 38 of them. . . . And this deponent knoweth Colonel Owen O'Rourke, Brian Ballagh O'Rourke, his brother; Charles and Hugh O'Connor, brothers to O'Connor Sligo, as before mentioned; Teige Buy O'Connor, of Clonderara; Phelim O'Connor, and divers others of the before-mentioned rebels, were, for some four or five hours before the said British were murdered, consulting in Lady Jones' late house in Sligo, about the said murder, and how it should be done. This deponent's cause of knowledge is for that he was brought into the said

house by Owen Mac Rory O'Connor, *and stood behind the door in the next room in the said house, and heard their discourse of what he hath here deposed.*"

The foregoing is an awful indictment against the gentry of the county Sligo, in 1641, and if accepted, as Miss Hickson presents it, and wishes it to be accepted, would cover for ever all concerned with deserved infamy. While all would be guilty, John Crean would be a baser and blacker criminal than the rest, as being the ringleader in the hanging, stripping, and other outrages. John Crean at this time was a man of high station and great estate in the county, being the son and heir of Andrew Crean, of Annagh, or Hazelwood, and the son-in-law of Lord Taafe; and it was important to compromise him, in order that the estate should be confiscated, and thus become available for some pet of the faction then at the head of affairs; and witnesses had the less difficulty in effecting this object, as they testified behind his back, nor had any reason to believe, that he would ever even hear of their allegations, and, though he heard of them, that he would come forward to contradict them, at a time when every Irish Catholic, who wished to retain his head on his shoulders, would be keeping out of the way.

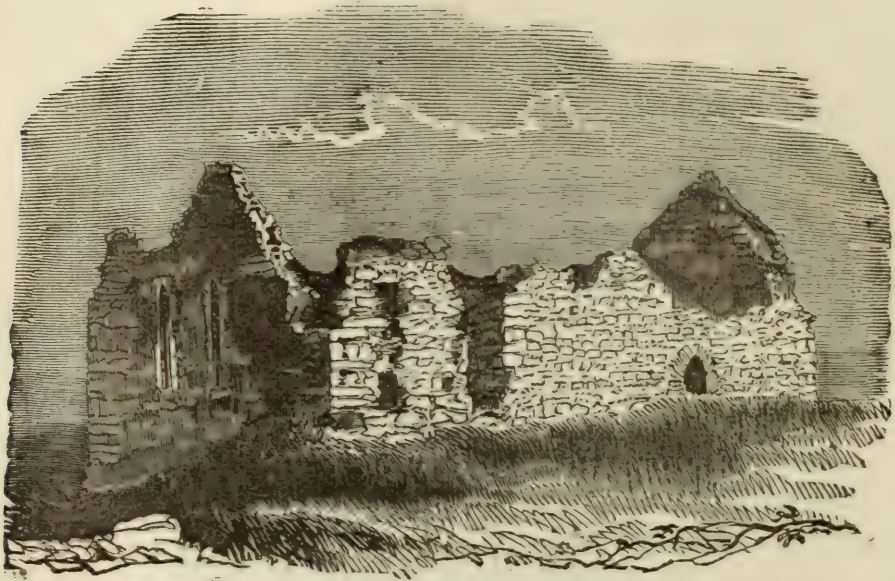
They calculated amiss; for managing to survive the terrible times that passed between 1641 and 1653, his first care, in the lull which ensued in the latter year, was to confront his enemies, and clear himself of their charges. His deposition was made before Richard Coote (afterwards Lord Collooney), and Captain Robert Parke, on the 14th of May, 1653; and from it he shows that he "protected Mr. Crofton and his wife, with all the English, from the enraged soldiers and countrymen who were furiously acting their pleasures about the house;" that he "*knew nothing of the murder of Mr. Oliphant, and the attendant strippings, nor did he hear that Mr. Oliphant was executed till after the same was done by persons over whom he had no power;*" and that during the time he was said to be engaged in committing, in Templehouse, some of the crimes alleged against him, he was not in Templehouse at all, being

then on a visit with his relative, Lord Taaffe, who lay dangerously ill in the castle of Ballymote, and died shortly after. Nor, let anyone say that these statements may have been false, as Mr. Crean, even if he were capable of lying, would never think of doing so in the circumstances; for, being then under the full swing of the Cromwellian regime, in the presence of hostile judges, and in the midst of hostile witnesses, the falsehood would have received a hundred contradictions before it was well out of his lips.

Another charge, brought by some of the witnesses, against John Crean was, that he had a share in "the stabbing of Mr. Wray, a preacher of God's word;" and, in regard to this stabbing, which took place on the day the convoy was proceeding to Ballymote, and took place in some scuffle at the head of the procession, while Crean was engaged at the rear, he deposes that, so far from being a party to the outrage, he had taken particular care of Mr. and Mrs. Wray, "who were his own tenants," had procured horses for them to carry them to Ballymote, in order to save them from the fatigue of a journey on foot, and, on hearing that Wray was wounded, "had employed surgeons to dress his wounds;" thus, in fact, acting the part of the Good Samaritan, instead of the wicked and brutal part imputed.

Transactions in the town of Sligo were magnified and falsified like those of Templehouse. The falseness of William Walsh's evidence, who is the only witness Miss Hickson produces regarding Sligo, may be inferred from the fact that, Sir Lucas Taaffe, whom Walsh makes the head and front of the party that attacked Sir Frederick Hamilton, or, rather, that accepted Sir Frederick's challenge of battle, was *not in the party at all*, being engaged, at the time, in the service of the Kilkenny Confederation, in another part of the country, as appears from a letter of his found in the pocket of Brian McDonogh, after being slain, and printed in Sir Frederick Hamilton's "Relation." The witness's account of the way he was able to report the proceedings of the Irish chiefs in their alleged

meeting in Lady Jones' house, namely, "that he was brought into the house by Owen MacRory O'Connor, and stood behind the door in the next room in the said house, and heard their discourse of what he hath here deposed," is so preposterous as to destroy his credibility in the mind of any man of common sense, who must see that such a thing was impossible in the midst of the guards or sentries. Even Miss Hickson makes little of her own witness, for, in a note on his deposition, she observes, "The number of those murdered in the gaol seems to have



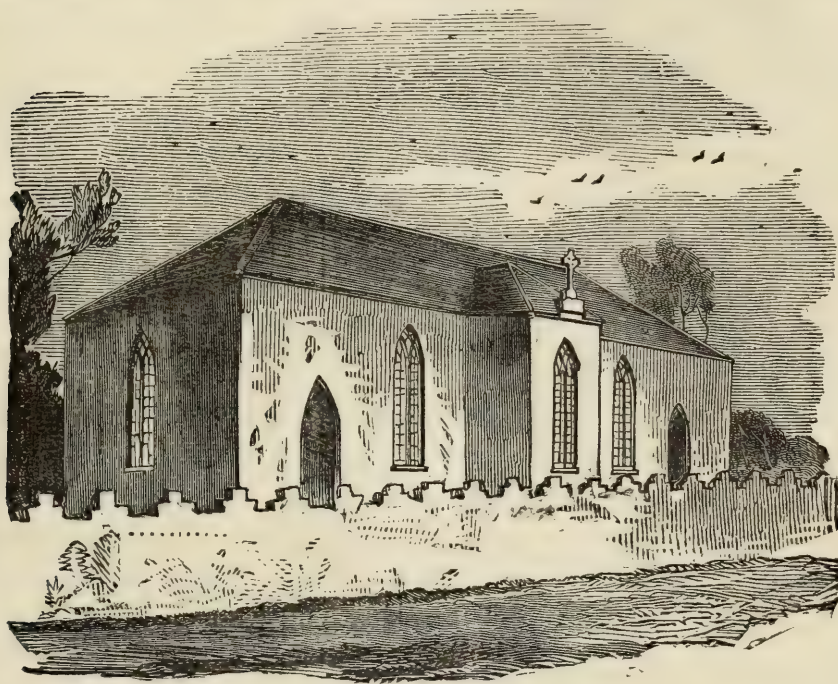
OLD CHURCH OF KILVARNET.*

been much exaggerated by this witness, only about a dozen perished there." Without going further into the subject, which would be out of place here, even what has been said shows how little reliance should be placed on the notorious Depositions, and how much less on the sample of them published by Miss Hickson, who, while adroitly parading in her pages such of them as contain the most odious charges against the Sligo gentry of 1641, studiously keeps out of view, others,

* Drawn on the wood by W. F. Wakeman, Esq., F.R.H.A.A.I., from a Photograph by Mr. Edward Smith.

which, like that of Mr. Crean, serve to weaken or invalidate those charges.

Apart even from Miss Hickson's adulterated sample, the Depositions in themselves are nearly valueless as evidence, with the exception of those executed by Colonel Owen O'Rorke, Captain Bryan Ballagh O'Rorke, Captain John O'Crean, and Captain Francis Taaffe, who, as belonging to the vanquished party, would have been overwhelmed with contradictions, if



BALLINACARROW CHAPEL.*

their statements were open to contradiction. The other deponents, in general, had a two-fold object in view: first, to establish claims to compensation for alleged enormous losses; and, second, to swear away the lives and estates of the Irish gentry; and this they accomplished by evidence, which at present would hardly help a presentment for the loss of a dead dog, or have any appreciable weight in a trial for petty larceny.

If we were to judge the condition of the county by the state-

* Drawn from the wood by W. F. Wakeman, Esq., F.R.H.A.A.I., from a Photograph by Mr. E. Smith.

ments contained in the "claims," we should conclude, that the county Sligo, in the middle of the seventeenth century, was overflowing with wealth and luxury. William Brown, of Kilvarnet's flocks and herds, his "English sheep, English milch cows, draught oxen, dry cows, steeres, bulls, heifers, yearlings, saddle horses, geldings, mares, plough-garrans, and studd," would do honour to a great Australian flock master; while his inventory "of all manner of household stuff, as brass, pewter, plate, gold rings, divers suits of linen, of diaper, of damask, holland and flaxen curtains, carpets, cushions, broad carsy, red broad-cloath, red shagg, bruss . . . books of divinity, history, and all sorts of books, etc.," would prove that this Registrar of the Bishop of Killalla and Achonry, which was Brown's office, was better provided, in those comparatively rude times, than half the bench of bishops of the present day, with household resources, conveniences, comforts, luxuries, and elegancies of all kinds.

The same style of exaggeration runs through the Depositions of all the claimants. Take the case of another churchman, Reverend Henry Dodwell, the ancestor of the late Mr. George Dodwell, and of the present Mrs. Popham. This gentleman's "little bill," amounted to £2,420 12s., for alleged losses "in fee-simple estate, leased farms, tithes, mortgages, chattels, and cattle," including under this last mentioned head, "four score cowes, oxen, and young cattell; three-score and eighteen mares, coultts, riding horses, and garrans; and two thousand five hundred English sheep." Witnesses who went in for those enormous sums, would need strong corroboration to place their stories above suspicion—corroboration which they have never received.

If other witnesses did not play for such high stakes as Messrs. Browne and Dodwell, they all had a good deal to gain if they convicted the old Irish of the alleged outrages, so that on this head their evidence must lie under the gravest suspicion.

And the very nature of the evidence shows still better its worthlessness, for it is all, or nearly all, second-hand. Instead of

telling what they saw themselves, the witnesses depose only to "what they heard," "what they were told," "what they were credibly informed of," so that hearsay is the beginning, the middle, and the end of their tragic stories. Such is the weak and rotten foundation on which Froude and Miss Hickson would raise their colossal indictment.

CHAPTER XXIII.

PARISH OF ACHONRY.

THE parish of ACHONRY divides the south of Leyney with the parish of Kilmacteige, and stretches, on the south, to Bellaghy, and on the north, to Tireragh. The scenery of the parish, though inferior to that in the lower part of the county, has some striking features of its own. The great plain to the east of Tubbercurry, level as a sheet of water, and stretching away to the horizon, is not without an element of the grand; the two hills of Mucklety and Knocknashee, more especially the latter, are hardly inferior to any elevation of the county for picturesqueness of outline and richness of colouring; while the finely curved valley between Knocknashee and the Ox mountains strikes the eye by its beauty, and impresses the imagination as the parent and nurse of the Moy, protecting the tiny infant, while he is getting strength to face the open, where he soon acquires those imposing proportions in which he moves irresistibly along through Leyney, Gallen, and Tyrawley to his rendezvous, with the sea at Killalla.

The area of the parish consists of two pretty equal divisions—one moor and mountain, and the other pasture and arable land; the latter, however, daily gaining on the former, thanks to the industry of the people, and a fine limestone sub-soil, which facilitates and aids the work of reclamation. The result is, that in several places, where, some fifty years ago, there was little but primeval heath and jungle, with, here and there, a mud, or a wattle hut, which served, no one knows how, for family habitation, there are now considerable scopes of good grass and corn land, with some solid stone and slated houses, built in great part quite recently, and with money borrowed

from the Treasury, through the Board of Works, and containing all the conveniences and accommodation for which the Board stipulates in its contracts. It is a pity that the inhabitants of the county have not availed themselves more generally of these Government loans.

Achonry gave name to a diocese long before it came to be the designation of a parish. Our writers suppose the see of Achonry to have been founded by St. Finian, of Clonard, on the occasion of a visit which he paid to Connaught. Harris's Ware takes the date of the foundation to be about 530, but, as it would appear to be one of the latest transactions of the saint's life, it might, more probably, be referred to, perhaps, twenty years later, if, as is commonly maintained, Finian lived to, at least, the year 552.

The evidence derived from St. Finian's life, in proof of the erection, in the sixth century, of a bishop's see at Achonry, is far from conclusive. Giving it its full value, it seems to show no more, than that the saint established a religious house in the place, and set Nathy over the establishment; and as Nathy, in the paragraph which contains the account of the foundation, is twice called "priest" or "presbyter," it would look as if he was only a priest at the time the church was founded. No doubt he may have become a bishop later on; and the *cultus* of confessor-pontiff, with which he is honoured by the Church, as well as the title of "*antistes Achadensis*"—prelate of Achonry—given to him in the life of St. Fechin, incline one to think so; but these proofs are not decisive, so that it is doubtful, after all, whether the holy man was ever a bishop.*

* The paragraph, in St. Finian's life, that refers to Achonry, runs thus:—"Posthæc perrexit homo Dei ad quemdam locum ubi homo Dei Nathi nomine, officio presbyter, manebat. In eodem loco apparuit ei Angelus Domini et dixit ei. Ubicumque homo Dei de familia dixerit; amænus est locus ad habitandum, ibi fundabis ecclesiam. In eodem autem loco ad quem perrexerunt, venit ad eos rex terræ illius scilicet Lugnensium, cui nomen erat *Caput lupi*, qui ferali intentione virum Dei de finibus suis cupiebat expellere. Volens vero vir Dei hominem in malitia induratum, per signorum evidentiam ad fidem inflectere, quandam rupem magnam signo crucis consignavit, et statim in tres partes devisa est. Hoc signum admirans rex crudelis, de lupo factus est agnus, genua

There must have been between the time of Saint Nathy and the time of Melruan O'Ruadhan (1151), bishops in the diocese, to confirm, ordain, and perform the other functions of the episcopal office, though there is nothing known of the circumstances under which they lived and laboured. Some of them may have resided at Achonry, while others, no doubt, resided in other places; and one of them, very probably, was the "Muiredach, a distinguished bishop," who was suffocated by O'Rorke in a cave of Gailenga of Connaught,* this district forming, always, a portion of the diocese of Achonry. O'Donovan conjectures this to be one of the Keash caves, but there is no probability in the supposition, as Keash never belonged to Gailenga, which is represented by the modern barony of Gallen. Nor could anyone be "suffocated" in the caves of Keash, which are generally as windy as the caverns of Eolus. The cave in question was, no doubt, one of those constantly found in the raths, and used sometimes for sleeping purposes.

Achonry is not found among the five dioceses assigned by the Synod of Rathbreasil in 1118 to the province of Connaught, these dioceses being Clonfert, Tuam, Cong, Killalla, and Ardcarne. Nor does its area appear to be comprehended in any of these dioceses, unlike Elphin, which, though omitted as a

flexit et locum miraculi dedit Finiano, qui locus vocatur Acadh-chonaire in Hibernico; in quo vir Dei reliquit præfatum presbyterum nomine Nathii." "After this the man of God proceeded to a place, in which dwelled a man of God, by name Nathi, and by office a priest. Here an angel of the Lord appeared, and said to him, 'You shall found a church on the spot at which your holy companion shall say:—This would be a beautiful spot to dwell in.' Having reached the spot, Wolfhead (*Caenfahola*), the king of that territory, which belonged to the Lugnians, approached them in a rage for the purpose of driving them away; but the man of God, with the view of converting this hardened sinner by a miracle, made the sign of the cross on a large rock, which, forthwith, was broken into three parts. The prodigy astonished and softened the savage prince; and being now changed from a wolf into a lamb, he humbly made over the scene of the miracle to Finian. The place is called in Irish *Acadh-chonaire*; and in it the man of God left the forementioned priest, by name Nathi."—Colgan. *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 306.

* Four Masters 1007. "Muiredach, a distinguished bishop, son of the brother of Ainmire Bocht, was suffocated in a cave in Gailenga of Corann."

separate diocese, is found, partly in Tuam, and partly in Ardcarne. The two dioceses which bordered on Achonry were:—first, Ardcarne, stretching “from Ardcarne to Slieve-an-iern, and from Ceis Corainn to Huircuilten,” apparently Cul-na-bragher, in the parish of Ballysadare; and secondly, Killalla, extending from “Nephin to Assaroe, and from Cill Ard Bille to Srath an Fearainn,” no doubt, Srahmore, adjoining Cul-na-bragher.*

In the Synod of Kells, held in 1157, the diocese of Leyney, Connaught, was represented by its bishop;† and, from that time to the present, it has had its place in our ecclesiastical organisation, at first, as the diocese of Leyney, and later, under the name of Achonry.

The diocese of Achonry has undergone some modification of area, in the course of time, just as Killalla and Elphin, which divide with it the county Sligo, have undergone still greater modifications. In the past Achonry, Elphin, and Killalla might have been respectively called the O’Hara, the O’Connor, and the O’Dowd diocese; and as the civil chief lost or gained territory, so also did the diocese shrink or expand.

In early times, when the O’Dowds, or, rather, the family that subsequently took that name, ruled northward, as far as Assaroe, the diocese of Killalla reached the same limit. Later, when the O’Connors possessed themselves of Carbury, they secured for Elphin the ecclesiastical control of that territory. And it must have been about the same time that the O’Haras, having passed across the Ox Mountains, gained, for the diocese of Leyney, the stretch of land which lies between Dromard and Ballysadare, and which forms now part of the Barony of Leyney and part of the parish of Ballysadare. For the north-west corner of Tirerrill, which is at present in the diocese of Achonry, and which was formerly called the parish of Ennagh,‡ the diocese is indebted to the

* The identification of these places will be shown later on.

† Named by Keating Huaruadhanic, or O’Ruadan, bishop of Lugnia.—Ware (Ant. Hib.) describes him thus:—*O’Ruadan Episcopus Luginæ (i.e.), ACHADENSIS.*

‡ It is so called in the Sligo Survey of 1633, etc.

monastery of Ballysadare, as it is indebted to the hospital of Killaraght, for the half parish of Killaraght, which, of old, belonged to the territory of Moylurg, but never to that of Leyney. And, while speaking of these modifications, it may be noticed that Coolcarney—comprising the two parishes of Attymas and Kilgarvan, in the diocese of Achonry, were originally a portion of the diocese of Killalla.

The following list of the bishops of Achonry, though beginning only with Melruan O'Ruadhan, in the 12th century, and lacking, no doubt, more than one name after his time, will be found more perfect than any that has been given to the public up to this:—

MELRUAN O'RUADAN.—He ruled the diocese for eighteen years, and died in 1169. He was regarded as one of the most learned and holy bishops that took part in the Synod of Kells in 1152. The Four Masters, under the year 1170, speak of him as “a paragon of wisdom and piety;” and Archdeacon Lynch, in *Cambrensis Eversus*, calls him a “celebrated old man, and of the highest repute for prudence and piety.”*

GILLANANAEV, OR GELASIUS, O'RUADAN.—He died in 1213. The O'Ruadans were an ecclesiastical family of great distinction about this time, for in addition to the two bishops they gave to Achonry, they gave one to Killalla in 1177, one to Kilmacduagh in 1178, and another to Tuam in 1201. Their social standing was of the highest, for Felix O'Ruadhan, Archbishop of Tuam, is said to have been uncle to King Roderick O'Conor.†

CLEMENT O'SNIADAIGH.—Harris's “Ware” says of this bishop, that he succeeded O'Ruadhan, and died in 1219, “in

* Dr. Kelly's edition of “*Cambrensis Eversus*,” Vol. III., p. 427.—“Maelruan O'Ruadain, bishop of Luighne (Leyney), or Achaidh-Chronaire (Achonry), in Connacht, a celebrated old man, and of the highest repute for prudence and piety, died in the year 1169.”

† Harris's “Ware,” Vol. I., p. 605.—“Felix O'Ruadan, a Cistercian monk, (and uncle to Roderic O'Conor, King of Connaught), succeeded and sat in this see until the year 1235.”

the 50th year of his consecration ;” but this cannot be true, as we learn from the *Annals of Loch Ce*, that he was a bishop in 1208. Very probably, Gillananaev O’Ruadhan, from ill health or some other cause, had retired from the administration of the diocese long before his death, and thus created a vacancy for Clement O’Sniadaigh.

CORMAC O’TARPY.—The Four Masters call him Connmagh, and others Carus O’Tarpy. He was Abbot of Mellifont when he became bishop of Leyney ; and, as he died in that abbey, and was buried there in 1226, it is likely he held the abbacy with the bishoprick.

GILLA ISA O’CLERY.—This prelate is called in the *Annals of Boyle* (D’Alton’s edition, Vol. II., p. 371), Gelasius O’Derig. He died in 1230.

THOMAS O’RUADHAN.—He succeeded in 1231, and died, according to the Four Masters, the *Annals of Loch Ce*, and Harris’s Ware, in 1237, and according to the *Annals of Boyle* (Vol. II., p. 407), in 1238. Harris says, “he was buried in his own cathedral,” which must have been at Achonry.

AENGUS O’CLUMAIN.—The name of this bishop is now made Coleman. He was consecrated in 1238, resigned his see in 1250, and died in the abbey of Boyle in 1264, “worn out with age and infirmities.” The bishop came of a poetic family, long settled in Lower Leyney. In the Four Masters, under the year 1143, we read of Gilla Aengus O’Clumhain Ollamh of Connaught in poetry ; under the year 1170, of Andileas O’Clumhain, poet ; and, under the year 1438, of O’Clumhain, chief poet to O’Hara.

THOMAS O’MEEHAN.—He succeeded in 1251, on the resignation of Aengus O’Clumhain, and died in 1265. The authority of England being well established in Lower Connaught at this time,

Thomas O'Meehan's election received the King of England's assent and confirmation. Things were in a very disturbed state, however, in the diocese, during his episcopate, owing to warfare between the O'Conors and the O'Rorkes on the one side, and the O'Reillys and Burkes on the other. To assist the O'Reillys, the Burkes, or Foreigners, as they are called by the Annalists, mustered a large army, which encamped for near a week at Ceis Corainn, and "plundered all the churches of the Corann;" and to punish this sacrilege, the bishop excommunicated the evil doers with all the awe-inspiring ceremonies of the time, as indicated in this account of the transaction, given in the Annals of Loch Ce, under the year 1256:—"The Foreigners returned home after this, and the Bishop O'Maicin was 'drowning their candles' about nones, when it was equally dark in field and wood." *

DENIS O'MEEHAN.—This bishop, who is erroneously called Thomas, by the Four Masters, was elected in 1266, died in 1285, and was buried, says Harris's Ware, "in his own church." It appears that the Dean and Chapter, on Thomas O'Meehan's death, applied to Henry III. for a *conge d'elire*, while Hugh O'Connor, King of Connaught, applied, at the same time, to the king for leave to nominate. Licence was given to the Dean and Chapter.

BENEDICT.—This Benedict was elected by the Dean and Chapter, in 1286, in pursuance of a royal licence. There is little or no room for doubt that his surname was O'Bracain, and that he was one and the same person with Benedict O'Bracain, of whom the Annals of Loch Ce, under the year 1312, record,

* "As regards the Foreigners, moreover, they assembled a very great host, and proceeded to Ceis-Corainn, where they encamped, and where they remained the greater part of a week; and they plundered all the churches of the Corann The Foreigners returned home after this, and the Bishop O'Maicin was 'drowning their candles' about nones, when it was equally dark in field and wood."

“Benedict O’Bracain, Bishop of Leyney, quievit.” Harris gives the name of Henry McOireachty as the immediate successor of Benedict; but it seems now admitted that this Henry was never bishop of Achonry or Leyney. On this point O’Donovan writes, in a note of his *Four Masters*, under the year 1297:—“The fact would appear to be that Henry McOreghty was bishop of Derry only . . . We know from the public records that he was really bishop of Derry, for he received the royal assent on the 3rd March, 1294; but there seems to be no authority for making him bishop of Achonry except the old translation of the *Annals of Ulster*, where there are mistakes of transcribers.”

DAVID OF KILHENY.—Cotton (*Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*—the Province of Connaught, p. 100), says, this David held a benefice in the diocese of Kilmacduagh in 1306. The writ for restoring his temporalities bears date August 1, 1312. It is extremely likely that this David of Kilheny is one and the same with the David, bishop of Achonry, who died in 1348, though Ware and others make them two different persons. Some say David of Kilheny died in 1344, an opinion which derives some probability from the entry in the *Four Masters*, under the year 1344, “The Bishop of Leyney died;” but, taking this entry and the next succeeding one, “Murrough O’Hara, Abbot of Boyle, and *intended* bishop of Leyney, died,” to refer to the same man, which is a very likely view of the case, as the *Four Masters* picked up the items in different quarters, then the David of Kilheny would be he that died in 1348.

NICHOLAS O’HEDRAN.—In his edition of the *Annals of Boyle* (Vol. II., p. 309), D’Alton gives the name as O’Hedian. He succeeded by provision of the Pope, was restored to the temporalities of the see by the King, ruled the diocese for about twenty-five years, and died in 1373. Before his appointment he was abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Assaroe.

WILLIAM ANDREW.—An English Dominican friar, a Doctor

of Divinity, and a man of great learning. William Andrew succeeded Bishop O'Hedian, by provision of the Pope, in 1374, was translated to Meath in 1380 by Urban the Sixth, and died in 1385. Harris's Ware says of him, "he was a prelate of great wisdom and learning; yet, after the manner of Socrates, he would never publish any of his writings, although great matters were expected of him." We are not told that he composed any writings.

SIMON.—Archdeacon Cotton (Fasti—Province of Connaught, p. 100) writes, "Simon, a regular, appears to have succeeded," and the Archdeacon goes on to quote a letter of Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, in which the Bishop speaks of "Simon Dei gratia Achadensis episcopus." The letter is dated December 15th, 1387, and is taken from Cole by Cotton.*

BISHOP O'HARA.—The first entry in the Four Masters, under the year 1396, is "Bishop O'Hara died." Though the bishop's see is not mentioned, Archdeacon Cotton and O'Donovan rightly take it to be Achonry, "a diocese," says O'Donovan, "which includes all O'Hara's and O'Gara's territories." The conjecture is confirmed by a statement of Mac Firbis, which is given in a Latin note of O'Donovan's Four Masters (*sub anno*, 1396), and which shows, that this bellicose bishop very probably owed his death to a wound received in one of the forays of that lawless time. "Et Episcopus O'Hara," says Mac Firbis, "Dominum Mac William comitatus a filiis Joannis Dexeter, cæso equo vulneratur." "And Bishop O'Hara, having accompanied Mac William had his horse slain under him, and himself wounded by John Dexeter." (Jordan.) The wound seems to have cost him his life, as he died so soon after receiving it.

* "On December 15th, 1387, Thomas Arundel, Bishop of Ely, gave leave for the venerable father, brother Simon Dei gratia Achadensis Episcopus, to reconcile the church of Gamlingay, in Cambridgeshire, which had been polluted by the effusion of blood."

THOMAS McDONOGH.—By the Four Masters this bishop is called Thomas Mac Morrissy; and by the Annals of Loch Ce, Thomas, son of Maurice McDonogh. And he is styled by both Bishop of *Achonry*, which is the first mention of the diocese under that name, being called *Leyney* in all previous entries. Bishop McDonogh died in 1398. The MacDonoghs at this time occupied a leading position in the diocese.

BRIAN O'HARA.—The first entry of the Four Masters, under the year 1409, is "Brian, the son of John O'Hara, Bishop of Achonry, died after the victory of Uction and Penance." Very probably this Bishop O'Hara is the "Bernard," with whom Dr. Maziere Brady, in his *Episcopal Succession*, opens the list of the Bishops of Achonry.

MAGON CHRADRAN.—Chradran is some Irish name mutilated, as Irish names generally are on the Continent, so that their own bearers would not know them. Magon, stands for Magonius, the Latin for Manus. Before becoming bishop, this prelate was a Canon of Achonry. His provision to the diocese is dated the 14th April, 1410 (Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, Vol. II., p. 183).*

LAURENCE PETER JACOBINI.—Burke (*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 470) and Harris write the name with a p, Jacopini. He was appointed to the see by John XXIII., on the 6th July, 1414.

DONATUS.—Donatus is the Latin name of Donogh. All that is known of this bishop is, that he was the immediate predecessor of Richard Belmer, who succeeded "per obitum Donati."†

* "Die 14 April, 1410. S. D. N. providit ecclesiæ Achaden. in Hibernia, vacanti per mortem, etc., (*sic*) ultimi Episcopi, de persona Venerabilis Magoni Chadrani, Canonici dictæ ecclesiæ et electi."

† "In the Bullarium Ordinis Prædicatorum, Richard Belmer is said to have succeeded to Achaden., vac. per obitum bonæ memoriæ Donati."—Brady *Ep. Suc.*, Vol. II., p. 183.

RICHARD BELMER.—He was appointed by Pope Martin, on the 12th April, 1424. The Apostolic letter appointing him is given by Burke in *Hibernia Dominica*, p. 472; and it is from this letter we learn that he succeeded Donatus. He appears to have been in Rome at the time of his appointment, as we read in Brady (Vol. II., p. 183), "On the 29th of May, 1424, Ricwerdus Belmer, Electus Akaden, appeared in person for payment of his tax on promotion, 33½ florins."

RED BISHOP O'HARA.—The first entry of the Four Masters, under the year 1435, is, "The Red Bishop O'Hara, Bishop of Achonry, died." There is no mention of him in Dr. Brady's *Episcopal Succession*. Cotton names him on the authority of the Four Masters.

NICHOLAS O'DALY.—Eugenius IV. appointed Nicholas O'Daly, a Dominican, Bishop of Achonry, on the 3rd September, 1436, and calls him a "man distinguished for many virtues"—"Vir multiplicium virtutum meritis insignitus."—*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 472.

THADY.—This bishop, whose surname is unknown, intervened between Nicholas O'Daly and James Blakedon; and the *Belguim Dominicanum*, p. 422, states, "that another bishop, Cornelius, abbot of Boyle, also intervened."

JAMES BLAKEDON.—His provision to the see by Eugenius IV., is dated the 15th October, 1442. In the Bulls of appointment (*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 473) we learn, that he succeeded "*bonæ memoriæ Thadæo*." This bishop was translated to Bangor, Wales, in 1452, and died in 1464. It appears that he held till death the appointment of Master of St. Catherine's Hospital, near Bristol (Cotton Fasti). Dr. Brady suggests that Blakedon may have resigned Achonry in 1448, as another provision to the see is recorded under that year.

CORNELIUS O'MOCHAN, abbot of Boyle, was appointed on the 10th November, 1448, and held the see to 1472, in which year he died. He belonged, no doubt, to the family of that name connected with Killaraght.

ROBERT WELLYS, a Franciscan Friar, succeeded Cornelius in 1473. He was consecrated at Rome, in the church of the Hospital of the English ("ecclesia Hospitalis Anglorum"), by the Archbishop of Malta. The date of Dr. Wellys' death is not known.

BERNARD.—All that is known of this bishop is, that he died in 1488 or 1489.

JOHN DE BUCLAMANT succeeded Bernard, on the 23rd September, 1489. He was a Spanish monk; and it is doubtful whether he ever visited his see; an observation, indeed, which applies to other bishops in the succession.

RICHARD OR THOMAS FITZ RICHARD succeeded, about 1490, and died, according to Harris's Ware, in 1492.

THOMAS FORD, an Augustinian Canon, of the abbey of Saint Mary and Saint Petroc, in the diocese of Exeter, and Master of Arts, succeeded by the Pope's provision, on the 13th October, 1492. The time of his death is not handed down.

THOMAS O'CONGHOLAN. Though this prelate is not mentioned by Dr. Brady, we learn from Dr. Moran's learned article on Achonry, in the Ecclesiastical Record (February 1865), that he came next after Thomas Ford, and went to his reward in 1508.

EUGENE O'FLANAGAN.—By provision of Julius II., dated 22nd January, 1508, Eugene O'Flanagan, of the Dominican Order, was appointed to the vacant see. Four Bulls concerning him

are given in the *Hibernia Dominicana* (pp. 480, 481, 482). He was consecrated at Rome, and when setting out for his diocese, was furnished by the Pope with commendatory letters to King Henry VIII., which are given in *De Burgo, ubi supra*, and in Cardinal Moran's Article (p. 210).

CORMAC was bishop in 1523, for in the Miscellany of the Archæological Society, Vol. I., p. 75, we find him signing his name, in a synod held that year, as "Cormacus Episcopus Akadensis manu propria." He died about 1529, his incumbency lasting for about twelve years.

OWEN, OR EUGENE, a Dominican Father, was Cormac's immediate successor. "Dr. Cormac," says Dr. Moran in the valuable article already referred to, "was succeeded by a Dominican Father, named Owen, or Eugene, who, as is mentioned in a manuscript catalogue of Dominican bishops, held this see in 1530, and by his death, in 1546, left it vacant for Dr. Thomas O'Fihely of the order of St. Augustine."

THOMAS O'FIHIL, abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine of Mayo, was appointed to Achonry, on the 15th June, 1547. As the Consistorial record, cited by Dr. Brady—"Episcopal Succession, Achonry"—makes his immediate predecessor, Eugene O'Flanagan—"bo. mem. Eugenii O'Flanagan"—it would appear that the surname of Dr. Moran's "Owen, or Eugene," was O'Flanagan. He held, by dispensation, the abbacy of Mayo, with his bishoprick. After sitting in Achonry for eight years, he was translated to Leighlin in 1555. Dying in 1567, he was buried in the cathedral of Old Leighlin, where his tomb still bears this inscription :—

THOS. FILAY,
Eps. Leghlen, ob. 1567.*

* Thomas Filay, Bishop of Leighlin, died 1567. *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy, January 1886, p. 426. Thady Dowling, who was Chancellor of Leighlin, thus records O'Fihil's translation to Leighlin: "Thomas Fylay,

CORMAC O'COYN, succeeded in 1556, and died in 1561. According to Dr. Moran, and a letter of Father David Wolf, which he quotes—"Ecclesiastical Record," Vol. I., p. 212—O'Coyn was a Franciscan, though he is said to have been a Dominican in Dr. Brady's "Episcopal Succession," Vol. II., p. 136. Dr. John Lynch, in his manuscript, "De Presulibus Hiberniæ," calls this bishop Cormack O'Quinn, which, very probably, is the correct name, as Archdeacon Lynch is a much better authority on Irish names than Father Wolf.

EUGENE O'HART, who, according to Dr. Lynch, was a nephew of Cormac O'Quinn, was promoted to the vacant see on the 28th January, 1562. In the entire roll of the bishops of Achonry, no more honoured name occurs than this of Eugene O'Hart. The O'Harts of Carbury, to which he belonged, were the most distinguished family of that district after the O'Connors. Entering Holy Cross Convent, Sligo, when quite young, Eugene went through the noviciate there, after which he was sent by his superiors to Paris, where, for eight years, he prosecuted his studies under the renowned masters of that city.

On his return to Sligo he became Prior of Holy Cross, and was already Provincial of the Irish Dominicans, when he was

alias Fighill, minorum frater, auctoritate apostolica episcopus Leighlen."—*Clyn and Dowling, Annals*.—Irish Archæological Society's edition, p. 40.

As to O'Fihil's alleged defection from the faith, see Reverend M. Comerford's *Collections relating to the Dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*, Vol. I. p. 57.

Of this ecclesiastic, John Ribton Garstin, F.S.A., M.R.I.A., writes in a paper, read before the Royal Irish Academy, on December 8th, 1884, and printed in its Proceedings, January 1886, p. 426, "Bishop Filay, who, according to Ware, was a native of Cork, was a professed member of the order of St. Augustine, Rector of Delgany, diocese of Dublin, and Abbot "Monasterii Sti. Augustini, Mageonen," when, 15th Jan., 1547, the Pope appointed him to the see of Achonry—a fact not known to Ware, Harris, or Cotton, but which Dr. Brady's researches brought to light. He was allowed to retain his monastery of Mageo—which, as neither Brady nor Comerford identifies it, I may note, on the authority of the Rev. Denis Murphy, S.J., M.R.I.A., was Mayo of the Saxons, near Claremorris, and not to be confounded with the Cistercian foundation "de Magio," or Monaster-Nenagh, Co. Limerick."

deputed by them to represent the Irish province in the re-opened Council of Trent. The see of Achonry being then vacant, and Dr. O'Hart being strongly recommended by the Papal Delegate, Father David Wolf, then in Ireland, as "a great preacher, of exemplary life, full of zeal for the glory of God, and a person well suited for a bishoprick," * he was promoted by the Pope on the 28th January, 1562, to the vacant see, and, having been consecrated, took part, as Bishop of Achonry, in the Council of Trent, at which he soon became a leading figure, so that, to use the words of Dr. Moran, "Dr. O'Hart's votes and arguments are especially commemorated in the acts of the subsequent sessions of the Council." †

It may have been the great learning and zeal which he exhibited at Trent that gained him, in after life, the many marks of confidence shown him by the Holy See. While the Primate, Dr. Creagh, was in prison in 1568, Cardinal Morone, then Protector of Ireland, recommended Dr. O'Hart for the administration of Armagh; on the same occasion the Cardinal suggested that our bishop should be chosen to give testimonial letters to such of the clergy of Connaught and Ulster as should come to Rome; and in 1575, special faculties were sent to Dr. O'Hart by the Pope, not only for the diocese of Achonry, but for the whole province of Tuam. We learn, from the Records of the Synod of Drogheda, held in 1614, that Eugenius O'Hart joined the bishops of Derry, Raphoe, Down and Connor, Ardagh, Kilmore, and Clogher, when they assembled in 1587, in the last named diocese, to promulgate the decrees of Trent for Ulster (Renehan Collections, Vol. I., p. 435). Dr. O'Hart was arrested and thrown into prison in 1585, but his incarceration was of short duration, for we find him, on the 5th of September of that year, signing the Indenture of Composition which Sir John Perrot made with the magnates of Sligo. After a long life of one hundred years, he died in 1603, and was buried, says Ware,

* "Gran Predicatore ed uomo di buona vita e zeloso del' onore di Dio."

† The see of Achonry in the 16th century.—"Ecclesiastical Record," February, 1865, p. 213.

“in the church of Achonry, on the Gospel side of the high altar,”—a statement from which we may infer that he succeeded in restoring this church to public worship, which was one of the benefits expected from his appointment, according to Father Wolf’s letter :—“The church of Accadensis is held by force, and is in the hands of the laity, and not one trace of religion is left there, but, by the influence of Eugenius and the power of his friends, the church might be recovered.” *

LOUIS DILLON.—The see was without an occupant from 1603 to 1641, when Louis Dillon, son of Theobald, the first Viscount Costello-Gallen, and uncle to Thomas, the fourth Viscount † of that name, succeeded. The Archbishop of Tuam

* The passage of Father Wolf’s letter that concerns Doctor O’Hart runs thus :—“Va ancora col detto Andrea (O’Crean), un compagno per nome Owen ovvero Eugenius O’Harty, frate del detto ordine, gran predicatore ed uomo di buona vita e zeloso dell’ onore di Dio, il quale e stato *otto* anni o incirca in Parigi ed io giudico (abbenche non va per tal effetto ne anche pensa niente) che lui fusse buono per esser vescovo. Ed in caso che il’ detto Andrea (essendo le morte ad ognuno, commune) fusse morto, quel Padre Eugenius saria buono in suo luogo non obstante che la resignazione non fosse fatta in suo nome. Ed ancor che la volonte di Dio fusse che il detto Andrea viveria et fusse Vescovo Elphinen anchora potria esser Vescovo *Accaden*, il quale vescovato vaca per la morte della buona memoria di Cormaco O’Coyn del detto ordine di S. Francesco. Quella chiesa Accadense e adesso per fortezza in mani di gentil’ uomini e non vi sia vestigio di Religione e credo che el detto Eugenius con li suoi esempi e buona vita insieme con l’ ajuto delli suoi amici potria pigliar quella chiesa dalle mani dei, gentil’ uomini e far in quella come ha fatto Cristoforo Tuamense.”

In the records of the Council of Trent, Dr. O’Hart is described as a “Professor of Sacred Theology, learned, a distinguished ecclesiastic, and illustrious for his Apostolic zeal.”

† This Viscount, though bred a Catholic, and belonging to a Catholic and religious family, which was never without priests and nuns among its members, declared himself a Protestant at the age of fifteen years; but he made a public recantation in 1646, and “was reconciled, by the Nuncio, to the Church of Rome, according to the Roman Pontifical in St. Mary’s Church, Kilkenny, before a vast concourse of people.”—Archdall’s “Lodge,” Vol. IV., p. 187.

“The letters of the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Elphin, recommending Dillon, were dated September 27th, 1638, and mention that Dillon had served the office of ‘Definitor of this Province,’ and other offices of his Order, at home and abroad, and that his appointment would be most popular and

and the Bishop of Elphin had written to Rome, in 1638, recommending Father Dillon, then a Franciscan friar, but nothing came, at that time, of their recommendation. Later, however, they wrote again pressing the application, and assuring the Roman authorities that Father Dillon's appointment was greatly desired by the priests and people of the diocese, and that his relatives, who were the leading noblemen and gentlemen of the district, would not only protect him, but enable him to support the charges and calls of the station. He was nominated in a Congregation of the Propaganda, on the 14th March, 1641, and, on the same occasion, four other Irish bishops were nominated.

useful, as he was connected by blood with all the great families in the diocese, and his brothers had large estates in Achonry. Another letter to the Propaganda, from the same prelates, urging the appointment of Dillon, was written December 9th, 1639."—Brady's "Episcopal Succession," Vol. II., p. 190.

That the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Elphin were extremely desirous of having Father Dillon appointed bishop of Achonry is clear from the many communications they sent on the subject to Rome. The letter of December 9, 1639, is couched in these urgent terms :—

"ENNA. DNE.

"Pro munere nostro promovendi in Dom. Commune bonum Ecclesiæ hujus afflictæ patriæ et provinciæ ubi omnia sunt sub funiculo distributionis et incolæ antiquis sedibus et possessionibus pelluntur, ad instantiam et ardentia desideria Nobilium et populi Achadensis nostræ provinciæ Conaciæ, sæpissime scripsimus ab octo circiter annis, idque singulis fere annis ad vestram Emam. Domnem. quatenus in Epum. illius Diocesis Achadensis jam fere ab initio schismatis Pastoris solatio destitutæ promovendum curaret si suæ Sanctitati et Vruæ. Eminentiæ placeret, Revnm. adm. Patrem P. Ludovicum Dillon, O.S.F., strict observ. qui varia jam munia in suo ordine cum laude obierat et proxima cognatione vel affinitate attingit universam fere nobilitatem provinciæ et istius maxime Diocesis quæ maxima ex parte possidetur a suis fratribus, nepotibus et proximis cognatis, vel affinibus qui omnes nihil habent propius aut antiquius ejus assumptione ut præmittitur. De 'hujus religiosi Patris meritis et sufficientia quotannis fere plurima testimonia omni exceptione majora cum votis cleri et populi transmisimus, sed adhuc sine omni effectu. Quare humillime et omni animi demissione supplicamus et adhuc petimus quatenus pro sua singulari prudentia promovere velit dictum Rev. Patrem ad Solatium bonorum, etc.

"Malachias, Archpus. Tuamensis.

"Boetius Elphinensis Epus.

"Datum Galviæ, 9th Decemb., 1693."

HUGH MACDERMOTT.—On Dr. Dillon's death in 1645, another long vacancy occurred in the see, there being no appointment till 1707, when Hugh Mac Dermott succeeded. Three other Connaught bishops were appointed at the same time :—Ambrose Mac Dermott to Elphin, Thadeus O'Rorke to Killalla, and Ambrose Madden to Kilmacduach. Hugh Mac Dermott died in or about 1725.

DOMINICK O'DALY, a Dominican and a Master in Theology, was the next bishop, being consecrated on November 30, 1725. He died in 1735, and was buried at Athenry.

JOHN O'HARTE.—His Brief is dated September 30, 1735. After an eventful life, he died at Annaghbeg, in the parish of Ballysadare, before May, 1739. See an account of Dr. O'Harte in *Ballysadare and Kilvarnet*, p. 199.

WALTER BLAKE.—Became bishop of Achonry in 1739, and died in 1758.

PATRICK ROBERT KIRWAN.—Succeeded Dr. Blake in 1758. He belonged to a highly respectable Mayo family, and was the grand-nephew of Bishop Francis Kirwan, the subject of Archdeacon Lynch's appreciative biography, entitled, "*Pii Antistitis Icon; Sive de Vita et Morte Rev. D. Fr. Kirovani Aladensis.*" Before he became bishop he was Dean and Vicar-General of Tuam.

PHILIP PHILLIPS, was of the family of Clonmore, in county Mayo. He was appointed to Killalla in 1760, translated to Achonry in 1776, and promoted to Tuam in 1785. He died in 1787. In Clement the Thirteenth's Brief we are expressly told that this provision to Killalla was made on the nomination of "James III. (the Pretender) King of Great Britain." *

* The Brief is given in "Episcopal Succession," Vol. II., p. 180. The Pope excuses himself for not making express mention of the Pretender's nomination :

BOETIUS EGAN became bishop in 1785, and, like his predecessor, was translated to Tuam. The translation took place in 1788, and Dr. Egan's death occurred before January 25th, 1798. In one of his tirades, Columbanus (Rev. Dr. O'Connor) alleges, that "Doctor Egan was appointed, first, to Achonry, and afterwards to Tuam, through the recommendation of Mr. Caddell of Herbertstown, and the influence of Charles O'Connor, with Charles O'Kelly of the Minerva in Rome, assisted by the good wishes of many of the Diocesan Clergy."*

THOMAS O'CONNOR was appointed in January 1788, and died on the 18th February, 1803. He belonged, according to Mr. D'Alton (King James' Irish Army List, Vol. II., p. 537), to a junior branch of the O'Connors Sligo, which had settled at Kilcluan, in the county Galway.

CHARLES LYNNAH, a distinguished alumnus of the Irish College, Rome, was Dr. O'Connor's successor, and was consecrated in 1804. He was Parish Priest of Westport, and Vicar-General of Tuam when promoted. After his consecration he continued to reside at Westport, from which he rode over a couple of times a year to his diocese, to perform episcopal functions.

JOHN O'FLYNNE.—On Dr. Lynnah's death, John O'Flynn, Parish Priest of Sligo, and Vicar-General of Elphin, succeeded to his place in 1809. We find him with other bishops signing

"Verum cum in literis hujusmodi nullam nominationis a Te factæ at ad Te pertinentis mentionem fieri censuerimus iis ita suadentibus rationibus, quas pro spectata prudentia tua Te facile assequuturum non ambigimus, idque Tibi nullo modo officere summopere cupiamus; idcirco per præsentem expresse declaramus, mentem nostram fuisse et esse, ut ex hac preteritione, quam præsentis temporis conditio postulabat, nullam Tibi, Tuisque juribus nominandi detrimentum illatum fuerit, vel erit, sed ea omnia ita salva, illæsa, ac preservata intellijantur, perinde ac si in eisdem literis, expressa tuæ nominationes hujusmodi mentio facta fuisset.

* Columbanus, third letter, p. 15.

the condemnation of Abbe Blanchard, on 3rd July, 1809, as "John Flynn, D.D., Elect, Achonry." He died July 17th, 1817, and is buried in the eastern cloister of Sligo Abbey, where an uninscribed tomb stands over his remains.*

PATRICK McNICHOLAS succeeded to Dr. O'Flynn in 1818. Appointed second Professor of Greek and Latin in Maynooth College, on the 24th June, 1806, he was professor and superior of the Lay College there at the time of his promotion. Dr. McNicholas died in 1852, having been in indifferent health for some years previous. He was buried in the old chapel of

* There is reason to believe that it was Mr. Peter O'Connor that had this tomb erected over the remains of the good bishop.

The following notices connected with Dr. O'Flynn's appointment appeared in the local newspapers:—

"Yesterday in the Parish Chapel, the Rev. Dr. O'Flynn was consecrated Roman Catholic Bishop of Achonry, in the room of the late Right Rev. Doctor Lynah."—*Connaught Journal*, November 13th, 1809.

"The collation of the Rev. Dean Flynn to the Bishopric of Aconry, as stated in our last, becomes a subject of gratification to all who are acquainted with the character of that exemplary Divine. We think the sacerdotal dignity conferred in this instance, becomes an undeniable proof of the approbation with which the superiors of the Roman Catholic Church behold the conduct of those labourers of the spiritual vineyard who adopt and inculcate the principles of universal charity and benevolence to mankind; and in no case, we believe, have the exertions of an individual been more zealously exerted in the pursuit than those of the Reverend Gentleman alluded to.

"The new dignity conferred on Dr. Flynn, imposes, if possible, a more arduous duty than that so long and so faithfully discharged by him heretofore; the supervision and discipline of a diocese is now committed to his care; and while he endeavours to improve the minds of the more extended range of laity entrusted to his pastoral ministration, he possesses, within himself, the elements of an example calculated to excite that veneration and esteem, without which all attempts at the advancement of religion or morality are vague and ineffectual.

"In rendering this tribute of approbation to the merits of Bishop Flynn, we trust, as strangers, the sincerity of the motive is admitted; but, however personally unacquainted the writer of this article may be, he should feel a disregard to the public satisfaction expressed at the elevation of Dr. Flynn, not only as a gross dereliction of duty, but inconsistent with the liberality of opinion which should always form the paramount object of a public Journal.—*The Sligo Journal*, Nov. 24th, 1809."

Ballaghadereen, from which his remains were removed some years ago, to the new cathedral, and there re-interred in the chapel of the Sacred Heart, where this Latin epitaph is inscribed upon his monument:—

“Orate Pro Anima
Rev.issimi in Christo Patris Patricii McNicholas,
Episcopi Achadensis.
Qui triginta annos hanc rexit Ecclesiam.
E. Vita discessit Die XI. Fevruarii, A.D. MDCCCLII.,
Aetatis vero suæ LXXII.
Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus.*

PATRICK DURCAN was elected on the 28th September, 1852, to succeed Dr. McNicholas, and was consecrated in the Church of the Assumption, Collooney, on the 30th November in that year. Born at Cloonacool, in the parish of Achonry, he made his early classical studies first, at Swineford, and next in the diocesan school of Ballaghadereen, whence he passed, in 1812, to Maynooth College, where he was ordained priest in 1820, after a distinguished college career of eight years. Administrator of the mensal parish of Ballaghaderreen (Castlemore and Kilcoleman), from 1820 to 1823; Parish Priest of Ballymote (Emlaghfad and Kilmorgan), from 1823 to 1832; Parish Priest of Collooney (Ballysadare and Kilvarnet), and Vicar-General of the diocese from 1832 to 1852; he was a missionary priest of thirty years standing when consecrated. This best of bishops died on the 1st May, 1875, and was buried on the 4th of that month, in the same tomb, with his friend Dr. McNicholas. The mural tablet over his remains bears the following inscription:—

* Pray for the soul of the Right Reverend Father in Christ, Patrick McNicholas, Bishop of Achonry, who governed this church for thirty years. He departed this life on the eleventh day of February, A.D. 1852. God rest his soul.

“ Ora pro anima

Rev.issimi, D.D. PATRICII DURCAN, Epi. Achadensis

Qui hanc ecclesiam cathedra Fundamentis ædificandam Curavit multaque
alia pia Opera perfecit.

Vir singulari morum suavitate Insigni Dei rerumque

Divinarum zelo incensus

Eximiâ pauperum caritate

Annos lxxxvi. natus

Diem obiit supremum

Kal Maii anno Rep. Sal.

MDCCLXXV

Req in Pace. Amen.”

“ Pray for the soul of the Right Reverend Patrick Durcan, Lord Bishop of Achonry, who erected this church, and executed many other pious works. He was a man of singular gentleness, of wonderful zeal for God and religion, and of exceeding charity towards the poor. He departed this life in the 86th year of his age, on the 1st May, 1875. May he rest in Peace. Amen.”

If this were the place to draw out in detail the personal qualities of the Achonry bishops, it would be seen that the diocese has good reason to be proud of its prelates. While they were, without exception, a “ pattern of the flock from the heart,” they were all singularly free from that desire for “ lording it over the clergy,” against which St. Peter found it expedient to caution the “ ancients ” of his own time. Thank Heaven, this bad quality has hardly ever shown itself in Ireland. O’Connell, in his famous evidence before the House of Lords,* could name

* “ Are not references frequently made to the Pope, in questions which arise between the clergy and the bishops?—Yes; in cases purely ecclesiastical, and spiritual, the Pope is the supreme head of the Catholic Church, to whom the appeal in those cases lies, in all questions of controversy between the priests and the bishops; when a bishop censures a priest, if the priest conceives that censure unfounded, he has an appeal to the immediate superior, to the archbishop, and if he does not get relief from the archbishop, he has an appeal to Rome, and they do appeal; and I have known instances where a priest has thus appealed with success; if the bishop alters the parish, or takes away any right the priest may conceive himself entitled to, he has that appeal.

“ Have you known it occur where the boundary of the parish has been altered?—Yes, I have; a bishop of Kerry thought it right to alter the parishes by subdividing them; and a Mr. Moriarty, a priest in Kerry, a very near relation of mine, appealed to Rome, and appealed successfully, and he compares his bishop to Bonaparte; he said he wanted to Bonaparte his diocese.”—*The evidence taken before the Select Committees of Lords and Commons, in 1824 and 1825, on the State of Ireland*, pages 274, 275.

only one instance of a bishop who tried to lord it over his clergy. This *rara avis* was a Kerry prelate, who had developed a mania for perpetually meddling with Parish Priests and their parishes, as well as with Curates and their missions—changing, exchanging, interchanging, and re-changing ecclesiastical persons and landmarks, as if he had taken for his motto the words of Horace,—“*Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.*” It was by eschewing such autocratic caprices, and acting, instead, on the sound old maxim of Pope Saint Stephen, “*Nil innovetur nisi quod traditum,*” that the bishops of Achonry, from St. Nathy to Dr. Durcan, ruled their diocese, and thus left it, as regards both priests and people, a model of union and zeal, without either open trouble or latent discontent.

Few bishops in the episcopal succession of Achonry have stronger claims to the grateful remembrance of the diocese, than Father James Fallon, though only a priest. The first time we meet with this distinguished ecclesiastic is in 1630, when he was Procurator in Rome for the province of Connaught, and agent of the Connaught bishops. We next find his name as a signature to a letter of the Prelates of the province of Connaught, addressed to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland, soliciting his Eminence to use his good offices in having John De Burgo appointed to the bishoprick of Clonfert. On this occasion, which was in 1640, he signs after Malachy Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, and Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, as “*Jacobus Fallonius, Vic. Aps. Achaden.*”

Being in Ireland in the stormy days of the Kilkenny Confederation he always sided with Rinuccini, and approved his fidelity and ability so signally, that the Nuncio, on leaving the country, gave him faculties for absolving priests and bishops from the censures which had been fulminated against them.

Under the Cromwellian regime, Father Fallon endured extraordinary privations and sufferings, living, through the bogs and mountains, in wretched huts, which, we are told, he was obliged, from time to time, to quit for other shelter, when wild goats had eaten away the weeds or shrubs, which served for a

roof. Like so many other priests of the time, Father Fallon was transported to the islands of Arran, where he was kept a prisoner till the Restoration. After having been for more than thirty years Vicar Apostolic of Achonry, he died on the 16th of April, 1662, after exhibiting, throughout his life, the heroic virtues of the confessor and the martyr.

Father Fallon was a relation of Right Rev. Francis Kirwan, the famous bishop of Killalla; and Archdeacon Lynch, in his *Pii Antistitis Icon*,* thus draws the portrait of the bishop's kinsman:—"Nor was he (Doctor Kirwan) satisfied with looking after his own church, for he sedulously watched over the well-being of the conterminous diocese. The see of Achonry was then in charge of James Fallon, Vicar Apostolic, and a most distinguished Doctor of Theology. This ecclesiastic, the fellow citizen and kinsman of our bishop, was naturally much loved by him, and he did not hesitate to send to him from France, at considerable expense, books and other necessities pertaining to religious service. James Fallon, although occupied with the care of his own diocese and the Collegiate Church of Saint Nicholas, assisted the Archbishop of Tuam, when the latter was made prisoner, and subsequently when in exile. James Fallon was arrested in Iar Connaught, and so did the heretics plunder him of books, that they did not leave him even a Breviary. Before he was made prisoner, he dwelt night and day in a hut at the base of a rock. This hut was covered with leaves and osiers, but even from this refuge he was obliged to fly as soon as the goats had eaten the foliage. Nor would he take up his abode in the houses of Catholics, for he feared to be instrumental in compromising their lives and fortunes.

From trials such as these he was destined to pass to still greater, for he was finally driven from his hiding place, captured

* The Portrait of a Pious Bishop; or, The Life and Death of the Most Rev. Francis Kirwan, Bishop of Killalla. Translated from the Latin, by John Lynch, Archdeacon of Tuam. With Introduction and Notes, by C. P. Meehan, C.C., p. 242. Edition of 1884; DUBLIN: James Duffy & Co., Ltd.

by the enemy, and cast into prison. After various sufferings in Galway, Inisbofin, and the islands of Arran, where he remained some years a prisoner, he was restored to liberty, together with other captive priests, long after the restoration of Charles II. The condition on which he regained his freedom was, that he would at all times be ready to present himself in court when summoned; and some of his friends pledged themselves for his appearance, failing which, they were liable to be most heavily mulcted. Once more at large, subject to the aforesaid restrictions, although a most elegant and eloquent preacher—one in fact who could ascend the pulpit without preparation—yet owing to the loss of his library, he could not discharge his sacred duties as he would have wished. But, alas! the people were not to have the benefit of his pious labours for any considerable time; for, being seized with a serious malady, the consequence of multiplied hardships, he died on the 14th of August, A.D. 1662, after having toiled more than forty years in the “Lord’s vineyard.”

From 1662 to 1677 Achonry was governed by Phelim O’Hara and Hilary Conry, or Convey, as Vicars-General. In the synod of Tuam, held in 1660—“in quodam refugii loco”—Fathers Phelim O’Hara, Hilary Convey, and Thady O’Donocher represented Dr. Fallon, who was then in prison, as is thus recorded in the acts of the Council:—“Dominus Phelimus O’Hara, et Dominus Thadeus O’Donocher, et Dominus Hilarius Convey, vicemgerentes Reverendi admodum Domini Jacobi Fallon, Vicarii Generalis Apostolici Accadensis, jam incarcerati.”

Maurice Durcan, erroneously written “Carcan” by Doctor Maziere Brady (Episcopal Succession, Vol. II., p. 190), was made Vicar-Apostolic of Achonry, in 1677. He had been previously Vicar-General of the diocese, for we find him in 1674 (Cardinal Moran’s Memoir of Oliver Plunket, p. 201), signing himself *Mauritius Dorkanus, Vic. Gen. Acaden.*; and in a letter of the Primate to Monsignor Baldeschi, Secretary of Propaganda, dated 10th March, 1673 (styl. vet.), the writer

observes :—" I had also in my company for ten days, Maurice Durcan, the Vicar-General of Achonry, who is Doctor in Theology, and a grave man."

Maurice Donelane, who appears to have been a priest of the diocese of Tuam, was Vicar-General, or Vicar-Apostolic of Achonry, in 1683; and later in the same year, Hugh MacDermott received the appointment.

In 1707 Hugh MacDermott became bishop of the see, there being no bishop of Achonry for the 104 years that elapsed from the death of Eugene O'Hart, in 1603 to 1707, except Louis Dillon, who held the see from 1641 to 1645.

The bishops of the province, as well as the clergy and laity of the diocese, often deplored the vacancy in the see, and made repeated efforts to have it filled, but the Holy See could not be induced to accede to the applications and petitions addressed to it; the Popes being, on the one hand, well pleased with the administration of Dr. Fallon and the other temporary rulers of the diocese, and fearing, on the other hand, if they appointed a bishop, they would, in the circumstances of the country, only excite fresh persecution, and doom the person appointed either to starvation or martyrdom.

ACHONRY is the largest parish in the county, both in regard to area and to population. Alone it is greater in extent, and the number of inhabitants, than all the other parishes of Leyney put together, as appears by the following figures taken from the Census of 1881 :—

	Acres.	Pop.		Acres.	Pop.
Achonry	60,717	12,415	Ballysadare (Leyney part)	7,560	1,892
			Killoran	13,999	2,092
			Kilmacteige	32,362	6,043
			Kilvarnet	6,593	1,185
				<u>60,514</u>	<u>11,212</u>

The parish being so unwieldy from its exceptional size, it has been long divided, for the convenience of ecclesiastical administration, into the districts or quasi-parishes of Mulnabreena, Cloonacool, and Curry.

MULNABREENA is an equivalent, in older Irish, of Knock-nashee, and signifies the Hill of the Fairy mansion or palace, as Bohernabreena, in the county Dublin, means the Road of the Fairy mansion or palace,* so that it is the hill which gives this district, or parish, of Achonry its popular name.

Knocknashee is a very striking feature in the landscape, and with its bold elevation, its picturesque outline, and the fine prospect it commands, richly deserves the high honour which the "Good People" have paid it, by making it their headquarters in Lower Connaught. It is of limestone formation, and yields stone of excellent quality, as may be seen in the parochial house, and the new parish church, where it is the material employed.

The soil of the parish is, in general, of medium quality; while much of what lies in the immediate neighbourhood of the old church of Achonry, has the reputation of being equal in fertility to the best land in the country. The inhabitants tell you, so luxuriant is the growth of grass there, that what is cropped by the cattle during the day, is more than restored by the rest and moisture of the night, like that of which Virgil speaks:—

" Et quantum longis carpent armenta diebus
Exigua tantum gelidus ros nocte reponet."†

And in confirmation of their statement they affirm, that if a hay fork, or rake, or other such implement, be dropped on the bare field overnight, it will be so covered with grass in the morning, as not to be easily found. No doubt this is exaggeration, but it shows, all the same, the popular belief in the extraordinary richness of the soil.

* O'Hanlon's *Lives of the Irish Saints*, May 9th; Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, Vol. I., p. 167. "The Irish," says O'Flaherty in *Ogygia*, p. 200, "called aerial spirits, or phantoms, *Side*, pronounced Shee, because they are seen to come out of pleasant hills, where the common people imagine they reside, which fictitious habitations are called by us, *side*, or *sioda*."

† Virgil—*Georgics*, II., lines 201-2.

Achonry was church-land, and in 1755 we find the "four quarters" of Achonry, leased to Robert Fleming, for the yearly rent of £50, by Richard, bishop of Killalla and Achonry. From the Flemings the property passed to the Somers.

The present owner of this part of Achonry, is Captain James Wood Armstrong, D.L., of Chaffpool, son of John Armstrong, Esq., and Catherine Somers, the daughter and heiress of Thomas Somers, Esq., of Chaffpool. In the first decade or two of the current century, the name of "Catharine Somers, a minor," occurs frequently in the *Sligo Journal* in advertisements, about the letting of lands on the Chaffpool estate during her minority.

Somers is the English form of the Irish name Summaghan, or O'Summaghan, a family whose head-quarters lay in the barony of Tirerrill, where they held considerable stretches of land, and left their name to the parish of Ballysummaghan. Catherine Somers, being heiress to a fair estate, could boast of several suitors for her hand, but Mr. Armstrong, who had many friends in the county, secured the prize.

Mr. Armstrong, as member of a Cromwellian family, might feel sufficiently at home in the county Sligo, where the descendants of his ancestor's brethren in arms were heads of the leading county families. This ancestor, Richard Armstrong, who belonged to Sir Charles Coote's regiment of dragoons, and to Major King's troop of that regiment, had an order for the satisfaction of his claims in the "county Limerick or Kerry." (Commonwealth Books $\frac{A}{81}$.)

In his day, the late Mr. John Armstrong was one of the most active magistrates and country gentlemen of the county, as well as one of the most intelligent. It is said, that he had formed an ingenious plan for connecting the more southern parts of the county with the town of Sligo, by means of a canal, which was to run through the lakes of Cloonacleigha and Templehouse, but this, like so many other projects of the kind, ventilated in pre-railway days, was disposed of by the formation of railroads.

A little beyond Templehouse, and on the right as you go to

Tubbercurry, lies the townland of Cughill, which deserves notice as the scene of a famous battle, that came off, according to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in 1083, between the O'Rorkes and the O'Conors, who at this time were contending against each other for the sovereignty of Connaught. All our annalists mention this conflict, on which the entry of the Four Masters runs thus:—"A battle was fought between Rory O'Connor, King of Connaught, and Hugh, the son of Art O'Rorke, Lord of Conmaicne and Breifne, at Conachail, in Corann, where O'Rorke was defeated and killed. There were also slain in this battle of Corann, by Rory, Muiredhach Mac Duibh, chief of Muintir-Eolais, the son of Godfrey Ua Siridein (Sheridan); the son of Cusleibhe O'Ferrall; and distinguished men of the Conmaichni, both noble and plebeian."

The Annals of Loch Ce,* and the Annals of Boyle,† record the occurrence in much the same words; but the *Chronicon Scotorum*, after Tighernach, adds a circumstance, which throws interesting light on the times; for it informs us, that one of the high ecclesiastics of O'Connor's country took a very prominent part in the encounter, a part similar to that taken by Saint Columba on one side, and Saint Finian on the other, in the famous battle of Cooldroman.‡ The words of the *Chronicon Scotorum* are:—"The battle of Conachail, i.e., in Corann, was fought by Rory O'Connor; and Cormac Ua Cillin, chief vice-abbot of the Sil-Muiredhaigh, having the staff of Ciaran in his hand, stood in front of the battle, whilst it was fought between the Connaughtmen and the Conmaicne; and the Conmaicne were defeated; on which occasion, Hugh, son of Art O'Rorke, King of Conmaicne, and Muiredhach Ua Eolais, and Sitric, son of Cusleilhe O'Ferrall, and the son of Godfrey O'Sheridan, and others, were slain."§ Though Cormac Ua Cillin placed himself

* *Sub anno* 1087.

† D'Alton's *Annals of Boyle*, p. 188.

‡ See *ante*; Chap., Cooldroman and Lissadell.

§ *Sub anno* 1083.

thus in the van of the Connaught army, it would appear that he relied more on spiritual than on material arms, for it was not a sword, but the staff or crozier of Saint Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, he had in his hand during the engagement. There are still, in the townland of Cunghill, two strong forts with deep surrounding fosses, which may have been set up as entrenchments by one of the armies when awaiting the onset; but there is no other monument of any kind on the ground, that can be connected with the important battle of Cunghill, which seems to have decided in favour of the O'Conors, the rivalry with the O'Rorkes, for the supreme place in the government of Connaught.

The hill of Mucklety, though of irregular outline, has a picturesqueness of its own, from standing in a vast plain, which stretches away from it to a great distance on all sides. Very probably the O'Haras had one of their fortresses at this hill, as we read of their bringing a prey of cattle to the place:—"par-tem prædæ ad *Mucolt* in *Lugnia* retulerunt.* This, however, may mean Tully, or Tully Hugh, which is near to Mucklety, and which, as we learn from the Sligo Inquisitions, belonged, in 1588, to Teige O'Hara, though he must have lost it soon after that time; for an Exchequer inquisition of 1593 records, that William Clifford was possessed that year of "the stone castle, called Tully, with a quarter of land; that he died on the 20th of June; that he held from the Queen by military service; and that Francis Clifford was his son and heir, and about eight years old at the time of the inquisitions." This same Francis received in the year 1618, a new grant from James I., of the castle, townland, and quarter of Tullyhugh.

Court Abbey, the ruins of which still remain in a well preserved condition, belongs to Mulnabreena, and must have been in its prime a truly imposing structure. It consists of a nave one hundred feet long, and twenty-four wide; a southern transept thirty-six feet long, and twenty-three wide, and called, nobody can tell why, O'Brien's chapel; and a central tower of

* Mac Firbis, quoted in O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, *sub anno* 1368.

about ninety feet high, which, as the church stands on a rising ground in the midst of a great plain, is visible for a great way round. Court, as well in, as outside, the building, serves for a burying-place, and has a goodly number of monuments, on which the prevailing names are, O'Hara, Brett, Gilmartin, McVanny, Gorman, Madden, Henry, and O'Connor. Being a foundation of the O'Haras, the sanctuary, as usually happens in old churches, is reserved for the interment of the founder's family; and the O'Haras Boy continued to be buried there till some of them changed their religion, and arranged for their interment elsewhere.

The remains of Oliver O'Hara of Meemlough were deposited in the tomb of his ancestors in 1725, and the stone bears the epitaph:—

“ Clare OLIVERE jaces hic O'HARA,
Nate Rogeri, cum proavis, tumulo quem tua cura novat.
Ætat 78;
Crux Christi Domini portus et ara seni 1725.”*

His will is dated 6th September, 1725, and, it is worth noting, that among his bequests is one of an in-calf cow to Reverend Tobias Caulfield, Rector of Ballysadare, probably as the mortuary which Protestant ministers exacted about this time.

From an Exchequer inquisition taken at Sligo, in 1587, before John Crofton, we learn that Court was a monastery of the Third Order of St. Francis, and that two quarters of land belonged to it—one called *Carrow-ardower*, and the other *Carrowen-tawny*. These lands have not been identified; but there can be little doubt that *Carrow-ardower*, that is, the quarter of the grey height, includes Knocknashee, and that *Carrowen-tawny* includes the adjoining townland of Carrowen-tavy, on which the new Catholic church stands. The inquisition adds that, at the time it was taken, these possessions were “in the occupation of the priest, Roger Ballagh O'Hara,” a circumstance which it is important to keep in mind, as it will enable us, sometimes, to distinguish between Court in the parish of

* This tomb is on the Gospel side of the high altar, but adjoining the central tower.

Drumcliff, and the Court now under consideration, in the parish of Achonry.

These two places are frequently mentioned in old documents simply as Court, but, occasionally, that of Achonry, appears as *Court-Rori-Ballagh*, the name being derived from the priest who held the place in 1587. The date of this foundation is not known; but, judging by the style, and the fresh appearance of the work, it may, perhaps, be referred to the fifteenth century. It is not recorded when the Franciscans quitted Court. In James the First's General Pardon to Donnogh O'Connor Sligo, and other inhabitants of the county, there is mention of "Hugh O'Derige, of Cowrteroriballagh, priest, and Arte McManes of the same, priest;" but there is nothing to show whether these ecclesiastics were Franciscan friars or secular priests.

Francis Edgworth, Esq., received, in the 15th year of James I., a royal grant of "the monastery of Court, containing a church, a cemetery, a dortry, two small cabins, and two quarters of land adjoining, called Kearowearmore (*sic*), and Kearowentawny, eighty acres;" but, in the Rental of 1692, the Earl of Corke is set down as "tenant of Court Abbey, 2 quarters." Lord Harlech is the actual owner.

The first Parish Priest of Mulnabreena we meet with, is Rev. Charles Hara (he had dropped the O). He was ordained in the county Galway in 1684, lived in Tullyhugh, and had Thomas Corcoran, Sligo, and Patrick Duany, Sligo, as sureties for his compliance with the requirements of the Registration Act.

The next Parish Priest of the district, whose name is preserved, is Rev. Owen Duffy. Like his predecessor, he lived in Tullyhugh. Father Duffy, who is supposed to have been born in the parish of Gurteen, died in 1814, and was buried in Achonry graveyard.

Father Dominick O'Hara succeeded. He was born in Kilmacteige, and died there in 1834, having retired on pension, in failing health, from the mission, some years previously. He is buried in Kilmacteige.

Reverend James Gallagher succeeded Father O'Hara as Parish Priest, and continued in the office till his death in 1849. To Father Gallagher succeeded, in 1849, Rev. Pat Spelman, who died in 1864.

Reverend Pat Roddy was the next Parish Priest of Mulna-breena. His incumbency lasted only about one year, being terminated by an accident which startled and saddened the whole county. After going to bed in his usual excellent health and spirits, he was found the next morning a corpse, having been suffocated during the night by gas that issued from a burning sofa, stuffed with sea-weed, which must have been ignited by the lighted wick of a candle, or a spark from the fire falling upon it. Everyone had a good word for poor Father Roddy; and the writer, his old school-mate, college class-fellow, and life-long friend, who knew him better, perhaps, than anybody else did, may be allowed to add his testimony, that one would search all Ireland in vain for a more perfect priest or more genial man.

Upon the demise of Father Roddy, Canon John Mac Dermot was appointed to the parish, but vacating it on his transfer to Tubbercurry, he was succeeded by Rev. Luke Hannon, who continued Parish Priest down to his lamented death, on the 30th March, 1878.

Fathers Gallagher, Spelman, Roddy, and Hannon, were buried in the old parish chapel; and, as the new church stands on the site of the old building, their remains have undergone no disturbance, while their memory is preserved by a mural tablet, which Father Lowry, with a considerateness that others would do well to imitate, put over their graves. It bears the inscription:—

“ PRAY FOR THE SOULS OF THE
REV. JAMES GALLAGHER,
REV. PAT SPELMAN,
REV. PAT RODDY,
AND
REV. LUKE HANNON,
WHOSE BODIES LIE HERE.”

When Father Duffy got charge of the parish, it contained but one chapel, a thatched one, which, after a little, he slated. This chapel stood at Mulnabreena, that place having come to be regarded as the head-quarters of the parish; and to accommodate the people living about Achonry, the priest used to give them Mass, on Sundays and holidays, in Mr. John Rice's dwelling-house.

Father 'Dominick O'Connor built a small chapel at Achonry, roofing it with slates, and made, besides, an addition to Mulnabreena chapel; but, notwithstanding this and other improvements, this structure had become so unsuitable, through time, that Father Lowry, Father Hannon's successor, found it necessary to erect a new church. The work was begun in 1883, and was pushed on so vigorously by Father Lowry, who was its architect, builder, and clerk of works, all in one, that it was opened for worship on the 9th November, 1884. It is a fine Gothic church, consisting of nave, chancel, and transepts, lighted by windows of stained glass manufactured at Bruges, Belgium; and furnished with a beautiful high altar of marble and Caen stone. The wonder is how such a house could be built and furnished for £1,272, the sum it cost.

The Protestant church of Achonry was built in 1822, with sitting accommodation for 250 persons, the ascertained cost of the structure, in 1848, being £1,476.

Under the late Established Church, the Protestant Dean of Achonry was the incumbent of the parish, which formed the *corps* of the deanery.

The Deans, according to Cotton's "Fasti"—Province of Connaught, are :—1582, Owen O'Connor; 1615, William Flanagan; 1628-29, William Buchanan; 1661, Randal Hollingworth; 1662, James Vaughan; 1683, William Lloyd; 1691, Samuel Foley; 1694-5, John Yeard; 1733, Sutton Symes; 1752, Richard Handcock; 1792, James Langrishe; 1806, James Hastings; 1812, Anthony Henry Kearney; 1821, William Greene; 1824, Theophilus Blakely; 1839, Edward Newenham Hoare, who was succeeded by Lord Mountmorres.

Very Rev. Canon Heather is the actual incumbent of Achonry.

The quasi-parish of CLOONACOOLOO seems to be a very old ecclesiastical denomination, as, most probably, it is the "Cloonochulli" of the Taxation of 1309. It is possible, however, though not very likely, that the name in the Taxation may stand for Cloonoghill, so that its identity with Cloonacool is not absolutely certain. Cloonacool lies, in part, between the Ox Mountain and Knocknashee, where it forms the valley through which the young Moy starts on his journey to Killalla bay. The tract is void of timber, except a bush here and there near the sites of houses which have disappeared, a few trees at Carnaloch and Branchfield, and a thriving plantation at Lavagh, where Mr. O'Hara has a shooting lodge. The tract is, for the most part, in tillage, which the hard-working inhabitants are carrying gradually up the mountain slopes.

The most interesting spot in the parish of Cloonacool is the rising town of Tubbercurry. Tubbercurry is modern when compared with Ballysadare, Collooney, or Ballymote. The first time it comes under notice is in 1397, when the O'Connor Don of the day having, with the aid of the Anglo-Irish, gained a victory over the O'Connors Sligo, Mac Donoghs, and O'Dowds, erected a fortress at *Tober-an-choire*; "*facto*," says Mac Firbis, "*apud Tober an choire in Luignia propugnaculo*."

The next mention of it occurs in the so-called Survey of 1633, where it is written Tobercorne, and described as the "Inheritance of Sir Roger Jones, who took it in mortgage from Hugh O'Hara or Teige Keagh O'Hara, and sets it to under-tenants for £8 per annum; it is some part good arable land, and hath much heath upon it; some good turfe, four days' mowing, will grase forty cows, and is worth £10." From that date it continued in the possession of the Jones family, down to the year when it was sold by them to Mr. Peter O'Connor; and if the tenants then lost landlords who had been always nursing fathers to them, it was fortunate that the change of ownership was, in their regard, merely a change of persons, and not of management or treat-

ment, for the successor of the Joneses has always shown himself a man after their own heart—as just, as humane, and as charitable. Here, as in the other places in which Mr. O'Connor has landed estate, he consulted the interests of the tenants as much as his own; and finding, recently, that the Tubbercurry tenants, like so many of their class in other parts of Ireland, desired to become occupying proprietors of their holdings, he generously met their wishes, and has just sold them their farms on terms with which all are satisfied.

The town of Tubbercurry, like greater places, has its east and its west end—the latter containing the bank, the police barrack, the presbytery, the doctor's residence, and a stately shop-house, which would be a credit to the county town, if set down in its chief business quarter. The east end, on the other hand, is shabby and grotesque almost beyond anything of the kind in the county; the residences being small, half-thatched hovels, and so crowded with inmates, that the juveniles of the household, apparently from want of room inside, pass most of the time on the streets, capering and tumbling about like acrobats. It would need a livelier pen, and more room than is now available, to describe the scene here on a fine summer evening, between seven and eight o'clock, when everybody, big and little, is out of doors—the bigger people stretched at full length on the sidewalk, enjoying their *dolce far niente* with all the zeal of Neapolitan fishermen; the little urchins, with an exuberance of animal spirits, which compensates them for a hundred and one privations and other hard conditions of life, kicking up their heels and gambolling like young calves turned for the first time out of the byre into an open field; and, not unfrequently, a donkey or a pig, or both, half in and half out of the doorways of the shanties (which they occupy conjointly with the folk in the streets) looking on, and, to all appearance, admiring the antics and horse-play of their fellow lodgers outside.

This curious region goes by the name of Piper Hill; no doubt, because one, or more than one, performer on the bagpipe may always be found among its miscellaneous visitors of—

“ Ambubiarum collegia, pharmacopolæ,
Mendici, mimæ, balatrones, hoc genus omne.”

The foregoing remarks apply to merely one side of the street, for, though there is only the width of the roadway between that and the opposite side, there is the difference of a hundred years between the qualities of the houses on either side, as well as between the manners of their inhabitants. While the east side is the tumble-down hurly-burly we have been describing, the west is a contrast in every respect, thanks to Mr. O'Connor, who, soon after purchasing that part of Tubbercurry, removed the squalid cabins, and put up in their room a good row of two-story houses, equally suited for business places or for private residences.

A family variously named Naper, Neper, Niper, of good social standing, lived in Tubbercurry in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and during a considerable part of the eighteenth. They were Cromwellians; and Archy Naper, the head of the family in this country, was Titulado of Cnockroe, in the parish of Ballysummaghan, under the Commonwealth. He had also obtained 308 acres in the Curry portion of the parish of Achonry as a debenture, the fee-simple of which he seems to have sold to Cornet Cooper, retaining, apparently, a leasehold or other substantial interest in the property.

The James Niper, gent., of the county Sligo, that figures on the list of the persons attainted by James the Second's Parliament of 1689, was, no doubt, a son of Archy. In his will, which is dated 1st June, 1721, he signs himself James Neper, of Tobercory, and by it he nominates his nephew, Henry Meredith, of Sessucomon; James Neper, of Tobercory; and Charles Meredith, of Mollane, his executors; and Joshua Cooper, of Marcree (Markree), as “overseer of his will and testament.”

From this will we learn that he either owned, or had some other beneficial interest in the townlands of Carrowkeele and Castlewillen, and in 16 acres of Rathscanlon, near Tubbercurry.

The Henry Meredith mentioned in the will was a member of the respected Meredith family of Cloonamahon. He was the

eldest son of Francis Meredith of Sessucomon, in the parish of Cloonacool, who was himself, no doubt, the son of Richard Meredith, Titulado of Ballyonaghan, in Corran, under Cromwell's rule. The will of Francis Meredith, of Sessucomon, is dated 10th of May, 1719, and by it he leaves the bulk of his property to Henry Meredith, his eldest son, making provision, out of the residue, for his wife, his second son, George, and his daughter, Margaret.

The property has remained in the possession of the Meredith family down to our own time; and it is only the other day that Mr. Herbert Meredith, the owner, responding to the call or exigency of the times, and, acting as his family have always done, in the interest of those depending on them, sold the estate, under Lord Ashbourne's Act, to the occupiers; the sale being greatly forwarded, as in the case of Mr. Peter O'Connor's property, by the rare tact, talent, and *savoir faire* of Canon Staunton, who so adjusted and reconciled conflicting interests, as to please both parties to the contract.

While most other places in the county have retrograded, Tubbercurry has been steadily improving for the last half century both in population and wealth, the number of houses in 1881 being 176, or twenty-seven more than in 1841, though the population of Ireland in the latter year was nearly double what it is at present. And the houses in the body of the town have improved still more in quality than in number, several fine new ones having been erected, and many of the old ones having been enlarged and modernized.

The place is well situated for markets and fairs, as fine roads, running through populous and extensive districts, pass through it, with the result that the market, which is held on Monday, is always crowded, while the fairs are attracting constantly increasing numbers of buyers and sellers from all quarters. When, besides, it is taken into account, that Tubbercurry possesses a Catholic church, a Protestant church, a bank, a workhouse, and a dispensary; that it is a centre of Special sessions and Petty sessions, as well as head-quarters of a

Constabulary district; that it gives plenty to do to two efficient and highly respectable doctors; and that it is the place where the county Sligo portion of the Achonry clergy assemble for ecclesiastical conference and other corporate proceedings, it will be seen that it occupies a leading position in the localities of the county. It is to be noticed that almost everything which gives importance to the town dates from the present century. The Catholic church was erected about 1832, Mass being previously said in private houses on Sundays and holidays; the Protestant church was built in 1830, by means of a gift from the Board of First Fruits of £900, and was designed to provide for the accommodation of 180 persons; while the other improvements mentioned—the Sessions courts, the Constabulary station, the workhouse, the dispensary, and the ecclesiastical conferences—all come later.

Kilcummin, the chief burial ground of Cloonacool, contains an area of about 120 feet square—enclosed by a good stone and mortar wall—and lies in the valley of the Moy, at the foot of the Ox mountain, in a townland of the same name. The graveyard is crowded, and has a fair number of tombstones, on which the prevailing names are, Gray, Henry, Brennan, Hibbert, McHugh, and McGloin. At present there are no remains of a church, though people say, that ten or twenty years ago, there existed considerable fragments of one, the stones of which have been recently removed from their places to form headstones of graves; a most objectionable practice, which has had a great deal to do with the disappearance of our old church structures.

Kilcummin signifies the church of Cummin, but who this Cummin was, there is nothing, apparently, in books or tradition to determine. From the diverse ways in which the word is pronounced, the person from whom the name is derived, may have been Cummin, Cummian, Coman, Caeman, Coemgen, which appear to be all different forms of the same name. Colgan throws no light on the subject, though he gives a list of twenty Cummins in his *Acta Sanctorum* (p. 59), as well as a list of several Caemans in the *Trias Thaumaturga* (p. 177),

mentioning the little that is known about them all—but stating nothing to identify the patron of Kilcummin.

There are two saints of the name, one or other of whom, it would appear to the writer, may with great probability be fixed on as the founder of Kilcummin. The first is Caeman of Ard Caeman, who is stated in the Life of Saint Attracta, to be a brother of that saint; and as Attracta had her religious establishment in Killaraght, the fact would incline one to the belief, that her brother built a church in her neighbourhood. The second would be Saint Coemgen of Glendalough, who, for reasons which shall be given later on,* may be taken to have passed some time in this district, and to have founded there a religious house.

This may be the most suitable place to give a very old and interesting document, which is found among the Irish charters in the Book of Kells. It is a Charter whereby two townlands of Leyney are devoted to the support of pilgrims. The document is introduced by a head-line in Latin, but is written in Irish. The following is O'Donovan's translation of the Irish:—

“Carta de Balli Uidrin cum molendino et de Balle Comgain cum molendino.†

“The family of Kells have granted for the support of pilgrims Ardcamma, *i.e.*, Baile Ui Uidhrin with its mill, and with all its land, and Baile Ui Chomhgain, with all its land, and with its mill, to God and to Columbkille, and to the Bishop O'Cellaigh, the senior of all the men of Meath, and to Maelmaine O'Robhartaigh, head of the Disert, on the third of the Ides of November, the feast of Martin, in the year when the kine and swine perished by a pestilence. Here are the chiefs who made this grant, namely, Muredhach O'Cluain, abbot of Kells; Conaing O'Breslen, the priest; Guaire O'Cluain, the lector; Aedh, the son of Mac Rachtogan, the vice-erenagh. In the presence of many distinguished laymen, *i.e.*, in the presence of Tiernan

* See under Union of Keash.

† This charter is given in the Irish Archæological Miscellany, Vol. I., p. 129.

O'Rourke, King of the men of all Breifny; Godfrey O'Reilly, King of Machaire Gaileng, and Ade O'Hara; and in the presence of the sons of O'Rourke, Donnchadh, and Sitric, these two townlands, in Luighne, of Connaught, were granted.

"The Disert of Kells [*is granted*] to pious pilgrims for ever. Whatever layman or clergyman shall oppose this grant, he shall be accursed of Columbkille and Finan, and the clergy of Ireland, and of the Christian Church in general."

The two townlands of Leyney referred to in this venerable muniment, which, according to O'Donovan,* dates from before the year 1140, or thereabouts, lie, in all likelihood, in the district of Mulnabreena, or the district of Cloonacool. The denomination of Ardcamna may be the same as Ardower, which belonged to Court Abbey; and the sub-denominations of Baile Ui Uidhrin and Baile Ui Chomgain, would then be situated near the abbey, though one of them may in remote times, have been large enough to reach and comprise Kilcummin. It is very likely then that Baile Ui Chomgain is a form of Bailekomin, or Bailekummin, and that it refers to the place now called Kilcummin; for, as a matter of fact, Kilcummin belonged at one time to the abbey of Court, as we find James I., in the sixteenth year of his reign, granting to William Crowe, of Dublin, "Carrow-Killcomin, and a stone house, parcel of the estate of the monastery of Courte." (Patent Roll, 16 James I., p. 365.) The peculiar spelling, in the charter of one of the townlands—Baile Ui Chomgain—would go far to show that it was so called after Saint Kevin, of Glendalough, whose name is given in his old biographies as *Coemgen*.

The Cloonacool Parish Priests, of whom there is any record, are:—

1. Rev. Patrick Henry, who was ordained in 1697, and had for sureties, under the Registration Act of 1704, James Rahmine, Ederneen, and John Gallagher, Shessuegaruff.

* Irish Archæological Miscellany, Vol. I., p. 152.

2. Rev. Patrick Henry, Parish Priest from 1806 to 1815. He is buried in Kilcummin graveyard.

3. Rev. John McNulty, a native of Killasser, and P.P. of Cloonacool from 1815 to 1830. In this latter year he was transferred to Killasser as Parish Priest. He died about 1850, and is buried in Killasser.

4. Rev. James McHugh was Parish Priest from 1830 to 1859.

5. Rev. John Brennan was incumbent from 1859 to 1869. Father Brennan was a native of the parish of Achonry, and is buried in the church of Tubbercurry.

6. Very Rev. Canon MacDermot was Parish Priest from 1869 to 1877, when he was transferred to Kilmovee.

7. Very Rev. Canon Staunton, the actual incumbent, was collated to the living in 1877.

A mural slab in the church bears the following inscription :—

“ In memoriam
delectissimorum pastorum nostrorum qui nunc dormiunt in somno
paci.

JACOBI MACHUGH.
JOANNIS BOURK.
JOANNIS BRENNAN.
Requiescant in Pace.

The Catholic church of Tubbercurry was built about 1832, and is a neat and commodious structure. Under the late Established Church, Tubbercurry was a Perpetual Curacy, the patron being the Protestant Dean of Achonry. According to Sergeant Shee, the ascertained cost in 1848 of the Protestant church was £900, and the number of persons for whom accommodation was provided in it, 180.

The third district or quasi-parish into which Achonry is divided is that of CURRY, so called from the village of Curry, which lies about three miles to the south-west of Tubbercurry. This district is probably the least interesting of the county in point of picturesqueness. The prime feature of the region is its interminable flatness, stretching away on all sides in a dead

level to the horizon; the second is the evident poverty, not to say barrenness, of the soil; and the third characteristic, which is a consequence of the preceding, is scanty crops. There is little meadow; and even where Italian grass seed or other grass seeds are sown, the return is so miserable that one can almost count the blades of the growing crop. There are hardly any trees in view, and, in general, you look in vain for bushes or hedges. In most other parts of the county whitethorn hedges line the road-sides, but in the district of Curry open dykes or bare banks of earth fence the highways. Potatoes are the only root crops; for, as to turnips, mangolds, parsnips, or carrots, you might as well look for a vineyard or orange grove in that cold, bleak, spongy soil. The neighbourhood of the village of Curry, with its fenced and tilled fields, has an improved appearance, but this is evidently due to superior cultivation, the land itself being of the same inferior quality as is to be found throughout the parish.

The family of O'Higgins held the district, in pre-Reformation times, from the nunnery of Kilcreunat in Galway, which was founded about the year 1200 by Cathal Croderg O'Conor, and richly endowed by him; Curry and other tracts of Leyney being among the endowments. The chief residence of the O'Higgins was at Doughorne, a name which is now obsolete, but we see in Petty's Printed Maps that the placelays between Carrowreagh and Leitrim. A Chancery inquisition taken at Sligo by John Crofton, on the 27th July, 1590, tells, that Matheus O'Higin died 9th January, 1585, "seised in fee of the town, village, or hamlet of Doughorne, in barony of Leyney, and four quarters of land; and also two other quarters called Leghbally Meylogh, which six quarters are subject to the charges of the country; that he held the aforesaid from the Queen, but by what services they know not; that Thady, commonly called Teagdall O'Higgin, is the next heir of aforesaid, who is now forty years of age, and married."

Two or three years after the date of this inquisition, Teige Dal met a cruel death. Having composed a stinging satire on the O'Haras of Cashel Carragh, in Kilmacteige, six members of

that family proceeded to his house, threw him on the ground, cut out his tongue, and treated him in other respects so inhumanly, that he died of the outrage. All the O'Higgins of Doughorne were, at this time, professed poets or rhymers; for, in James the First's General Pardon to Donough O'Connor Sligo, and the other inhabitants of the county, the family are described as "Will O'Higgin, of Dwacharny (Doughorne), rymer, Twoholl O'Higgin, of the same, rymer, Cormuck O'Higgin, of the same, rymer, Gillenewf O'Higgin, of the same, rymer, and Teige Oge Mac Teige Dal O'Higgin, of the same, rymer."* At that time verse-making, like tailoring or shoemaking, was regarded as a trade, which everyone might manage after some little apprenticeship and practice.

The dependence of the district on the religious house of Kilcreunat appears from an inquisition taken at Sligo, in 1610, by Geoffry Osbaldston, William Maye, and Nicholas Brady, to inquire into the possessions of the Earl of Clanrickard. In their finding they say, "We have heard that the six quarters of Dowchorn and the quarter of Drumentemple, in the barony of Leyney, with their appurtenances, anciently belonged to the nunnery aforesaid. We also say that there was a certain writing, concerning the nunnery, burned by one Tomoltagh Oge O'Higgin, and we also say that we have heard that the half quarter of Ballenafennogy (Ballyiara), wherein the castle standeth, the 4 qurs. of Kinnilovin, the quarter of Killeyallagh, the quarter of Sessu McEllirhy, and the 2 qurs. of Monyne Cranagh, with appurtenances, in said county Sligo, did anciently belong to the said nunnery of Kilcreunat." It is a pity that the writing burned by Tomoltagh Oge O'Higgin is lost, as it would throw valuable light on the state of things that prevailed in Upper Leyney in the olden time.

Very probably Tomoltagh Oge made away with the document for the purpose of destroying legal evidence which might be adduced against him by the nuns of Kilcreunat. The O'Higgins'

* Patent Roll of James I.

family do not seem to have been over scrupulous as to the means by which they held on to the possessions which they had got hold of; for, we are told, in the Survey of 1633, etc., where it treats of Kilcollummuinterclery and Cloonbarry, in the parish of Kilmacteige, that "Teige Oge O'Higgins, Esq., keeps one Dwaltoch O'Clery in gaole at Sligo these 5 years paste, who ought to inherit the said Clunbary of right, for feare to sue him for the said lande."

At the Restoration most of Curry district was granted to Lord Collooney, who received five or six thousand statute acres, including Doughorne, and to Jeremy Jones. Lord Collooney's portion is now owned by Colonel Cooper, whose ancestor bought it in 1727, from the Cootes; and Jeremy Jones' share is in the hands of the Knox family.

It is obvious that the priests of Curry have been exerting themselves to improve the village and neighbourhood. The new church, which was built a few years ago, is a handsome Gothic structure; the male and female schoolhouses are buildings at once so spacious, commodious, and ornate, that they would be a credit to any town in the province; and the presbytery, with, till recently (when they were burned down), its fine offices, its neat lawn sloping down to the river, and its trim plantations, reflects honour on Canon O'Donoghue, who built it, and on Father Conlon, who had a good deal to do in finishing it off. The example thus set by the priests has a beneficial effect on their neighbours, by inducing them to improve their own residences. As a result, there are better houses in and around the village now than formerly, though Curry was more prosperous in the early years of the century, when it did much of the business now done by Tubbercurry, and maintained a butcher or two in flourishing trade in catering to the villagers.

As to the succession of Parish Priests :—

Reverend John Murtagh was Parish Priest of Curry in 1704. The names of his successors through all the eighteenth century are lost; and the first Parish Priest, in the nineteenth century, we meet with, was Father McNamara, a native of the diocese

of Tuam, who was affiliated to Achonry, *circa* 1802, by Right Rev. Dr. Lynah, the then bishop of Achonry, himself a priest of Tuam, before his appointment as bishop.

Father McNamara's successor was Rev. James Filan, who died in 1830, and is buried at Drumahillan. Of this distinguished priest we shall have more to say by and by.

The next incumbent was Rev. John O'Flynn, who died in 1856.

Father O'Flynn was succeeded by Rev. John Howley, who acted for some time as Administrator of the parish, and who, dying in 1868, was buried in the parish church. Few ecclesiastics of his time were so admired as this pious and prudent priest.

Father Howley's successor was Canon O'Donohue, who was transferred to Gurteen in 1880, on the death of Canon Roger Brennan, being succeeded in Curry by the actual incumbent, Rev. Thomas Conlon.

The ablest man on the list of Curry Parish Priests, and one of the ablest in Ireland in his day, was Reverend James Filan. He belonged to an ecclesiastical family, which has given several distinguished priests to the church, as well in their native diocese of Achonry, as in America and Australia. James and Michael Filan were Parish Priests in Achonry at the same time; and while Father Michael was, according to all, a man of much prudence, and at least average ability, his younger brother, James, was inferior, in talent, and learning, and accomplishments, to no priest or bishop of the province at the time.

Father James Filan's elder brother, Michael, was Parish Priest of Kilbeagh, where he died in 1828, and was buried in the graveyard near Charlestown, the monumental stone under which he lies, bearing the inscription :—

“GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO.

Here lies the remains of

the REVEREND MICHAEL FILAN,

who departed this life, January 7th, 1828,

aged 42 years.

As he often preached for his flock, so may they often pray for his soul.

Requiescat in Pace.”

To this family belonged Reverend Michael Filan, the late deeply lamented Pastor of the Church of the Annunciation, Philadelphia, U.S.A., who, born in Killasser, educated in Ballaghaderreen, and ordained in America, died in his pastorate, on the 16th November, 1887.

Another member of it is Reverend A. D. Filan, the highly esteemed Pastor of the Church of the Assumption, Philadelphia, who, like his brother, was born in the parish of Killasser, educated in Ballaghaderreen, and ordained in America.

And a third, is the Reverend Michael Filan, the amiable young priest who has lately entered, under the most promising auspices, on his missionary career in the diocese of Mobile, U.S.A.

It is pleasant to be able to add, that while the Filan family are so well represented on foreign missions by the priests just mentioned, and by several others who might be named, the succession in their native diocese of Achonry is always kept up, the Reverend P. A. Filan, the zealous, learned, and patriotic curate of Gurteen, being the actual and latest link in this interesting ecclesiastical chain.

Coming back to James Filan, he was among the first students that entered the college of Maynooth, after its erection in 1795, where he made his studies with such distinction, that, at the close of his college course, he was appointed professor in the lay school, or academy, then attached to the college, and performed the duties of his new office with singular efficiency and brilliancy.

At this time the Catholics of Sligo were a respectable and wealthy body. While no way inferior in business ability and energy to their Protestant fellow-townsmen, they were placed at a great disadvantage in regard to education. In this respect the Protestants were particularly well off, having in St. John's school a very flourishing establishment, which had been raised to a high state of efficiency by its late head-master, Rev. James Armstrong, the friend of Charles Phillips, and its actual head-master, Rev. W. C. Armstrong.

To supply the want of the Catholics, Father Filan resolved to relinquish his position at Maynooth, and to open in Sligo a school, in which the classics and the other branches of a polite education should be taught. This establishment was opened in 1807, the neighbourhood having been well prepared for the new departure by advertisements in the *Sligo Journal*, one of which, as an interesting souvenir of Sligo, eighty years ago, is subjoined in a note.* The school was a great success, attracting pupils not only from all parts of the county, but from other parts of Ireland, and, it is said, from other countries.

After, however, a few years, Father Filan was called back to his own diocese, and was appointed Parish Priest of Curry, receiving at the same time, *in commendam*, the administration of the parish of Kilmacteige.

Soon after this the bishop of the diocese, Right Reverend Dr. O'Flynn, dying, a considerable body of the Achonry priests

* "Rev. J. Filan, lately first Professor of Humanity (for three years), in the Lay College of Maynooth, begs leave to inform his Friends and the Public, that he is determined to devote his attention, for some time, to the EDUCATION of YOUTH in SLIGO. By the help of good Assistants (for none other shall be employed), he trusts he shall be able to fit out boys for business, or for entrance into the Colleges of Maynooth or Dublin.

"At a period when the effects of ignorance and torpid inactivity are deeply felt, when more than the dawn of Science and Liberality has generally gleamed upon us, could he contribute his mite to the diffusion of either, he should feel it a pleasing task. In endeavouring 'to teach the young idea how to shoot,' his object shall be to blend the pleasing with the useful, to enlarge the ideas and improve the heart. His unremitting attention to the HEALTH and MORALS, as well as to the LITERARY ACQUIREMENTS of those who may be committed to his care, shall merit, he trusts, more than any professions he can make at present, the approbation and patronage of the public.

"The plan of Education comprises, the LATIN, GREEK, FRENCH, and ENGLISH LANGUAGES; HISTORY, both *Sacred* and *Profane*; GEOGRAPHY, the use of the GLOBES, ARITHMETIC, BOOK KEEPING and MATHEMATICS.

"TERMS:—For BOARDERS, £30 a year, to be paid half yearly in advance; three Guineas entrance, and three Guineas washing and repairing. For DAY BOYS, one Guinea entrance, and one Guinea a Quarter. FRENCH, DANCING, and the use of the GLOBES to be extra charges.

"N.B.—A Quarter once entered upon to be charged, and no allowance for occasional absence.

May 15th, 1807."

desired to have Father Filan for bishop, but Dr. McNicholas was supported by another body of the clergy, and was ultimately chosen to fill the vacant see. Unfortunately considerable heat was imported into discussions on the relative merits of the favourites, and led to no little unpleasantness between the favourites themselves, as well as between their respective supporters. There is no need to refer here to some regrettable incidents of the controversy; and it is more pleasant to note, that the trouble soon ceased and was forgotten.

Along with being an educationist and scholar, Father Filan was a ready writer and eloquent preacher; and his contemporaries loved to dilate on his many merits in these respects.

Father Filan's fame in Sligo as a preacher, did not cease with his departure from the town, nor with his departure from life; for long after he was gone to his reward; long after the "silver cord was broken, and the golden fillet shrank back," a leading topic of conversation in Sligo continued to be the silvery tones and the golden thoughts of the great Achonry preacher. In the minds of all he ranked as a perfect model of the pulpit orator; and when, in the second decade of the century, an eloquent Dominican, Father Prendergast, attracted by his sermons most of the townspeople to the convent, and left the parish chapel nearly empty, the highest praise bestowed on him by local critics was, that he approached nearer to Father Filan than anybody else had ever done in Sligo.

This distinguished Achonry priest died in 1830, and was buried, as has been stated above, in Drumahillan graveyard, where the following inscription appears on his tombstone:—

" Lord have mercy on the soul of
the Revd. JAMES FILAN,
who departed this life on the 13th of March, 1830,
aged 55 years.

He discharged the functions of the priesthood during 26 years
with fervour, matchless in talent, unrivalled in erudition,
parent to the orphan, and a helper to the distressed,
and a solace to the afflicted.

R.I.P.

This stone was erected by James Maxwell, Michael, and John Filan."

CHAPTER XXIV.

PARISH OF KILMACTEIGE.

THE parish of Kilmacteige, which has an area of 32,533 acres, and a population of 6,403 souls, is so called from the old ruined church of Kilmacteige, which signifies the church of the son of Teige, who must have been its founder or patron. Who this Teige was is not known, though it is pretty certain that he belonged to the O'Hara family, the toparchs of the district. In the Four Masters we read, under the year 1439, "The son of O'Hara of the Plain, *i.e.*, Cormac, son of Teige, died;" and it is not unlikely that this Cormac, "son of Teige," was the founder of the church in question: a supposition which gains some countenance from the fact that Kilmacteige is not mentioned in the Taxation of 1309. In old documents * the church is mentioned as "Kilmacteige, *alias*, Inter duos fluvios" (Between the two Rivers), the *alias* name coming from the situation of the building between the two streams, Abhan Leenane and the Belclare river. The structure stood on the site of the present Protestant church, where some ruins may still be seen. Some say it was an ecclesiastical college, but there is nothing to bear out that opinion in old documents, which always describe it as a rectory and a vicarage, and never as a place of education.

A considerable part, perhaps half the area of the parish, consists of mountain and bog. The Ox Mountains run through the west and south-west of it, while most of the lowland is bog—much of which is now reclaimed, with, however, large stretches still untouched. At this part of the range the Ox Mountain descends in gentle slopes, which are now broken up into tillage and

* For instance, the inquisition taken at Achonry on the 18th August, 1585, before Daniel, Bishop of Kildare.

pasture farms; and while the well-fenced fields of cereal and green crops add much to the picturesqueness of the scene, they also give a high idea of the industry and intelligence of the people, who know how to conquer all obstacles, and to carry cultivation up the mountain almost to the top. The unsightly morasses of the lowland are rapidly disappearing before the spade and the plough, so that stretches, which, till recently, grew nothing but aquatic plants, are now yielding fine oats and root crops—with the very important additional result that the draining and other processes of cultivation have almost banished the malignant fevers which appear to have been long endemic in and around these swamps.* It is due to the Messrs. Robinson to say that they may justly claim credit for much of this improvement, as their example in transforming what was, not very long ago, a bleak and barren hill-side, into the fertile, flourishing, and picturesque grounds which now surround their neat lodge, had the effect of opening the eyes of neighbouring farmers and cottiers to what each could do on his own holding.

Some small collection of trees, in various stages of growth, have sprung up here and there through the parish. Instead of the naked surface of the land which met the eye in 1816, when the facetious Parson Nelligan observed of Mr. Jones of Banada, "He can boast of an inheritance which no gentleman within twenty miles of him can exhibit, viz., as many grown trees as constitute a rookery,"† there are now clumps of trees or promising plantations to be seen in several places, as at the late Mr. John McCarrick's, in Cloonbarry, Mr. Robinson's, in Sessu, Lord Harlech's, in Aclare, Mr. N. Irwin's, in Clooncagh, and

* "Although the people are tolerably healthy, yet there is a tract of ground, which runs along the side of the mountain, which, for some years back, has not been free from a dangerous malignant fever, mostly of the typhus kind, which carries off the people. The existence of this disease may be attributed, principally, to the situation of the inhabitants, rather than to any other cause. . . . In this tract of the country the ground is very wet and of a cold quality."—"Statistical Account of Kilmacteige." By Rev. James Nelligan, Rector and Vicar.

† Ibid.

in other places ; while the trees, to which Mr. Nelligan makes such pleasant reference, have so increased and multiplied since his day, owing, partly, to the nursing, care, and taste of Mr. Jones and his cultivated family, and, partly, to the exuberant nourishment supplied by the Moy in its windings, that few English parks are better stocked, at the present moment, with fine timber than the demesne of Banada.

The parish is traversed by excellent and commodious roads. The two leading respectively towards Foxford and Ballina from Tubbercurry are all that can be desired for width, and sole, and level ; the same may be said of that which runs by Sessu towards Sligo ; and a cross road lately made through Cloon-reusk and Kilvernin townlands, and passing the Kilvernin stream or river by a fine metal bridge, the only public bridge of that material in the county, reflects credit on all who had a hand in its construction. Even the two mountain roads, one through the Gap, and the other at right angles from it, running to Lough Esk, are better than mountain roads generally are elsewhere, and, what deserves special notice, they are the works of two private individuals : the first being made by a Captain O'Dowd in the closing years of the last century,* and the other, about sixteen years later, by the eccentric Jack Taaffe, who had purchased more than 7,000 acres of the mountain, which go still by the name of "Taaffe's Mountain."

The run of houses in the parish are of the same class as in the rest of the county. In the first year of this century there

* A valuable improvement was made in this place about twenty years ago, through the exertions of a Captain O'Dowdd, who possessed an estate of many thousand acres of these mountains, which were without inhabitants except those "*Feræ naturæ*," and which were nearly impassable to the active and bare-footed natives. The immense rocks, steep hills, and deep caverns, which everywhere presented themselves, formed as many insuperable difficulties, as the passage of the Alps did in former days ; but, this Hannibal, by labour and perseverance, overcame them all, and has formed a road, where a coach passes six times a week, conveying passengers to and from Ballina and Castlerea, and has shortened the line from Ballina to Banada from twenty to twelve miles."—"Statistical Account of Kilmacteige."

was only one slated house in the parish; in 1816 there were three,* and, at present, there cannot be less than 30 or 40, though the slates employed came from Sligo and Ballina, and not from Mr. Taaffe's "slate quarry," from which Mr. Nelligan expected so much,† but which, like the famous petroleum of Geevagh, which proved, on examination, to be no petroleum, has turned out to be no slate quarry at all.

There is good reason to believe that the parish of Kilmacteige was the scene of some stirring events mentioned in the Four Masters, though not referred hitherto by any writer to that locality. In describing, under the year 1225, hostilities between the sons of Roderic O'Connor, and Hugh, the son of Cathal Croderg, the Annals say that the sons of Roderic were stationed near Lough Mac Farry, in Glean na Mochart. In a note to this entry, O'Donovan gives it, as his opinion, that Lough Mac Farry is the old name of Templehouse lake; but this opinion is devoid of all probability; first, because the lake of Templehouse is situated in the centre of a great plain and not in a glen of any kind; second, because the old name of Templehouse lake was, as we have seen, Lough Awnally; and, third, because it lies several leagues away from the places which are said to have been occupied by the forces in quest of the sons of Roderic. These places are Meelick, Kilkelly, and Coolcarny, all three in the county Mayo, and not far from Lough Talt and Glan na Voagh, which would appear to be the lake and the glen of the Four Masters—Lough Talt being the modern *alias* of Lough Mac Farry, and Glan na Voagh a corruption of Glean na Mochart. After changing the M of Mochart into V, a change frequent in Irish words, and softening the sound of *rt* in the end of Mochart, the pronunciation of both words becomes the same, or almost the same.

* "Statistical Account of Kilmacteige."—By Rev. James Nelligan, Rector and Vicar.

† "Mr. John Taaffe has lately, by accident, discovered a slate quarry, which, from the description he has given of it, promises to be a source of great emolument to himself, and of equal utility to the surrounding country."—*Ibid.*

Another transaction, and one of a revolting character, which took place in Leyney in 1315, must be referred to this parish. It occurred during the troubles between Felim O'Connor and Mulrony MacDermot on the one side, and Rory O'Connor and Teige O'Kelly on the other, and is thus described in the Annals of Loch Ce:—"Rory O'Connor and Teige O'Kelly went both in pursuit of Felim and MacDermot, and the tribes that were with them, to Letir Leyney and the slopes of Sliabh-Gamh, and to Glenn-Fathroimh in particular, where they killed many thousand cows, and sheep, and horses; and they stripped gentlewomen, and destroyed small children and little ones on this journey; and never, during the memory of the people, was so much cattle uselessly destroyed in one spot."* The Four Masters omit this massacre, but it is recorded in the Annals of Clonmacnoise, as translated by Mageoghegan, and almost in the same words as those used in the Annals of Loch Ce.†

Glenn-Fathroimh, or, as it is written in the translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, *Glean Fahrowe*, is the glen through which the *Beul an Easa* river, and the *Beul an Easa* road now run, and which is popularly known at present, as Glen Darragh; and the memory of the transaction is preserved to this day in the local name of a ford on this river, which is called by the country people, *Beul an ath graugh*, that is, Mouth of the ford of the slaughter.

In Kilmacteige, as through most of the county, the year 1641 led to a thorough change in the ownership of the land. Before

* Annals of Loch Ce, edited with a translation by William M. Hennessy, M.R.I.A., A.D. 1315.

† "Being joined together, they pursued Felim and Mulrony to Letter Long (Leiter Luighne, *Annals of Connaught*), and to the borders of the mount of Sliewgawe, and also to the valley of Gleanfahrowe, where infinite numbers of cowes, gerans, and sheep, were killed by them. They strip'd gentlemen (*mna uaisle*, i.e., gentlewomen, *Ann. Conn.*) that could make no resistance of their cloaths to their naked skins; destroyed and killed without remorse, children and little ones of that journey. There was not seen so much hurt done in those parts before in any man's memory, without profit to the doers of the harm."—Annals of Clonmacnoise, in a note of O'Donovan's Four Masters, *sub anno* 1315.

the insurrection of that fatal year, the parish was nearly all in the hands of the O'Haras, the O'Higgins, the O'Creans, and the MacSwynes, and the heirs of Sir Roger Jones; but under the Cromwellian Settlement, the O'Haras, the O'Higgins, the O'Creans, and the MacSwynes disappear, and in their room we find Sir Arthur Gore, Sir Francis Gore, Lord Collooney, Cornet Edward Cooper, Sir Theophilus Jones, Lewis Wingfield, and a few others.

The heirs of Sir Roger Jones retained merely the lands which Sir Roger had purchased, and were not indebted for a single acre to the confiscations of the times; but by residing generally at Banada, and taking a warm interest in everything around them, the Jones family have done more for the parish, than all the grantees of the Restoration put together. The bridge across the Moy, which led the way to many other improvements in the neighbourhood, was in great measure the work of Sir Roger Jones; and his descendants, following in his footsteps, have always borne the chief part in every undertaking, material or moral, which had for object to benefit their neighbours.

Even before their change of religion, they were in strong sympathy with the people, but since their conversion to the Catholic faith, the Jones have been always nursing fathers and nursing mothers to them; and if the parish of Kilmacteige is one of the most religious in Ireland; and if the religion of the inhabitants is as enlightened as it is fervent, as those, who know that parish best, concur in bearing witness, it is owing very much to the example, the advice, and the pecuniary sacrifices of the Jones family. The ladies who became the wives of the Jones, have shared fully the virtues of the husbands. One of these ladies, who lived more than a hundred years ago, is still known in the neighbourhood as the "good Eleanor Kelly," while the late Mrs. Jones, *nee* MacDonnell, is often styled the "Mother of the Machabees" for her own spirit of sacrifice, and for the spirit of sacrifice, with which she filled the minds and the hearts of her children; a spirit rising in 1862 to the height of the sublime, when mother and children joined in resigning the

ancestral estate, and devoting it for ever to the service of religion.

This was a great sacrifice, but a sacrifice still greater and more precious accompanied it, the devoting of themselves to the religious state—where the eldest brother, Daniel, after having served for a time in the world as a type of the finished Christian gentleman, lived, in the Society of Jesus, the model and the light of his great Order, and died the death of a saint; where the second brother, James, under whatever aspect we consider him in his still brilliant career—as a missionary in the West Indies in difficult and dangerous times, as a professor of Theology and Sacred Scripture in the houses of the Order, as a learned writer on ecclesiastical subjects, and one well able to hold his own even against such men as the able and all accomplished Archbishop of Dublin, and the most gifted contributors to the *Saturday Review* and the *Athenæum*, or as a prudent and successful administrator of the important Jesuit province of England, of which he has been more than once Provincial—has, in each and all of these capacities, not only sustained, but enhanced the fame of his illustrious Society; and where the three sisters, two of them as Sisters of Charity—one in Dublin, in the hospital of Saint Vincent, and the other in Galway—and the third as a Sister of Mercy, and Founder and Superioress of several convents in the diocese of Elphin, have done more for the poor, the sick, and the ignorant of the country, and indirectly for all classes, than any other three sisters in Ireland. It would not be easy to find in the range of ecclesiastical history, a family with so good a right as the Jones to use the words of Saint Peter, “Behold, we have left all things and have followed thee.”

If there are still people, who, mindful of all the good the Jones family did while residing at Banada, regret their departure and the transfer of the property, such persons would do well to call to mind the much greater good the family are now doing elsewhere, as well as the permanent good which the holy nuns they left after them are accomplishing, and must continue to accomplish, in and around Kilmacteige, by the

education they give in the convent schools, by the visits they make the sick, in the workhouse of Tubbercurry, and in private houses for miles round, and by their management of the Industrial school, opened in 1882, where about sixty little girls, either quite uneducated or miseducated when received, are moulded by the plastic hands of the Sisters, into useful members of society, and edifying members of the church.

The wild glen called The Gap, is under many respects as interesting a spot as there is in the parish. The whole valley is commonly called The Gap, but the name applies more particularly to a short stretch between two spurs of the mountain, which rise *vis-a-vis* at the confines of the two counties, and contain between them the public highway. The road through the Glen is winding, and at every turn the traveller comes upon new and magnificent combinations of the picturesque, formed chiefly by the ever varying aspects of the mountain elevations—some, naked rock, some, clothed with rich heath, and one, the towering *Crummus*, green and grassy for the entire height of the 1,300 feet to which it rises. About midway in the passage across the range, Lough Talt comes suddenly in view, and with the exception of two tiny islets, forms an unbroken sheet of water of about a mile long, and half a mile wide, one end looking sombre, owing to the shadow thrown on it by *Crummus*, the “alt” that gives the lake its name, while the other end, which is out of the shadow, scintillates in brightness; this difference telling, it is said, on the trout with which the lake teems; those that frequent the region of the shadow, being unsightly to the eye and insipid to the taste, while the form and flavour of the others are all that an epicure could desire.

Though there are no groves or continuous plantations in the Gap, there are growing in all directions a good number of single or isolated trees, planted, it is said, by the Robinsons;* and

* “Mr. Robinson has a large number of tenants and cottiers, and in the gardens of each of these he has planted a convenient number of timber trees, which they are obliged to take care of and protect.”—Statistical Account of Kilmacteige, p. 357.

inhabitants of the place tell, that those who know how to appreciate delightful sights and sounds, cannot enjoy a richer treat than is afforded by a stroll through the Glen in an early morning of Spring, when the eastern sun draws out and lights up a thousand beauties of outline and colour, unobserved at other times, and when all the trees swarm with singing birds, which seem to vie with one another in the loudness and joyousness of their notes, to which the peculiar acoustic properties of the valley, impart preternatural clearness and melody.

We read of three castles as belonging to this parish. One of them, which was a timber structure, was erected by the English at Banada, about 1237, soon after they came to Connaught, and was burned down by Hugh O'Connor and O'Donnell, in 1265,* the year in which they burned the castle of Rath Ard Creeve. Another, but of stone, owned by the O'Haras, and called generally Castle Carragh, but sometimes Castle Rock, stood on the slope of the mountain, not far from Beul an Easa river and pass, where a small fragment of it may still be seen. The third castle, that of Belclare, of which there are still imposing remains, which add considerably to the picturesqueness of the landscape, was built, it is said, by the O'Haras, but fell in the course of time into the hands of the Burkes, between whom and O'Donnell there was a spirited contest for its possession in 1512.†

We have also an account of three old churches—those of Kilmacteige, Banada, and Glenavoagh. Whatever is known of Kilmacteige has been stated above. The Augustinian church of Banada was founded, according to Herrera, in the *Alphabetum Augustinianum*,‡ in the year 1423, in accordance with a Rescript of Martin V., who, in another Rescript, issued in 1430, conferred great privileges on the new establishment. This house belonged to the Eremites of Saint Augustine. The

* Annals of the Four Masters, *sub anno*.

† Annals of the Four Masters, 1512. The passage is worth reading.

‡ *Allemande Histoire Monastique du Royaume d' Irlande*, p. 327.

founder, according to the same authority, was a father of that Order named Charles ; and though Charles' family is not given, it is pretty certain he was an O'Hara, as well, because Charles, or Cormac, was a favourite name with the O'Haras, as also, because the whole of Leyney belonged to them, so that nothing could be built in it without their concurrence. Another O'Hara, Donough Duv, Lord of Leyney Reagh, resigned the lordship in 1439, and became a *religieux* in the monastery of Banada, though, fifty years later, members of the same family, evincing very different dispositions from those of Donough Duv, committed murder and sacrilege in the holy place. The conventual buildings have all disappeared, and most of the church, little else now remaining except the tower, which, though standing still in its original height of 70 feet, is so shaken, and has so many stones displaced or cracked, that it is liable to topple down at any moment. It would be well for persons attending the funerals of an O'Hara to have their eyes about them, and to be on the alert while in the graveyard, for there is an old tradition in the parish, that the steeple will fall on the occasion of an O'Hara interment, no doubt to avenge the sacrilege committed, in 1488, by members of that family.

Banada is the chief burying place of the parish, and contains a goodly number of tombstones, the prevailing names in the inscriptions being O'Donnell, Gallaher,* McCarrick, McManus, Mullarky, McGinn.

* A tombstone over a member of the Gallagher family bears this inscription :—

“ Sacred to the memory of
MR. PATT GALLAGHER, of Barratoher,
who departed this life in the year 1827.

This tomb has been ordered to be erected by his son JOHN, a resident
in Lima, Peru, in token of his respect and admiration
for the memory of the best of fathers.”

The John Gallagher who paid this tribute of respect to the memory of his father, had reached a good social position in Lima, and ordered the monument during a visit he made to Ireland and his father's grave ; and it is suggestive of the state of society in South America, that this pious son was not long back in Lima, when he was assassinated in cold blood at his own door.

The plot in which are interred Mr. Jones, the last lay owner of Banada, and his noble wife, is walled off from the rest of the cemetery, and is surmounted by a finely carved Celtic limestone cross, bearing three separate epitaphs, as follows:—

“ Of your charity,
Pray for the soul of DANIEL JONES, Esq., of Benada Abbey,
Who died, fortified by the sacraments of the
Holy Catholic Church,
On the 26th March, 1845.
Aged 60 years.

His dying wish, that this place should be consecrated to God, was accomplished on the 8th October, 1862, when the convent of the Religious Sisters of Charity was dedicated, under the title of Our Lady of Benada, by the Right Rev. Dr. Durcan, bishop of the diocese.”

“ Of your charity,
Pray for the soul of FREDERICK JONES, Esq.,
Second son of DANIEL JONES, Esq., of Benada Abbey,
Who died, fortified by the sacraments of the
Holy Catholic Church,
On the 1st March, 1853,
Aged 30 years.”

“ Her children rose up and blessed her ; her husband, and he praised her ;
the woman who feareth the Lord, she shall be praised.”—Prov. 31.

“ Pray for the soul of
MARIA LOUISA JONES, *nee* McDONNELL,
Widow of the late DANIEL JONES, Esq., of Benada Abbey.
She crowned a life of self sacrifice, by devoting her last years to the
establishment of the Convent of Our Lady of Benada,
where she died, fortified by the sacraments
of the Holy Catholic Church,
On the 6th April, 1865,
Aged 71 years.”

Of the church of the Gap there is neither material remains nor oral tradition, though the record of its erection is clear and express; for in Colgan's Life of St. Attracta, the author, after speaking of Glenavoagh, the scene of a miracle of the saint, adds the remark, “In quo loco Virginis honore fabricata est Basilica,” in which place a basilica was constructed in honour of the Virgin.

While there is now no trace of this church, either in Glenavoagh or in the traditions of the people, the folk lore of the parish is full of the miracle, in memory of which the church was erected. The miracle, or alleged miracle, consisted in the destruction of a monster, which ravaged the neighbourhood, and filled the minds of the inhabitants with terror, young and old pointing out to this day, near *Attracta's Well*, the haunts of the monster, which they know by the name of *Lug na paiste*, the Hollow of the Beast. The church, most probably, stood near the saint's well, which, from time immemorial, has been one of the most famous wells of the country. Even now considerable numbers assemble at the well on the 11th August, the Saint's day ; but in the past crowds flocked from all quarters, and from great distances to it, and remained round it, not only for the festival day, but, in many cases, for the day before and the day after as well, engaged for most of the time in practices of devotion. Things, it is said, usually passed with great decorum on these occasions, the people religiously avoiding all excesses, while counting the festival one of joy ; and so dear is this saint's day to the parishioners, even now, that emigrants from Kilmacteige, not unfrequently, send remittances from America to young folks at home, to make things pleasant for them on the Patron's day.

Kilmacteige, it appears, was famous for its Holy Wells. Within a few yards of *Tubber Araght*, there is a well called *St. Barbara's Well*, which is supposed to have got the name from some companion of *Attracta's*.

Near the chapel of Kilmacteige, there is a well called *Tubber Keeraun*, which, if we can rely on what old inhabitants of the place report, was visited, about a century ago, by people from all parts of Ireland. The origin of the name is not known. *Tubber Keeraun* may signify the well of the quicken tree, or mountain ash (*caerthain*, pronounced *caraun*, being the Irish name of that tree), a sufficiently probable opinion, as the mountain ash grows largely in the neighbourhood. But it is much more probable, that *Tubber Keeraun* is a corruption of *Tubber Ciaran*, that is, the well of *Ciaran*, the founder of *Clonmacnoise*;

for it will be seen hereafter, that there was special connexion between Kilmacteige and Clonmacnoise, St. Ciaran's church.

The parish church at Tourlistrane, a solid and spacious one, was built in 1844, as we learn from the inscription on a stone in the eastern gable:—"This church was erected A.D. 1844, by Rev. D. Mullarkey, P.P." It is dedicated to Saint Attracta. The church which preceded this structure stood on the adjoining townland of Baratoher, and was in process of erection in 1817, when Parson Neligan published his account of the parish of Kilmacteige. *Statistical Account of Kilmactige*, p. 377.

The chapel in the Gap was built in 1845. At that time Jack Taaffe was the head landlord of what has since been called the Taaffe Mountain, but it was let by him to the Irish Waste Land Company, who prosecuted agricultural improvements very energetically on the estate. There were on it forty-seven tenants, and these were encouraged to improve their holdings by prizes for drainage, green crops, cheese, stock, cottages and other houses. The steward, a Mr. Larmont, made very fair cheese, and so did some of the tenants, but the manufacture was abandoned after a little. Mr. Taaffe showed a desire all through to have a chapel on the property, giving, first, £10 towards the erection of one; and, failing to receive the co-operation he expected, he took the whole matter on himself, and accomplished the work almost single-handed.

Kilmacteige, being a mensal parish of the bishop, has no Parish Priests to name. Rev. J. Gunning is the Actual Administrator.

It is not known when the Protestant church was built. Even Mr. Neligan is silent on the subject. The glebe house and offices were erected by Mr. Neligan at a cost of £1,300, of which £800 was received from the Board of First Fruits—£500 as a loan, and £300 as a gift.

The succession of Protestant incumbents is:—1615, Thomas McConmy; 1635, Richard Boylan; 1721, Robert Fausset; 1760, James Hutchinson; 1770, Thomas Manningham; 1777, Edward Synge; 1781, Mark Mainwright; 1802, James Neligan;

next, Rev. Messrs. Huston, Foley, Costello, and Symons, the last named, the present incumbent.

A bare list of the many secular priests, *religieux*, and *religieuses*, born in this parish, would extend to such a length, that it must be omitted here. Some of these persons are referred to in other parts of the book ; but it would be an injustice to the parish not to mention, besides, Father Pius Devine, so well-known in all parts of Ireland as a preacher of the highest merit, as well as an erudite, copious, and versatile writer.*

* The late Rev. Patrick A. O'Rorke, of Scranton, United States, was a native of Kilmacteige or Cloonacool, and his numerous friends and admirers in these parishes will be glad to have here the following obituary notice of that distinguished priest, which appeared in the *Scranton Truth* of July 30th, 1884:—

“DEATH OF FATHER O'RORKE.—Rev. P. A. O'Rorke, the popular and well-beloved pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Olyphant, breathed his last yesterday afternoon. His death caused a profound sensation, and produced the most poignant sorrow among the members of his congregation. Although his health had been poor for some time, none expected that the end was so near, and the startling news fell like a shock upon his numerous friends. Father O'Rorke was born in the county Sligo, Ireland, in 1846, and spent seven years in Maynooth College, Dublin. After coming to this country he graduated at Seton Hall College, N.J., with the degrees of A.B. and A.M. He was professor at Seton Hall, two years, and was ordained priest by Bishop O'Hara, July 12th, 1872. He was pastor of the Olyphant church for nine years, during which time he endeared himself not only to the people of his own faith, but to men of all denominations. The immediate cause of his death was congestion of the brain. Father O'Rorke was a man of fine culture, liberal views, and had an intense love for his native land. He was a great lover of the literature and music of Ireland, and those who knew him best, and appreciated his true worth, will say with his favourite poet, Tom Moore:—

‘It is not the tear at this moment shed,
When the cold turf has just been laid o'er him,
That can tell how beloved was the friend that's fled,
Or how deep in our hearts we deplore him.’

“The funeral will be on Friday morning. There will be a solemn High Mass of Requiem at the Olyphant church, after which interment will take place in the Hyde Park Cemetery.”

CHAPTER XXV.

BARONY OF CORRAN.

PARISHES OF EMLAGHFAD AND KILMORGAN.

WHILE Corran is now the smallest of the baronies of the county, the district anciently so called was much larger than the present barony ; for, to say nothing of the portion of it which lay in the county Mayo, it contained, in the county Sligo, the long stretch from Kilcoleman, in the south, to the Coillte Leyney mountain in the north—Tullaghan Well, which lies on that mountain, being placed in Corran by our oldest writers, as, for instance, the Irish Nennius,* who describes this wonder of Ireland as “A well of sweet water in the side of the Corann ; the property of which well is, it fills and ebbs like the sea, though it is far from the sea too.” As one would expect, judging by the size and situation of the district, it was the theatre of many remarkable historical events, notably of great battles.

According to the Four Masters, Dithorba, King of Ireland, was slain in Corran A.M. 4532. The same Annalists record, under the year A.D. 601, “the battle of Corran, wherein were slain Colga, son of Blathmac, and Fearghus, son of Maelduin, chief of Cinel Cairbre ;” and under 701, a battle of still greater proportions, as thus described by the Four Masters: “After Loingseach, son of Aenghus, son of Domhnall, had been eight years in the sovereignty of Ireland, he was slain in the battle of Corann, by Ceallach of Loch Cime (now Lough Hackett),

* The Irish version of “The Historia Britonum” of Nennius. Edited, with a Translation and Notes, by James Henthorn Todd, D.D., M.R.I.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. The Introduction and Additional Notes, by the Hon. Algernon Herbert, p. 197.

the son of Raghallach, as Ceallach himself testifies in this quatrain :—

“For his deeds of ambition, on the morning he was slain at Glas-Chuilg;
I wounded Loingseach there with a sword, the monarch of [all] Ireland
round.”

There were slain also his three sons along with him, Artghal, Connachtach, and Flann Gearg. There were also slain there the two sons of Colcen and Dubhdibhearg, son of Dunghal, and Fearghus Forcraith, and Conall Gabhra, and other noblemen besides them.”

The cause of the battle bore little proportion to the enormous slaughter, for it was only a satirical verse, as we are thus told: “Conall Mean, son of Cairbre, composed these quatrains, and that was the cause of the battle :—

“If Loingseach should come to the Banna, with his thirty hundred about
him,
To him would submit, though large his measure, Ceallach, the Grey, of
Loch Cime.
Ceallach of the round stones was well trained; a paling of spears was
leaped over
By the red-handed King of Loch Cime.”

In A.D. 971 was fought another battle, which must receive detailed notice hereafter, and which, for the present, may be disposed of in the words of the Four Masters :—“The battle of Ceis-Corainn, between Murchadh Ua Flaithbheartach, *i.e.*, Glun Illar, King of Aileach, and Cathal, son of Tadgh, King of Connaught, wherein fell Cathal himself, and Geibheannach, son of Aedh, Lord of Ui Uaine; Tadgh, son of Muircheartach, chief of Ui Diarmada; Murchadh, son of Flann, son of Glethneachan, chief of Clann-Murchadha; and Seirridh Ua Flaithbheartach, with a countless number along with them: and Murchadh totally plundered Connaught afterwards.”

We have here a sufficient specimen of those sanguinary conflicts which were of such frequent occurrence in the past, and which have left traces of themselves in the names of many a spot

through ancient Corran, as Clooncath (Battlefield), in Tumour; Clooncagh, between the hill of Keash, and the Bricklieve range; Cloonca, in Kilmacteige; and sundry other places. So numerous were these engagements, and so reckless were those engaged in them, that we find even churches associated with battles, as in the instance of the old church that stood in the place now called Kil, in the townland of Rathbane, and parish of Kilvarnet, which, in the taxation of 1309, has the name of Kellecath, that is, the Church of the Battle—so called, from some battle which once raged round, and, no doubt, within its sacred walls.

Nor were these ghastly doings confined to the Corran portion of the present county. Carbury seems to have been, at least, equally afflicted; for it is called, in old writers, *Cairbre na Cath*, that is, Carbury of the battles. It was a very unenviable distinction, and if that tract had stronger claims than Corran to the “bad pre-eminence” implied in the epithet, it must have been a veritable *Haceldama* (*ager sanguinis*), or shambles.

As to the origin of the name Corran, some think it comes from the word *corran*, a reaping hook, because, they say, the district resembles a sickle in shape; but, as a matter of fact, there is nothing whatever in the appearance of either the ancient or the modern Corran to remind one of that implement.

Others maintain that Corran is cognate with the Irish word *cor*, a round hill, and signifies that the tract is hilly.

The “Dinnseanchus,” as usual, connects the matter with a silly legend, and tells that the designation is derived from the name of a famous harper, called Corann, who obtained the territory from its owner, Diancecht, as a reward for incomparable skill in music. The legend adds, that this Corann dwelt in the great cave of Keash, and dispensed his music and hospitalities from that romantic residence to all who desired to partake of them. Dr. Petrie has an article on this subject in the *Irish Penny Journal*, where he quotes as follows from the “Dinnseanchus:”—“Here used to dwell the gentle Corann, whose hand was skilled in playing on the harp; Corann was the only ollave of Diancecht (with whom he lived) in free

and peaceable security. To Corann of the soft music the Tuatha De Danaan gave, with great honor, a free territory for his skilful playing, his knowledge, and his astrology. Here was he, this generous man, not without literature, or in a churlish fortress, but in a place where the stranger was at liberty to a free sojournment with him, this liberal, prosperous man."

There is no probability in the first or third opinion as to the origin of the name, Corann; while any sensible observer, that takes his stand in the centre of the district, near Buninadden, and, looking about him, sees himself surrounded on all sides by little round hills, which form the characteristic feature of the landscape, will not fail to recognise the second opinion as the true one.

BALLYMOTE, the chief town of Corran, occupies no mean place in the history of the county Sligo. Considering its situation, as the leading pass of the district, and the exceeding richness of the surrounding lands, it must have been always a place of some importance, though the first mention we find of it, in the annals of the county, occurs so late as the year 1300, when it is recorded by the Four Masters, that the castle of Ath-cliath-an Chorainn, that is, Ballymote, was commenced by the Red Earl.

It was called Ath-cliath-an Chorainn, the hurdle ford of Corran, from the hurdles thrown over the low lying portions of the place, then covered with water, but long since dried, partly by underground drainage, and partly by the diversion of the streams, which overflowed them. The meaning of the modern name, Ballymote, is not agreed on; for, as the simple English word, moat, little altered in its Irish form, *mota* or *motagh*, signifies both a mound and a dyke, the compound word may mean either the Town of the mound, or the Town of the dyke. Those who maintain the former meaning, refer, in confirmation of their view, to the mound, or hillock, of Carrownanty, the townland on which the castle is built; while those, who prefer the latter, rely on the deep and broad trench, which surrounded the castle down to the close of the 17th century. On the whole, the

balance of local opinion is on the side of this second explanation.

No description of the original structure has come down to us, but the existing remains, as well as the character of the Red Earl, are proof enough, that the building was at least equal to any other of the period in Ireland. The courtyard, or area within the walls, is one hundred and fifty feet square; and the walls themselves—which are about ten feet thick, and flanked with six noble towers—look still so massive and solid, notwithstanding the 588 years which have passed over them, as almost to lead one to fancy that they were meant to defy the powers of the heaviest modern ordnance. It is only by examining them minutely, and comparing them with the walls of other castles of the neighbourhood, such as Ballyara, in Leyney; Moygara, in Coolavin; and Ballintubber, in Roscommon, that one comes to realise the great superiority of the Red Earl's work. Passages of about three feet wide ran through the centre of the walls all round, and were so constructed, as to give access to the towers and intervening curtains at different heights, to meet the exigencies of attack or defence; and, as these passages opened in certain places to much more than their normal width, they afforded room to some of the ward to take their meals and sleep; but this accommodation was supplied to the principal inmates of the castle, in the imposing range of domestic buildings which formed the northern side of the square, and which, judging by the dimensions of the inner sidewall that still remains, must have contained several spacious apartments. In the so-called Survey of 1633, this imposing and massive structure is called *The Court*.

Under the year 1317, the Four Masters state, that the castle of Ath-cliath-an Chorainn was “demolished;” while the Annals of Loch Ce, in relating the same event, use the phrase, “The castle of Ath-cliath in Chorainn was broken down;” but both, no doubt, mean that the castle was dismantled, not destroyed; for a few years later, in 1340, we find it serving as an effective fortress, when Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught, was

driven into it by MacDermot, where, after a little, they ratified terms of peace ; while, in 1346, it was "restored and repaired" by John de Karrew, who left a guard in the place.*

The castle fell into the hands of the Sligo O'Connors soon after the Burkes had to abandon it, for we find it called, in 1348, "the fortress of Rory O'Connor," who was then the head of that family. By the O'Connors it was committed to the keeping of the MacDonoghs, in whose hands, in spite of some efforts of the Burkes to recover possession, it continued down to 1577, when it "was taken by Saxons in treachery,"† but recaptured by the MacDonoghs before the end of the year.‡

One of Sir Richard Bingham's first acts, on coming to Ireland, in 1584, as Governor of Connaught, was to take the castle of Ballymote, over which he set his brother, George, as constable at the head of seven warders. Bent, like Sir Richard, on the ruin of the old Irish, this George acted towards the O'Rorkes of Breffney in a very high handed manner; and Brian Oge O'Rorke, failing to obtain other redress, proceeded at the head of a considerable force, collected in Tyrone, Tyrconnel, Fermanagh, and Breffny, to take vengeance for the outrage, and burned the town of Ballymote with thirteen of the neighbouring villages, which were under the care of Bingham.§ Between these ravages and others committed by the McDermots, in 1551, 1559, 1561, and 1564, Ballymote and neighbourhood were, in great part, waste towards the close of the 16th century, when the castle was sold by the McDonoghs to Red Hugh O'Donnell, in 1598, for £400 and 300 cows. From 1598 to 1601 O'Donnell possessed, and generally occupied the castle; and it was from it, in the latter year, he set out on his ill

* Friar Clyn's Annals of Ireland, p. 32, Irish Archæological Society's edition. From this authority we learn, that Ballymote was called also Clerevoyse—"Quod alio nomine de Clerevoyse dicebatur."

† Annals of Loch Ce, *sub anno*.

‡ *Ibidem*.

§ Four Masters, 1593.

omened march to the battle of Kinsale, from which he was destined never to return.

After the MacDonoghs had got possession of the castle of Ballymote, the chief of the family always occupied the place as the head-quarters of the Corran McDonoghs, and the source and centre of all authority in their territory. Ample provision was made for the maintenance of the stronghold and its chief; for an Exchequer inquisition, sped at Sligo in 1584, before John Crofton, informs us that 16 quarters of the best land about Ballymote were set apart for this service exclusively, and exempted from all other imposts, while the chief received an annual rent from the 34 remaining quarters of Corran, as well as from 13 quarters of Tirerrill, which 13 quarters were exchanged for Corran lands by the Clan Donogh of Tirerrill, the exchange being made by the two septs for mutual convenience. The lands are set out as follows in the grant of the Ballymote property, made in 1608 by James I. to Sir James Fullerton:—

The castle, manor, and town of Ballymott, otherwise Ballycleigh, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ quarters, free from the King's compositions and other country burdens; being parcels of the demesnes of the said manor, viz.:—Rathdowne, otherwise Rathdowney, 4 quarters; Leighballienanty, otherwise Ballinanty, 2 quarters; Carrhobber, otherwise Corhubber, or Cloghubber, 1 quarter; Rosslyan, otherwise Rosslean, 1 quarter; Kinaghan, 1 quarter; Ballinmore, otherwise Loughermore or Knockglasse, 4 quarters; Ballidooroe, $2\frac{1}{2}$ quarters; Clonyne, or Clonin, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Gobbedell, otherwise Gobbedill or Gobodaghe, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ardconnell, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter; Ardneglasse, 3 quarters; Ballibranan, 2 quarters; and the other half of Ardconnell, $\frac{1}{2}$ quarter;—certain chief rents issuing out of divers lands in the country of Corran, parcel of the said manor, viz., out of Ballinespurr, 4 quarters, 6s. English; Roscribbe, 1 quarter, 10s.; Ardenglasse, 2 quarters, 10s.; Lisnanagh, 1 quarter, 3s. 4d.; Kinagher, 1 quarter, 3s. 4d.; Rahinekilgie, 1 quarter, 3s. 4d.; Imleynaghten, 1 quarter, 6s. 8d.; Carrowreogh, 1 quarter, 6s. 8d.; Knocke, 1 quarter, 3s. 4d.; Correnrie, parcel of Portinchy, 1 quarter, 10s.; out of three other quarters

of Portinchy, 13s. 4d.; Rathmullen. Ballionagher, and Loghirvanagh, or Balligolan, 4 quarters each, 13s. 4d.; Shancargen, parcel of Ballineclogh, 1 quarter, 6s. 8d.; Knockmiercher, parcel of said town, 1 quarter, 6s. 8d.;—out of the following towns, parcel of the said manor, in the country of Tyrerellin, viz., out of Knockybremagh, 13s. 4d.; Downealla (Dunally), 10s.; Clonyne, Knockonen, Kilvoyer, Knockvane, and Cleever, 6s. 8d. each; Carrowhely, 10s.; Trynecarrigg, Trynecowlebegg, and Trynetawnaghmore, in all 4 quarters, 16s. 8d.; and out of Behe, 4 quarters, 6s. 8d.

On the removal of the MacDonoghs from Ballymote, George Goodman was made constable of the castle, and we find him signing as such Perrot's Composition with the Sligo chiefs in 1588. The castle, with its property in Corran and Tirerrill, was granted by King James, in the first year of his reign, to Sir James Fullerton, who came to Ireland under circumstances which entitled him to any favour the King could confer.

Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, James, apprehending some opposition in Ireland to his accession to the English throne, despatched James Fullerton and James Hamilton as secret agents to Dublin; and these gentlemen, to conceal their mission the better, opened a public school in the city, which, being men of rare ability and learning, they conducted with distinguished success, one acting as principal, and the other as usher. On Fullerton's vacating the castle of Ballymote, when called to England to take charge as tutor of Duke Charles, afterwards Charles I., it was passed with its lands to Sir William Taaffe.

Sir William had greatly distinguished himself in the service of the Queen, during the course of the war with Tyrone, but, more especially at Kinsale, where he got knighted for his gallantry in the field. While in that neighbourhood, after the defeat of the Spaniards, he reduced the district to obedience, by harrying the country, by destroying the cattle which formed the people's only subsistence, by striking down ruthlessly all

who would not submit, and above all, by capturing and hanging Doctor MacEgan, the bishop of Ross, who, *ultimus Romanorum*, still held out, and induced all he could to hold out, to the bitter end.* In reward for these services, Taafe received from Elizabeth and James, large grants of lands in the counties of Louth, Cork, Waterford, Longford, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, Mayo, Tipperary, Queen's County, and Sligo, including the property of Ballymote and the abbey and abbeylands of Sligo. John, his eldest son, was created Baron of Ballymote and Viscount of Corran, on the 1st August, 1621, and dying on the 9th January, 1642, was buried in the abbey of Ballymote. John's eldest son, Theobald Viscount Taafe, was, all through from 1641 to 1660, in the whirl of the revolution, and, unlike so many others who lost life and property in the contest, came out of it on his feet, and with increased honours and possessions, as Earl of Carlingford. He died in 1677, and was buried in Ballymote.

During the military movements consequent on the insurrection of 1641, the castle remained exempt from actual attack ; but, at the close of the war in 1652, it was surrendered, on articles, by Major-General Lucas Taafe to Sir Charles Coote, the Lord President of Connaught. The following are the "Articles of Agreement between the Lord President of Connaught, on the one part, and Major-General Luke Taafe, on the other part : concluded June 24th, 1652 :—

"That the Garrison of Balimote with all the armes and stores of ammunition and provisions be surrendered by seven of the clock to-morrow morning to the Lord President or such as he may appoynt (except hereafter excepted).

"That Major-General Taafe, the officers, and soldiers, and

* *Taffius militum ductor Eugenium MacCarty, et Donatum Keagh, in Carberia exagitavit, Eugenio O'Hegano, Episcopo, qui inter medios rebelles cum Breviario altera manu et gladio altera pugnabit interfecto. Camdeni Annales, MDCII.* (Captain Taffe hotly pursued Eugenius MacCarty and Donat Keagh in Carbery, and slew Eugenius O'Hegan, the bishop, as he was fighting in the midst of the rebels, with a breviary in one hand and a sword in the other.)

all others now in Balimote shall march forth with their arms, bag, and baggage, to such place as they shall desire.

“That the goods belonging to any in protection, or shall desire the same, be preserved for the use of the respective owners, and that twenty days be allowed for the removal of such goods, and that, in the meantime, a convenient place within the said castle be allowed for the preserving them from embezzlement, and that Major-General Taaffe, with his family, not exceeding 12 persons in number, be admitted to continue in Balimote during that time.

“That Major-General Taaffe, and such others as are in Ballimote, shall have a safe conduct to continue within the quarters during the space of three months, and, at the expiration thereof, be received into the protection of the Parliament if they desire the same.

“That Major-General Taaffe and the tennants and others in Balimote shall enjoy their corne in ground paying contribution as others doe.

“That the Lady Taaffe shall have liberty, with her family, to reside at Balimote in the protection of the State of England, and that the said castle, if necessity doth not otherwise require, shall be left free to her use, after the expiration of two months from the date hereof, she giving, or procuring, sufficient security that it shall not be possessed by any party in arms against the State of England, or become otherwise prejudicial to their affairs, and that the castle of Balimote shall, at all times, be free to give shelter to any party of the parliamentary forces, and delivered on demand, to the use of the Parliament, and shall not be garrisoned afterwards but upon apparent necessity.

“That Major-General Taaffe shall have liberty to transport 1,000 men beyond seas if he can make his agreement with the Spanish agent, or any other in amity with the Commonwealth of England.

“That Major-General Taaffe and his wife, in his absence, shall enjoy their estates as others of their qualification.

“That hostages be immediately sent forth for the performance of these articles.”

In the contest between James and William the Irish took possession again of the castle, Counsellor Terence McDonogh (not Terence McDermot, as D’Alton says), throwing himself into it at the head of a few men ; and when he left on an expedition to Ulster, one of the O’Connors took his place at Ballymote, and held the castle in 1691, when Lord Granard was marching on the town of Sligo. To secure Ballymote in his rear, Granard detached, from Boyle, the notorious Baldearg O’Donnell with a force of 1,200 men, and several pieces of artillery ; but there was no need of proceeding to extremities, for O’Connor, seeing the impossibility of saving a place lying in a hollow, and completely at the mercy of cannon set on any of the adjoining hills, surrendered the fortress upon conditions of carrying his men, with bag and baggage, to Sligo.

Among the children of the first Earl of Carlingford, were two sons, Nicholas and Francis, each of whom became, in time, Earl of Carlingford. Nicholas lost his life at the Boyne fighting for James ; and Francis, the next earl, was one of the most famous men of Europe in his day. Born at Ballymote, in 1639 ; receiving his early education at Olmutz, in Germany ; after quitting Olmutz, serving as page to the Emperor of Germany ; tutor for several years to the Duke of Lorrain’s eldest son, Prince Leopold ; and passing all his after life in war, he displayed, on a score of battlefields, as captain, as colonel, as field-marshal, a mastery of the art of war and an exuberance of natural bravery which were the admiration of friends and foes.

At the Relief of Vienna, in 1683, he commanded the left wing of the Christian army, which was the great object of the enemy’s attack, and cut his way through several regiments of Turks and Tartars, on to the head-quarters of the Grand Vizier, Cara-Mustapha, where he gained the trophy of which the *London News-Letter*, of the date, says :—“In the garden of Somerset House was set up, for his Majesty’s use, one of the

Grand Vizier's tents taken at the relief of Vienna, which, with a Janissary, were sent by Count Taaffe to the Earl of Carlingford, and, by him, presented to his Majesty."

Everyone admired the Count's heroic actions, and no one admired them more than William III., as an interesting incident, thus recorded by the historian, Rapin, shows:—"Last year, when the King was at Loo, an old gentleman of stately presence was ushered into his chamber, who kneeled before the King, and begged his Majesty's hand to kiss. The King inquired the stranger's name, and he answered, saying, 'Sire, I am Count Taaffe, and, if your Majesty wills it, Earl of Carlingford.' On this the King graciously raised him up, and said, 'I have long admired you under the name of Taaffe, and shall be happy to know you henceforward under the name of Carlingford.'"

The King was as good as his word, and, by his intervention, Taaffe recovered both title and possessions. The Count died in 1704, and his death elicited marks of respect on all sides, but, more especially in the country of his adoption, where "the Cathedral church of Nancy was hung with black and his corpse lied (lay), for the space of a month attended by the Duke's guards." * Ballymote may well be proud of such a son.

Theobald, the fifth Viscount of Corran, and fourth Earl of Carlingford, died, without issue, in Belgium, and was buried in Lisle. Nicholas, the sixth Viscount of Corran, was born in Crean's castle, Sligo, and educated in Germany; but Robert Sutton, a member in the female line of the Taaffe family, laid claim, as a Protestant relation, to the family estates. Litigation and negotiation ensued, the outcome of which was that the courts ordered the estates to be sold, and the proceeds to be divided between Lord Taaffe and Sutton, in the proportions of one-third to the former, and two-thirds to Sutton. At the sale the Hon. William Fitzmaurice, afterwards Lord Shelburne, made a private arrangement with Viscount Taaffe to the effect that the Viscount or

* *Memoirs of The Family of Taaffe*, p. 25. Not published.

his descendants should receive back the estates, for the price paid for them, if, at any time, the laws of the land allowed Catholics to hold such property. This arrangement, however, Lady Shelburne, as guardian of her children, after the death of her husband, refused to ratify.*

As is generally known, Count Edward Taaffe, the Prime Minister of Austria, is the present representative of the Ballymote Taaffes. Count Edward is hardly more distinguished for his office of Prime Minister of this great empire, than for being, as he admittedly is, first favourite with the Emperor and the Imperial family.

* “Nicholas, therefore, on the death of Theobald, last Earl of Carlingford, took possession of the family estates in Ireland and Germany, not presuming that a Protestant relation of his would ever dispute them by relying on the cruel Act of Parliament which prevented a Papist from inheriting land whenever it was claimed by a Protestant relation of the Testator. However, Robert Sutton, lineally descended from the only sister of Francis, Earl of Carlingford, claimed the said lands and premises. The law proceedings that ensued were ended by an agreement that the estate should be sold, and that one-third of the produce should go to Viscount Taaffe, and two-thirds to Robert Sutton. The agreement was rendered effectual by an Act of Parliament (15 George II. 49), and in 1753, pursuant to the said Act, the said estates were sold and conveyed to John Petty Fitzmaurice (afterwards Earl of Shelburne), and £25,000 was secured by bond to Lord Taaffe in satisfaction of his claims. He still entertained the hope of getting the permission to hold land at some future period, and Lord Fitzmaurice promised to give back the estates at the same price whenever Lord Taaffe would be allowed to hold them. The Earl of Shelburne, to Lord Taaffe’s misfortune, died in 1761, and he was acquainted by Lady Shelburne, that she, the guardian of her children’s property, did not consider herself bound by whatever private promise her late lord had made, but considered her son William to be the rightful owner of Lord Taaffe’s estates in Ireland.”—*Memoirs of the Family of Taaffe*. By Lord Lewis Taaffe.—Lord Lewis was the father of the present Prime Minister of Austria.

To understand still better why the Taaffes left the country, the following passage from the Memoirs (page 32), should be read:—“Nicholas, Lord Taaffe, a short time before his death, wrote a petition to the Empress, the substance of which is as follows:—He was the only peer of the realm who had left his country without having been outlawed. He had left it because he was afraid that his descendants, pressed by Penal Laws, would not resist the temptation of becoming Protestants. He, therefore took refuge in a Catholic country, where his ancestors were well known by the military services they had rendered at different intervals to the House of Austria. He therefore humbly requests her Imperial Majesty to confirm his deceased son’s will, etc.”

A short time ago when he and his Countess were celebrating the silver wedding of their marriage, the Emperor, Empress, and all the Archdukes and Archduchesses in Vienna, not only visited them, but evinced as warm an interest in the celebration, as if it was an event in the Imperial family. The intimacy between the Emperor and the Count, which dates from their young days, when Taaffe was assigned as a companion to the then Archduke, has lost nothing of its warmth in the lapse of time, so that the Count is still the dearest, as he is the earliest, of the Emperor's private friends.

Unlike other Irish notabilities, as, for instance, the O'Donnells of Spain, and the O'Rorkes of Russia, who laid aside or lost their Irish dignities with their Irish possessions, the Taaffes still enjoy, and glory in, the titles of honour by which they were known in the United Kingdom. It is said that Count Edward is about to be raised to the rank of Prince; and it must be gratifying to the people of Ballymote to know, that he will not feel greater pride in being an Austrian prince, than in being still Viscount of Corran and Baron of Ballymote.

The Fitzmaurices came into possession in 1653; and setting at once about establishing a great linen factory in the place, they draughted, Arthur Young tells us, "Protestant weavers" from the north, erected a bleach mill 81 feet long, and 28 broad, and 17 high, "much superior in many respects to any other in Ireland," and, to supply it with water, formed, at great expense, a basin of 34 acres in superficial area.

Lord Shelburne paid well for his Protestant weavers; for "falling into the hands of rascals," says Arthur Young, "he lost £5,000 by the business, with only 17 Protestant families, and 26 or 27 looms established for it." His Lordship's successor, the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, prosecuted the project with still greater energy, but with apparently as little success. He continued to import the weavers from the north; built slated cottages for them as fast as they came; procured a patent for a market; set about erecting a handsome inn; a large house for a master weaver; and a mansion-house for himself in the

style of a castle, and, to interest the farmers of the county in his undertaking, he took his rents, amounting to £7,000 a year, in linen.

Still his labours bore little fruit ; for though 90 looms were in the orthodox hands of as many "Protestant weavers from the north," at the date of Arthur Young's visit to Ballymote, in 1778, that honest writer winds up his account of Mr. Fitzmaurice's doings with the suggestive words:—"After all I see every reason to assert, that a gentleman, for a shilling he will ever make by manufactory, will profit a guinea by the improvement of land ; have rascals to deal with in one line, and honest men in the other.

After this the business declined, and it was nearly extinct in 1833, when the property passed by sale from Lord Orkney, to Sir Robert Gore Booth, the bargain, it is said, being struck over the dinner table at Annaghmore, where the host, Major O'Hara, played the part of the mutual friend at the fair, and "split the difference" between the earl and the baronet.

The population of Ballymote and its outskirts is pretty mixed at present in regard both to race and creed. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century it was almost exclusively Celtic ; and with the exception of George Goodman, Queen Elizabeth's constable of the castle, and perhaps a retainer or two, who may have come over with him, the following list of inhabitants of Ballymote, to whom James I. granted a general pardon, in 1603, may be taken practically for a list of all the adult male inhabitants of the place:—Hugh Boy O'Connor, gent.; Thadeus Boy McDonnell Chrone, gent.; Cormac Mergach McDonnell Chrome, horseman; Gilleduffe McRory, horseman; Conogher Grany, kerne; Donnell Oge McDonnell Chrome, kerne; Rory McHugh Boy, gent.; Gillepatrick Cam McEward, rymer; Donald McEward, rymer; Geoffry McEward, rymer; Moilmoy McEward, rymer; Conogher McDonnough Reogh, labourer; Donald Cam O'Coman, labourer; Mark McDonnell, student; Donatus McSheaffne Morrey, kerne; Thadeus Oge McRory, kerne; Brian Buy O'Clabby, pyper;

Carbrie O'Brien, labourer; Conogher Oge O'Brien, galloglas; Phelim O'Birne, galloglas; Thadeus O'Birne, shot; Brian O'Birne, galloglas; Shane O'Birne, shot; Moraisse O'Birne, shot; Thadeus McDonnough, kerne; Tirlagh McEparson, student; Shane O'Cahane, messenger; Rory O'Gillegan, labourer; William Culkeen, labourer; Ed. McCulkeen, labourer; Gilleduffe McEvrehune, horse-keeper; Gillegroma McGworine, kerne; Gillepatrick McGworine, kerne; Thadeus McGworine, kerne; Conillagh McGworine, kerne; Brian McRory McGowane, priest; Connor McDermot O'Harte, husbandman; Will McShane McDermot O'Harte, kerne; Gillepatrick McConnor O'Hart, labourer; Farrell McGloyne, kerne; Shane McDermot O'Conillan, labourer; Will O'Hart, labourer; Brian Oge McHugh, labourer; Oyne McDonnough, labourer; Conor Reogh O'Lauderne, labourer; Hugh Ballagh McConbany, tucker; Gillepatrick Reogh O'Callilea, labourer; Owen O'Mowrigan, harper; Shane Roe O'Clably, husbandman; Moellony O'Daly, harper; Rory McGloyne, shot; Donatus Cwaghane, shot; Brian O'Clwaine, labourer; Hubert McPhillip, labourer; Rorie Duff McEnily, labourer; Shane O'Lavine, labourer; Shane McMoriertagh Reogh, labourer; Thadeus O'Creavoyne, labourer; Thomas Bentfield, serving man; Tomoltagh McGolrick, kerne; Gillepatrick O'Birne, labourer; Dermot McHugh O'Hart, labourer; Donald O'Helly, keard; Owen O'Helly, labourer; Owen Duff McTomoltagh, husbandman; Thadeus Boy McTomoltagh, husbandman; Donald McTomoltagh, husbandman; Phelim Reogh McTeige Boy, husbandman; Hugh O'Coane, husbandman; Tomoltagh McCormack, kerne.

With the arrival of Sir William Taafe in the town, there set in an influx of immigrants from England and Scotland, so that in a few years, a goodly number of the townspeople were English and Scotch. Unlike some modern landlords, Sir William, though a devoted Catholic, made no distinction on the score of creed, when choosing his tenants. At the date of King James' grant of Ballymote to Sir James Fullerton (1603), the lands in and round the town were thus held:—"the town of

Rathdowny, containing four quarters, in the possession of Eugene O'Scanlon; Ballynanty (now Carrownanty), two quarters, in the possession of Barradinus Garran; Corhubber, one quarter, in the possession of Alexander McSwyne; Rosslean, four quarters, in the possession of William O'Dumar; Carrow-rala, half a quarter, in the possession of George Goodman; Rathnekilgie, one quarter, in the possession of George Goodman; Clonyne, half a quarter, in the possession of Thadeus O'Skanlon; Durrawne (Derroon) in the possession of the daughter of Skabideus; Gobbedill, half quarter, in the possession of Eugene McTeige Carragh; Ardconnell, half quarter, in the possession of Eugene Tullagh; the town of Ballimore or Loghervore, or Knockglasse, four quarters, and the third of a quarter in the possession of McDonnough, chief of his name; all belonging to the castle, and containing sixteen one-third quarters. Thirty years later, when the so-called Survey of the county was compiled, Caincas was let to James Smith and Fargy (Ferguson), merchants; Corhubber to Mr. Fargy, Protestant minister; Derroon to Andrew Fargy, brother, probably of the minister; and Carrownesaggart, the quarter on which the ruins of the Abbey stand, to Wilson Taylor. These were all new-comers.

Ballymote has improved greatly in appearance, as well as in reality, under the Gore Booths. Sir Robert is known to have been a humane and liberal landlord, and it is admitted, that in these respects Sir Henry is following in the father's footsteps. The fine shop houses which have been built, and are still being built by the inhabitants, are a proof of the facility and liberality with which building ground and leases are granted on the estate, and of the encouragement thus given to tenants to improve.

Nor are these structures less creditable to the tenant, as they show him eager, when he has good landlords to deal with, to meet them half-way. And the private houses recently erected in and round Ballymote, are of a piece with the places of business. The neat presbytery of the late Canon Tighe, the

substantial residence of Doctor McMunn, the medical officer, and the pleasant, lightsome manse of Rev. Mr. Monahan, the Presbyterian minister, are handsome buildings in themselves, and serve to furnish out and finish the picture of the town. The only existing structure of any note that preceded the purchase of the place by Sir Robert, is the bridewell or court-house, which was built in 1813 on a presentment of £600, taken out by James Bridgham, Richard Gethen, and A. Motherwell.

The Catholic and Protestant parish churches are imposing edifices. The latter was built in 1818, and is returned by Sergeant Shee, in his book on the Irish Church, as having cost, up to 1848, the sum of £2,500. The spire is considered delicate and well proportioned. In the same place the learned Sergeant credits the incumbent of the Emlaghfad union, under the Establishment, with an annual income of £558, and sets down at £1,580 the ascertained cost, up to the year 1836, of the glebe house—the glebe comprising 32 acres of the richest land.

The fine Gothic building, which forms the Catholic parish church, dates from 1857, and was built by the late lamented Canon Tighe, who quested himself, through England, Scotland, and Ireland, most of the money which it cost. It needed all the Canon's well-known zeal and energy to undertake so weighty a work at that time, when everybody else was dejected by the gloomy prospect before the country; but being one of those men, who once they put the hand to the plough, never look back, he kept his eye steadily fixed upon the goal, and pushing on without pause or respite, had the happiness of seeing what may, with almost literal propriety, be termed the exclusive work of his own hands, substantially finished and devoted by consecration to its sublime functions, thus enabling him to say, with Solomon, "Building, I have built a house for thy dwelling, to be thy most firm throne for ever." The Canon's brothers, the late Alderman James Tighe, of Sligo, and Mr. Edward Tighe, of Mullaghcor, have put up, in the church, a handsome memorial altar in his honour; but, while this altar is an appropriate and touching fraternal tribute to a beloved brother, the church

itself, in all its noble proportions, and beautiful workmanship, is the monument that shall best perpetuate the memory of Canon Tighe's rare virtues and merits.

It is but just to note that a large part of the interior decorations was effected by the late highly-esteemed Canon James McDermot, who also provided the stations of the cross which the church contains, and put up the tower bell, one of the finest in the country, the sound of which must, therefore, often awaken among the people of Ballymote, kind remembrances of their friend and benefactor.

A Ballymote man, named James White, is spoken of by the Venerable Charles O'Connor (*Dublin Chronicle*, Vol. 1., p. 227), as endowed with such a rare talent for comedy, that "had he been bred in the school of Moliere, he would have been one of the most celebrated comic poets of the age." The adventures of Cruighuire Cui O'Gallagher, an Irish soldier of the Revolutionary period, which he wove into a burlesque poem of the Hudibras kind, is described as a masterpiece of humour. The extravagances of an entertainment at Templehouse, in the time of Shane Harlow, was a subject well suited to his pen, and he is said to have handled it in a way to "excite and continue the loudest peals of laughter." It is a pity that these productions, which must have been interesting for their wit and as a picture of the times, appear to be lost. The pleasures of the people in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, notwithstanding the political and social oppression of the times, more lively and genial than at present; and judging by the compositions of James White, and by the number of rymers, pipers, and harpers, found in the population of Ballymote, the inhabitants of that town would appear to have been rather in advance of, than behind, others in respect of such enjoyments.

The Book of Ballymote has more to do with the frequent mention of Ballymote which we find in Irish historical and archæological works, than any other circumstance connected with the place, not excepting the magnificence of its castle, and the distinction of its successive owners: the Burkes, the

O'Connors Sligo, the McDonoghs, the Taaffes, the Fitzmaurices, and the Gore Booths.

This book is, like most other old Irish books, a compilation of very miscellaneous contents—beginning with the *Leabhar Gabhala* or Book of Invasions of Erin, and containing, besides, chronological, historical, and genealogical tracts—viz., the Pedigrees of Irish Saints; the Pedigrees of all the great Milesian families; tracts on the Mothers of Irish Saints and other distinguished women; the History of the Britons by Nennius; the Book of Rights; the *Dinnseanchus*; and sundry other pieces, partly historical, partly mythological, and partly classical—the only thing absent, though the chief thing wanted, being local history. Materially the book consists of 502 pages of the largest folio vellum, and would fill 2,500 pages if printed in the form of O'Donovan's Four Masters.

The chief compilers of this great work were Solomon O'Droma, or Drum, as the name is now written, and Manus O'Duigenan, of Shancoe or Kilonan; the place in which it was put together, is the castle of Ballymote, whence it has its name; and the time, the year 1391, according to the Venerable Charles O'Connor, whose opinion Eugene O'Curry adopts in his "*Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History*," from which the particulars here given are in great part borrowed.

This important volume is at present in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, where it is shown to visitors as one of the most valued curiosities of that famous repository. The Book of Ballymote has been recently photographed, but the copies have all a blurred look, which detracts not a little from their appearance and value. And of the money value of this literary treasure one may get an idea from the fact, that, when Dermot O'Connor, the translator of Keating's History of Ireland, was getting the loan of it from Trinity College, a friend of his, Dr. Raymond, had to secure its safe return by a bond of one thousand pounds. A memorandum in the book itself, at folio 180, tells that Hugh Duff O'Donnell bought it in the year 1522 from McDonogh of Corran for 140 milch cows. It may

be added, that, while O'Curry's account of this "magnificent volume," as he calls it, is sufficiently full and satisfactory, those who wish for more precise details will find them in O'Reilly's "Irish Writers" (pages civ.-cx.)

Some people are under the impression that the Book of Ballymote was compiled in the Franciscan monastery of Ballymote; but this is a mistake; for the following entry, at folio 62, proves it was written in the castle:—"And it is that Torlogh og, son of Hugh, that is King of Connaught, at writing this part of the book, *in the house of Tomaltagh (a tig Thomaltaig)*, son of Teig, son of Tomaltagh, son of Muirgheasa, son of Donogh, son of Tomaltagh, son of Conor, son of Dermod."

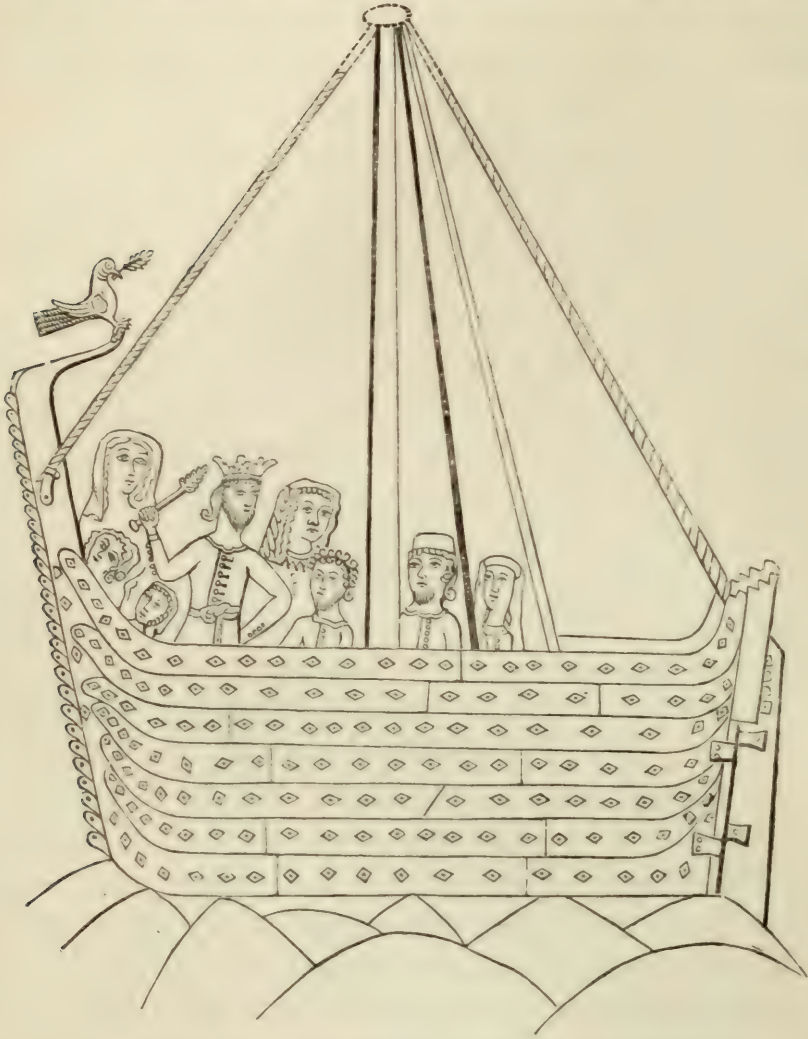
The monastery hardly existed in 1391; and of this the absence of all reference to it in the Book of Ballymote is a strong proof. The style, too, would point to the fifteenth century as the period of its erection. The Pope's bust and tiara sculptured over the door of the western gable, may have contained the date, but, if so, it is now illegible. The writer searched the Wadding MSS. in the house of the Franciscans, on Merchant's Quay, Dublin, but found they contain no reference whatever to Ballymote.

In the second volume of Grose's "Antiquities of Ireland" (page 76), the once famous Dr. Ledwich, who supplied the letterpress of the book, attempts an account of this church.* The readers of Dr. Lanigan will remember how mercilessly the famous author of "The Ecclesiastical History of Ireland" animadverts on the "ignorance, errors, and malevolence" of Ledwich, or, as he calls him, Lead-wig; and the latter's remarks on Ballymote would alone warrant many of these animadversions.

After stating, for instance, that there were two branches of the McDonogh family, the Corran branch, and that of Tirerrill,

*The abbey church of Ballymote was a ruin in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, very probably, much earlier, for, in the grant of the abbey to Robert Leycester, in 1604, it is spoken of as "the site, etc., of the late Franciscan friary of Ballimot; a church in ruins, a church-yard, and a quarter of land adjoining."

Ledwich goes on to say:—"A sister of Viscount Tafe was married to Brian Mac Donogh, of Ballymote, and by whom that property came into the Tafe family." People will get a fair idea of Dr. Ledwich's historical trustworthiness when they are



NOAH'S ARK ACCORDING TO BOOK OF BALLYMOTE.*

told that Brian Mac Donogh did not belong to the Corran, but

* Sir William Wilde in his *Memoir of Gabriel Beranger and his Labours in the Cause of Irish Art, etc.*, observes, regarding this illustration, "The drawing intended to represent Noah and his family in the ark on the fly-leaf in the Book of Ballymote, and which I described in the 'Catalogue of the Museum, Royal Irish Academy,' Part II., p. 301, is interesting as showing the artist's idea of early Irish costume, when the book was written or transcribed."

to the Tirerrill, Mac Donoghs; that he was not "of Ballymote," but of Collooney; and that, so far from his carrying the Ballymote property into the Taaffe family, Sir William Taaffe had received the property by royal grant from James I. long before Brian Mac Donogh was born, while Brian himself never owned a foot of that great estate.

Messrs. Beranger and Bigari visited Ballymote in their famous Tour, in 1779, and have left on record the following remarks on the place:—"Ballymote, a small village, inhabited mostly by weavers. Drew the castle and abbey, and dined there, and went to lodge for the night at the village of Tubbercorry, in which poor place Mr. Bigari and I were surprised to find an elegant supper served up by the care of Colonel Irwin."

In a note he adds:—"Here was wrote a large manuscript folio, containing annals of the kingdom, Brehon laws, poems, etc.; also all the different alphabets of the ancient Ogham used by the Druids; it was wrote about 300 years ago; is called 'The Book of Ballymote,' and contains a paragraph which says that it belonged to the Mac Donoghes, and had cost 140 milch cows. It is wrote on parchment, each leaf fifteen and a quarter inches high, by ten broad, and contains 250 pages, including a rough drawing with pen and ink on the first leaf, representing a ship (Noah's ark), with four men and four women (Noah's family), one mast and some ropes.

"This Book is at present in the possession of the Chevalier O'Gorman, of Auxerre, in Burgundy, who lent it to me to copy the various Oghams, the explanation of which was wrote by Mr. Gorman, teacher of the Irish language."

One of the most notable, at least one of the most singular, inhabitants of Ballymote in recent years was Mrs. Motherwell. A native, as far as appears, of Sligo, where her father, Mr. Abraham Fenton, who was coroner of the county, lived, she kept very quiet till she got married, when she asserted herself so conspicuously as to efface her husband, Mr. John Motherwell, in the eyes of the people. Though John Motherwell was sub-sheriff of the county for fourteen years, high constable of

Corran, and receiver, or agent, on various estates, no one spoke of him as sheriff, or constable, or agent, but always of Mrs. Motherwell as such.

In this, as in many other matters, Mrs. Motherwell resembled Grania Maile, or Grace O'Malley, of whom Sir Henry Sydney wrote to Elizabeth, in 1576, "There came to me a most famous feminine sea captain, called Grany I-Mallye, and offered her service unto me whenever I would command her, with three galleys and two hundred fighting men, either in Ireland or Scotland. She brought to me her husband, for she was, as well by sea as by land, more than master's mate with him."

Much in the same way Mrs. Motherwell carried occasionally about with her John Motherwell, who, far from trying to exercise authority in regard to her, was always the most ductile of beings in her hands. One, and only one desire John had, that of getting a good dinner, and this, to do her justice, Mrs. Motherwell took special care to supply. To use the words of her neighbours, "She fed him like a game cock."

In the execution of her various offices she would brook no opposition or contradiction, as instances innumerable attest, of which, by way of specimen, may be mentioned that of James O'Hara, of Cultibar, whom she drove from house and home into the workhouse for taking legal defence against her proceedings; and of James Henry of Templevanny, a leading grazier of the county, whom, after robbing him of his flocks and herds, she sent begging shoeless and stockingless from door to door, because he too, in self defence, had recourse to the law. In working out her will she flinched from no one, and had more than one encounter with another remarkable inhabitant of Ballymote, Major Bridgham, whose temper, like her own, was despotic, and whose position as agent of the Ballymote estate rendered him a formidable antagonist, more especially to a tenant of the estate.*

* There was hardly a more influential man in the county in his day than Major Bridgeham, as will sufficiently appear from the following addresses and

Mrs. Motherwell, cast her lot where or when you like, would have achieved distinction. Favoured by nature with great

replies which are given here, not so much because they show the estimation in which Bridgeham was held, as, because they throw great light on the state of things in the county Sligo in the first years of the century. The first address is from the officers in command of the county Sligo Yeomanry ; the second from the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Ballymote Infantry ; and the third from the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Carbury Cavalry :—

“ To James Bridgeham, Esq., Brigade Major of the Yeoman Corps of the County of Sligo.

“ SIR,—It is now six years since the Yeoman Corps of the County of *Sligo* have been under your inspection and management, and they think it full time to express their high approbation of your conduct as their Brigade-Major.

“ They very much approve of your exertions for the instruction of the Corps in military discipline ; of your bringing the infantry together, in order to prepare them to act in line, should it be necessary ; and of the judicious means by which you have so entirely obtained their confidence and esteem, that the whole duty is performed with pleasure and alacrity.

“ Accept then from the Officers commanding those corps this testimony of their esteem and high approbation, as due from them, and no more than your conduct deserves.

O. Wynne, Captain Carbery Cavalry.
 Chas. O'Hara, Corran and Liney Cavalry.
 Thos. Ormsby, Captain S. L. Infantry.
 I. Everard, Captain 3rd Company Sligo Volunteers.
 Sam. Bulteel, Captain Sligo Revenue Infantry.
 T. Soden, Captain Drumcliff Infantry.
 John Wood, Captain Templeboy Infantry
 Chas. Jones, Captain S. T. Infantry.
 James Morton, Ardnaree Infantry.
 I. Irwin, Captain 1st Company E. T. Supplementaries.
 Chas. Martin, Captain Sligo Union Infantry.
 Abm. Martin, Captain 1st Company Sligo Volunteers.
 J. Johnston, Captain Ballintogher Supplementaries.
 John Workman, Captain Tireril Cavalry.
 James Crofton, Captain County Sligo Infantry.
 Richard Gethin, Captain Ballimote Infantry.
 R. Wood, Captain Tireragh Infantry.
 Alex. Hume, Captain 2nd Company Loyal Sligo Volunteers.

“ Jan. 25th, 1805.”

gifts both of person and mind—with a figure that might serve the statuary for a model, with features in harmony with her

“ To the Captains of Yeomanry and Volunteers of the County of Sligo.

“ GENTLEMEN,—That my conduct during the period of six years that I have had the honour of being attached to you, should have met your approbation, I shall ever consider as one of the most flattering circumstances of my life, and the very handsome manner in which that approbation is conveyed, will be ever held by me in grateful remembrance.

“ I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

“ With great respect,

“ Your obliged humble Servant,

“ J. BRIDGEHAM,

“ Major of B. I. Y.

“ Jan. 25th, 1805.”

“ To James Bridgeham, Esq., Brigade-Major of Yeomanry for the County of Sligo.

“ SIR,—The non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the Ballymote Infantry, highly sensible of your military talents, and of your public spirit and exertions as a Magistrate in suppressing treason and rebellion, and grateful, as well for the many favours you have conferred on them, as for your unremitting attention to their discipline; request your acceptance of a Silver Cup, as a small but sincere testimony of their regard.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,

“ Your obliged humble servant,

“ THOMAS TAYLOR,

“ Permanent Serjeant, Ballymote Yeoman Infantry.

“ Ballymote, March 5th, 1805.”

“ To the Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates of the Ballymote Corps of Infantry.

“ BROTHER SOLDIERS,—From the commencement of the Yeomanry establishment, the Ballymote Corps of Infantry, have ever been highly distinguished for discipline, loyalty, and zealous attachment to the constitution; and to your spirited conduct must it be in a great degree ascribed, that the seeds of rebellion could never flourish in your vicinity, conscious of not meriting the flattering encomiums your partiality has bestowed upon me, I feel that I must

figure, with a queenly presence, with aspiring ideas, with courage which nothing could daunt, had she lived in Britain in the first century, she could have played the part of Boadicea,

redouble my exertions to endeavour to deserve them, and I also feel strongly that your kindness can never be effaced from the memory of

“ Brother Soldiers,
 “ Your sincere friend and
 “ Humble servant,
 “ J. BRIDGEHAM,
 “ Major of B. Infantry Yeomen.

“ 6th, 1805.”

“ *James Bridgeham, Esq., Yeomanry Brigade Major, Sligo.*

“ SIR,—The non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the Carbery Cavalry, anxious to testify the high sense they entertain, as well of your public spirit and soldier-like conduct, as your politeness and attention to them as a gentleman, have deputed me to request your acceptance of a sword as a small token of their esteem.

“ I have the honour to be, Sir,
 “ Your obedient servant,
 “ THOS. REED,
 “ Permanent Sergt. Carbery Cavalry.

“ Sligo, 13th February, 1805.”

“ *Permanent Sergeant REED.*

SIR,—I request you will do me the honour of assuring the non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the Carbery Cavalry, that my feelings both as an Officer and a Man, could not be more highly gratified, than by this public mark of the attention of so respectable, zealous, and well conducted a corps.

“ I accept with pleasure so durable a testimony of their partiality, for which I beg to return my most sincere acknowledgements.

“ I have the honour to be, sir,
 “ Your very obliged
 “ Humble servant,
 “ J. BRIDGEHAM,
 “ Major of Brigade, I. Y.

“ Sligo, 14th February, 1805.”

the "warrior queen of the Britons." The newspapers of the United States recount from time to time, as extraordinary news, the number of women that occupy leading positions in the professions and in public life, some as lawyers, several as doctors, one in Missouri as United States marshal, and another in Kansas as mayor; but were Mrs. Motherwell living in America now, she would, with her proud motto, *Aut Cæsar aut nullus*; be satisfied with nothing short of the presidency of the republic.

Still her career supplies a new illustration of the proverb, "Honesty is the best policy." People, they say, never thrive on ill-gotten goods, and Mrs. Motherwell was no exception to the rule; for after evicting James O'Hara from his fine farm of Cultibar, and erecting on it an imposing mansion for herself, she met with so many losses, and sank so low in the world, that, seeing no prospect of retrieving her fortune except by emigration, she left, bag and baggage, for Australia, where, according to report, she died some time ago as poor as her victims James O'Hara and James Henry.

It says little for the administration of the law in the first half of the century, that it was by abuse of legal forms Mrs. Motherwell worked out most of her injustices. Her office as barony constable, as land agent, as receiver under the courts, enabled her with some show of legality, but without the substance, to impound people's cattle, and auction them for little or nothing to creatures and tools of her own; but while complying ostensibly with the requirements of the law, her proceedings were all sham, and were rightly described by one who knew them well as "sham claims, sham auctions, sham sales, sham everything."

Mr. John Taaffe, commonly called Jack Taaffe, another inhabitant of Ballymote, or the neighbourhood, may serve as a companion portrait for Mrs. Motherwell. Like her, he acknowledged no rule but his own will, which, he was always ready to enforce with the pistol, so that his principle of action seemed to be, "*Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis.*" It is said that he fought several duels, and gave scores of challenges,

though the only *affaire* which the people speak of in particular, was one with Major Bridgham, which came off at Boyle, and without casualty on either side.

In connexion with his duelling proclivities a curious story was common round Ballymote some time ago. The gentleman who always acted as Jack's friend, or second, being on death-bed, set so little store by the parson's ministrations, that the reverend gentleman, despairing of bringing him to a christian frame of mind, saw nothing for it but to leave him to his fate. The matter was told to Jack Taaffe, who hastened to the bedside of the sick man, to serve, as Taaffe himself expressed it, as his friend's "second" in the formidable encounter with death; and while the unfortunate gentleman was dying, Jack kept calling on him to "prove himself a man," and to "despise the devil," as he (Jack himself) would, if in the sick man's place; confirming, every now and then, what he said with a horrid oath in Irish (which had better be left unrecorded), that "Jack Taaffe feared nothing or nobody either in this world or the next."

It was the opinion of Jack Taaffe's contemporaries, a few of whom survive, that he was always on the look-out for somebody to challenge; and it is said, that with this object, he docked the manes and tails of his horses in a grotesque fashion, in order that if any gentleman laughed at them, he would have the opportunity of calling him out.

He was as odd and autocratic in his domestic as in his social doings. Once, as he was leaving home for a couple of days, he directed his steward to have the winter's turf brought from the bog to the farm-yard, and stacked on a particular spot. In compliance with the order the steward collected a number of carts, which conveyed the turf home, but, finding the place pointed out by his master for the stack somewhat unsuitable, he constructed it on another hard by. This anybody else would regard as a reasonable proceeding, but the moment Taaffe returned home and saw that his orders were not carried out to the letter, he commanded the steward to have the turf carted

back again to the bog, clamped there, and then recarted to the spot originally fixed for the rick. Extravagances like this were common with him.

As might be expected, Jack Taafe was a prime favourite with the people, as "characters" usually are, but a *bete noire* with some of the gentry, who probably feared him, though they would not acknowledge so much. Kingsfort House, in which he had lived, and out of which he had been evicted, having been burned down at night, the gentry, it is said, had him prosecuted for arson, hoping to rid themselves in this way of so troublesome a neighbour; but the prosecution failed, and in a way, as will be seen later on, that only increased his popularity.

In proof of Jack's hold on the hearts of the people, a hold which lasted long after his death, the strange doings of a wheel-wright named Jemmy Taafe may be mentioned. It appears that this man took, occasionally, more drink than was good for him, but the peculiarity of his case was, that when he did so, no matter where he was, he immediately started off to Emlaghfad graveyard to pray over the grave of poor Jack. It was in vain people told him that the deceased, as a Protestant, would not care for such prayers; for Jemmy always answered that that was no longer the case, as Jack had changed his mind, in the other world, on the subject of prayers for the dead. Hundreds of others, as well as the wheel-wright, cherished the memory of Jack Taafe, though their feelings did not show themselves as sensationally as his did.

The old parish church of Ballymote stood on the hill of Emlaghfad, called anciently *Tulach Segra*, where Saint Columba founded a religious house over which he placed his disciple Enna, son of Nuadhain, whose festival falls on the 18th September. Like other parish churches, Emlaghfad was taken by the State from the Catholics and given to the professors of the State religion.

The graveyard of Emlaghfad is crowded, being the chief burying place of the Protestants of Corran. Several tombstones are inscribed with the name of Phibbs, the bearers of the name

being generally long-lived; as, for instance, John Phibbs, of Lisconny, who lived to the age of 84, and William Phibbs, of Rockbrook, who reached to 80 years. William Phibbs' wife, Mary Harlo, was 75 years at her decease; and it is recorded on the tombstone, of her and her husband, that they were married 53 years, and had issue 21 children.

The succession of the Parish Priests of Emlaghfad is not well preserved; those whose names are known, are Rev. Peter Nelly, registered in Sligo in 1704; Reverend P. O'Grady, collated in the closing years of the last century; Reverend Patrick Boland, who vacated the parish about 1823; Right Reverend Doctor Durcan, who resigned in 1832, on his transfer to Collooney; Reverend Brian O'Kane, Doctor Durcan's successor, in 1832;* and Very Rev. Canon Tighe,† who went to his reward in 1876.

As to the succession of Protestant incumbents: Terence Conolly, or O'Connolly, was Vicar of Emlaghfad and Toomour in 1615; Nathanael Johnson was Vicar in 1622; John Fergus, or Ferguson, in 1633; John Walls, in 1746, in which year he nominated Rev. George Weir curate of the Union of Emlaghfad; Charles Maturin, in 1756, for, in that year, he received from Richard, bishop of Killalla, "a glebe of twenty acres, set off in the land of Emlyfadda, commonly called Tibwee, nearest to the lands of Ballymote, in the barony of Corran, bounded on the one part by the rivulet, the said lands of Ballymote, and those

* Father O'Kane was a distinguished *alumnus* of Maynooth, and had the reputation of being a sound theologian. In 1876 his remains were removed from the old chapel, and reinterred in the new church.

† On the foot of the memorial altar erected by Canon Tighe's brothers, Alderman Tighe, of Sligo, and Mr. Edward Tighe, of Mullaghcorra, we find the inscription:—

Pray for the soul of

VERY REV. CANON TIGHE, P.P., Ballymote,

By whose zealous exertions this church was built, and to whose respected memory this altar has been erected, by his devoted brothers, Edward and James Tighe.

Died 20th December, 1876.

May his soul rest in peace.

of Maghrevelavaddy, and on the other, by the remaining part of Emlyfadda, called Tibwee, parcel of the two quarters of Emlyfadda."

In 1765, this Mr. Maturin mortgaged to John Keogh, of Dublin, "all the tithes, rents, and issues, that should arise out of the several parishes of Emlaghfad, Toomour, Kilmorgan, Drumrat, and Kilturrough, with the glebe lands of Emlaghfad," as said Charles Maturin held same as Vicar.

James Garret and John Garret, father and son, seem to have been the next vicars, John being inducted in 1806. The stone which covers Rev. John Garret's grave in Emlaghfad churchyard, bears the inscription:—

"This tomb is sacred to the memory of
REV. JOHN GARRET, A.M.,
Who departed this life March 17th, 1855, in his 78th year.
Having succeeded his father as Vicar of Emlaghfad.
The united period of their labours was 101 years."

Very Rev. Dean Moore succeeded Mr. Garret, in 1855, as Vicar of the Union of Emlaghfad; and the writer, who had the pleasure of making the Dean's acquaintance on the Duchess of Marlborough's Relief Committee, in 1879, gladly avails himself of this occasion to bear witness to his large-hearted humanity, and his genuine Christian charity and solicitude for the poor.

Rev. Mr. Walker is the actual incumbent of Emlaghfad.

The parish of KILMORGAN, or Kilmurrough, lies in the north-east of Corran, comprises an area of 5,768 acres 1 rood and 21 perches, and consists, for the most part, of hilly ground, with some stretches of low-lying land, chiefly bog, on its eastern margin. In 1881 the parish contained 215 houses, the lowest number reached till then in the decennial census, there being 406 in 1841, 315 in 1851, 268 in 1861, and 235 in 1871. The population in 1881 was 1149, which is less than half the population of 1841, when there were 2,343 persons in the parish.

The subsoil all through is limestone, and is covered with earth, which varies much in depth at different places, and pro-

duces grass more or less rich in proportion to this depth. There is little tillage, so little that it is hardly noticed beside the great scopes of grazing land which meet the eye wherever it turns. There are some spots that wear an old world look—Doo Hill, topped with a grass-covered cairn, 30 feet high, and 120 feet in circumference at the base; Knockminagh circular rath, bearing on its eastern edge a mysterious standing stone, of a triangular form, six feet wide at the base, and six feet high from base to apex; and an area of several acres, near Kilmorgan old church, covered with limestone boulders, strewn as thick as grains of pepper thrown out of a castor. All the higher parts of the parish are bleak, there being no trees, and the fences being generally stone walls, or banks of dry earth, without those hawthorn hedges, which, of themselves, give an air of cultivation wherever they are found.

The demesne of Newpark is on a lower level than the rest of the parish, and produces good timber, and in considerable abundance. It is well walled, with a good belt of trees running all round inside the wall, as well as clumps and single trees through the grounds. The house, which is a square four-story structure, rises on a gentle knoll, and commands a good view of the Sligo mountains, and of the whole barony of Tirerrill; and, though built about one hundred years ago, it looks now particularly bright and fresh, from its having been lately re-roofed and, in many other respects, restored and embellished. The present owner is Mr. Robert Duke, who is highly esteemed for many amiable and many valuable qualities.

Dominick Martin, Owen Hurrochy (now Haraghy), Lord Taaffe, William Dowdall, the bishop of Achonry, and four members of the Mac Donogh sept, were owners of Kilmurrough in 1632, but the four McDonoghs and the other Papists, except Lord Taaffe, disappeared at the Restoration, while Lord Collooney, John Clifford, John Boswell, and Francis King, took their place as proprietors. Under the Commonwealth John Duke, Robert Duke, John Geale, Donnell Conellan, John Clifford, Edward Hill, Henry Bierast, and John Houlder, were

Tituladoes in the parish, but not one of these Cromwellians, except the Dukes, has now a descendant in Kilmorgan.

The parish of Kilmorgan is thinly inhabited, without town or even village worthy of the name. Half a mile or so to the north-east of Kilmorgan old church stand two or three houses, known popularly as Tighe's Town, which may be mentioned as the birth-place of several respectable persons of the name of Tighe, including four brothers, each of whom might serve as a model in his particular line of life: Very Rev. Canon Tighe, the zealous and genial Parish Priest of Ballymote, who died in 1876 full of years and honours; the late Alderman James Tighe of Sligo, remarkable through life for enterprise and integrity as a merchant, and ability and honesty as a local politician; Mr. Thomas Tighe, who may be stated in passing, was the father of Rev. Denis Tighe of Chicago, and who, though he lived and died in his native place, was not less noted for manly worth and christian virtues than the priest and alderman; and Mr. Edward Tighe of Mullaghcorra, who still survives, and still illustrates in his own person all the high qualities, intellectual, moral, and social, of his worthy brothers.

The walls of the church, which has given name to the parish, still exist, and in fair preservation, the western gable being the only part that has disappeared. The structure measures about sixty feet in length, and twenty-four in breadth, exterior measurement, and contains only two windows, one a lancet in the eastern gable, and the other a small two light open near the east end of the south sidewall.

The graveyard attached to the ruin is used in common by Catholics and Protestants. The oldest tombstone is that of Cornet Edward Hill, who died in 1716, having been drowned while crossing a rivulet as he was riding home from a dinner party. A range of substantial, well sculptured, stones cover the remains of several members of the Duke family.

The most curious monument in the place is that of Morgan McDonogh, and is constructed in the form of a little cottage, the dimensions being twelve feet wide, eighteen long, and eight

high. The arms and crest of the McDonoghs are particularly well executed on a limestone flag, which is inserted in the west gable, and which also bears the following inscription:—

“ This monument was erected
By MORGAN McDONOGH of Sligo, Merchant,
to the memory of his most beloved son, JAMES McDONOGH,
who departed this life the 31st day of December, 1822,
aged 19 years.
And likewise devoted to the memory of his beloved wife,
CATHARINE TONRY, *alias* McDONOGH,
aged 56 years,
who departed this life on the 25th day of September, 1825.
May the Almighty God be merciful to MORGAN McDONOGH,
who departed this life on the 14th day of June, 1832,
aged 66 years.”

Francis McDonogh, the Queen's Counsel, was also a son of this Morgan McDonogh, but as he abandoned the faith of the family, he forfeited his right to a place in the family vault, and had to be buried elsewhere. Kate McDonogh, Morgan's daughter, and Francis's sister, took to the stage, and it is not known where her remains lie.

This parish has been united to that of Emlaghfad for more than one hundred and fifty years, and administered all that time by the Parish Priest of Emlaghfad. The last incumbent of Kilmorgan, as a separate living, was Edmund Conane, who is stated in the list of the clergy registered in 1704, to be then thirty years of age, and to reside at Dunmeegan. Miles Philips, Ballindune, and Morgan McDonnagh of Roscrib, were the sureties that entered into recognizances for his good behaviour, as required by the Registration Act of 1704.

CHAPTER XXVI.

UNION OF BUNINADDEN.

ADJOINING the parish of Emlaghfad on the south, lies the Roman Catholic union of Cloonoghill, Kilshalvy, and Kilturra, popularly known as the parish of BUNINADDEN. Buninadden—Bun-an-fedhain in Irish—the mouth or end of the stream, is so-called from a stream which flows down from a lakelet, named Pulincha, and supposed by the people to be all pure spring, and bottomless. The old village stood some hundreds of yards to the south of the present one, where may still be seen remains of the old chapel, the pound, some houses, and a fragment forty-two feet long and twenty broad of Buninadden castle. This castle, which is mentioned several times in the old annals of the country, belonged to the MacDonoghs of Corran; and after they lost it, it was granted to Sir William Taaffe, and served him for a residence on his first coming to the county Sligo at the close of the sixteenth century; for, in a commission of 1596, he is spoken of as “William Taaffe of Buninadden.”

In James the First's General Pardon to Donnogh O'Connor Sligo, of Sligo Co., Esq., the amnesty is extended to the following persons belonging to Buninadden, who, no doubt, comprised all, or nearly all, the inhabitants of the place:—Shane Glas McDonnogh, of Bonanydanie, gent.; Hugh Bane McDonnogh, of the same, gent.; Connor McDonnogh, of the same, gent.; Feriell Oge McDonnogh, of the same, gent.; Shane Geare McDonnogh, of the same, gent.; Thadeus Carragh McCarbrie, of the same, gent.; Melaghlin Duffe O'Byrne, of the same, labourer; Brian O'Birne, of the same, labourer; Brian O'Hayvare (Hevar), of the same, labourer; Donald O'Heyvare, of the same,

labourer; Cahell McGeannayne, of the same, labourer; Fearieall McGeannayne (Gannon), of the same, labourer; Brian O'Caiglie (Quigley), of the same, mason; Connoghor McGilligariffe (Kilgarriif), of the same, keard; Owen McElea, of the same, surgeon; Connoghor McElea, of the same, surgeon; Edward Keogh McElea, of the same, surgeon; Thadeus McElea, of the same, surgeon; Owen Duffe McEdward, of the same, galloglas; Tirrelagh McCahell, of the same, horseman; Dermot Oge O'Brenaine, of the same, smith; Dermot Glasse O'Mullvihilly, of the same, priest; Shane O'Mochane, of the same, priest; Shane O'Fearie (Farry), of the same, kerne; Edward Oge O'Fearie, of the same, kerne.

It is to be hoped, however liable the good people of Buninadden were to broken bones, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, owing to the violence of those troubled times, that the demand for "surgeons" was not equal to the supply.

Like the rest of Sligo, Buninadden belonged in the past to O'Connor Sligo, and in 1545* we find MacCostello attacking it as his possession, but O'Connor and the MacSweenys hastened to its relief; and as MacCostello retreated on their approach, they pursued him, and coming up with him they slew himself and his son, and put his party to flight at Rooskey, or *Ruscaidh-na-gaithe*, "the rough pasture of the wind," the well known spot so-called from its bleak and shelterless situation. While the O'Connors were the lords paramount, the MacDonoghs of Corran occupied the castle; and the Annals of Loch Ce, under the year 1564, state that Brian MacDermot, in the month of March of that year, "went against MacDonough of the Corann to Bun-an-fedhain, and the place was burned to the door by him; and he brought two hundred cows out of it, and committed homicides there." In 1581 several Scotch mercenaries were slain in and around Buninadden, under the strange circumstances which have been already described.

* Annals of Loch Ce, 1545.

CLOONOGHILL is the most interesting of the three parishes which form the union under consideration. The *Gazetteer of Ireland* confounds Cloonoghill and Cloonacoole, taking one name to be merely an *alias* of the other, whereas the two places are quite different, one being in Corran, and the other in Leyney.

The district of Cloonoghill must of old have been covered with yew trees, as the name signifies the recess of the yew tree wood. In Colgan's life of St. Cormac,* it is stated that St. Aidan of Tireragh had a religious house in Corran; and McFirbis's Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach,† adds the circumstance, that Cloonoghill was the spot where the establishment existed.

This Aidan was descended from Eochy Breac through Cuboirne, and had for mother Fearamhla,‡ who was also the mother of five other saints.§ He is, no doubt, identical with the "Saint Aidan of Loch Uamach," of whom there is mention in the Tripartite Life of Saint Patrick; || and though Colgan takes Loch Uamach to be some lake "near the river Bonet, in Breffny," there is good reason to think that it is Cloonacleigha lake, which joins Cloonoghill, and which, like Lough Gara and so many other Irish lakes, has changed its name in the course of time. Very probably it had its old name of Loch Uamha, or Cave lake, from a large and remarkable cave in a little hill to

* Acta Sanctorum, 26 Martii, p. 753.

† Fearamhla was the mother of Aodhan, of Cluain Eochaille, in Corran.—O'Donovan's Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, p. 37.

‡ Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, p. 37.

§ Ibidem.

|| Prædixit (S. Patricius) tunc magnam illius regionis partem olim ad jus suarum ecclesiarum devolvendam; quod impletum est in Aidano de Loch Uamach. Item in episcopo Manio discipulo Patricii, et Gemthenno de Each-aineach in regione de Tirolllella.—Trias Thaum., p. 143.

On this passage Colgan observes in a note, "Floruit hoc tempore S. Aidanus de Cluain-eochiulle de stirpe Hifiachriorum, et colitur 1 Jan., vel. 9 Octob. in regione Connaciæ Corann dicta, per quam tunc transibat S. Patricius, et decessit anno 557, juxta Quatuor Magistros in Annal. de quo proinde verosimiliter hic habetur sermo. Lacus autem Loch-Uamach hic appellatus est in regione Breffniæ, prope Buannadium fluvium versus austrum."

the west of the old church of Cloonoghill; and it is equally probable that the actual name of Cloonacleigha, or recess of the stones, comes from the great flags with which the cave was covered.

While the Gazetteer of Ireland confounds Cloonoghill with Cloonacoole, Lewis' Topographical Dictionary is equally at fault in supposing it identical with Cloonymeaghan,* though one was a parish church, and the other a Dominican convent.

The convent of Cloonymeaghan was founded in 1488, in virtue of faculties granted that year by Innocent VIII., to erect three new Dominican houses in Ireland—one in Kildare, another in Meath, and the third in Cloonymeaghan, in the diocese of Achonry.† The site was granted by Owen MacDonogh, called, in the Constitution of the Pope, Eugenius Macdonchard. Some say that Cloonymeaghan was a cell to the convent of Sligo, but De Burgo ‡ maintains, and seems right in his contention, that it was an independent house, though, owing to the fewness of conventuals of its own, it was ruled for some time by fathers of the Sligo community.

After the suppression Cloonymeaghan was granted to the Taaffes, from whom, with the rest of their property, it passed to the Earl of Shelburne, except about two acres under and around the ruins, which belonged to the Dodwells, and was transmitted by them to their relative, Mr. Creighton, the present owner. The remains, both of the church and the conventual buildings, are in good preservation. The plan was much the same as that of Sligo, with the conventual buildings to the north; but all the parts were smaller and less ornate, and without any of the elaborate and artistic carving, which forms so conspicuous a feature in the famous cloisters of Sligo.

Cloonymeaghan is the chief burying place of the united

* Lewis' Topographical Dictionary of Ireland—article, Cloonoghill, where we read—"This place was formerly called Clonymeaghan, and was the seat of a Dominican monastery," etc.

† Hibernia Dominicana, Cap. VII., Num. VII., p. 75.

‡ Idem, p. 327.

parishes of Cloonoghill, Kilshalvey, and Kilturra. Ballinaglogg is another townland of some note in the parish. It is mentioned in the Annals of Loch Ce, under the year 1559, where it is stated, that it was plundered by Brian MacDermot of Moylurg. Later it became one of the residences of the Taaffes; and we find Christopher Taaffe of Ballinaglogg, as a juror of an inquisition sped at Ballinafad in 1627.

Kilshalvey parish has little to interest the antiquarian or the lover of the picturesque. O'Donovan states that the parish has its name from a Saint Selbach,* Kilshalvey being a form of Kilsealbach, and signifying the church of Sealbach, but he quotes no authority for his opinion. There is no *Saint* Sealbach mentioned in the Martyrologies, or in the works of Colgan, the name Sealbach occurring but once in the Martyrology of Donegal,† and once in Colgan, and designating in each case Sealbach, who was secretary to Cormac O'Cuillenain and who had nothing to do with this part of Ireland. This parish is not given in the taxation of 1307, unless it is represented by Kilsenyg, the name in the Taxation which most resembles it. Kilsenyg would be the Church of Senic, and there are several Irish saints of that name in the martyrologies. In the inquisition held at Achonry, in 1585, by the bishop of Kildare, the name is written Killosalven, and, in a Royal Visitation Book of 1633, Killosalnie, either of which is not very unlike Kilsallaghan, or Kil-tsaileachain, the church of the *ŷ*sallows; so that, as the inhabitants of the district showed themselves so fond of associating their churches with particular trees or plants, designating one (Cloonoghill) from the yew tree, and another (Killavil) from the apple tree, they may have borrowed the name of Kilshalvey, Killosahalaway, or Killosalvan, from the *ŷ*sallows which abound in the place. The grantees at the Restoration of this parish were, Earl of Carlingford, Lord Collooney, Edward Cooper, Christopher Fagan, and Thomas Harte.

* "The church of Saint Sealbach, now Kilshalvey, a parish in the barony of Corran, in the county of Sligo."—*Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, p. 486.

† Page 249.

Passing to Kilturra : the name of this parish is just as great a puzzle as that of Kilshalvey, so that there is ample room for conjecture. As *turagh* as well as *eochoil* is a name of the yew tree, Kilturra, or, as it is written in the Royal Visitation Book of 1833, Kilturrogh, may signify the church of the yew.* In the Taxation of 1307 this church is not given, at least under any recognizable designation, and in the bishop of Kildare's inquisition of 1585, as far as can be made out, it is written Kiltowry.

In the past, at least in post-Reformation times, the Archdeacon of Achonry was Vicar of Kilturra, and owner of the townland of Kilturra, so that the vicarage of the parish and the townland seem to have formed the *corps* of the archdeaconry. It is likely this arrangement was of long standing, though this is not certain. In the inquisition of 1585 the Archdeacon of Achonry is said to be Vicar of Kiltowry, which would go to show that even then, and, if then, prior, probably, to the Reformation, the vicarage of the parish and the townland, constituted the *corps* of the dignity; but, on the other hand, in the county Sligo Survey of 1633, etc., Lord Taaffe, and not the archdeacon, is given as owner of Kilturra townland, the entry running thus:—"Kiltorow townland. The inheritance of my Lord Taaffe, who sets it to Kedagh O'Banaghan for £12, of which he pays Mr. Sharp (the Protestant minister), £6. It is some part good arable land, it hath good turff, 4 days' mowing; it will graze 40 cows, and is worth £12 5s. *per annum*." In the Book of Distributions, however, of the Down Survey, the Archdeacon of Achonry reappears, and is set down among the owners of the parish in 1641.

The Phillips of Cloonmore commonly held Kilturra by lease from the archdeacon for the time being. Mr. Simon Phillips built a house on the farm in 1745, and came to reside in it. The Right Reverend Phillip Phillips, Bishop of Achonry, built a new residence, which is the thatched house now attached to Mr. John Ormsby Cooke's pretty cottage; and, on his transla-

* Joyce's Irish Names of Places.—First series.—p. 28.

tion, as archbishop, to Tuam, in 1785, the prelate made over his right as tenant to his niece, Miss Julia Martin, who, shortly after, married Mr. Timothy MacDermot, of Boyle, thus making that gentleman owner of her interest in Kilturra, where he and she continued, after the marriage, to reside.

The estate being offered for sale, in 1873, by the Church Temporalities Commissioners, it was purchased, to the great gratification of the tenants and neighbours, by Mr. John Ormsby Cooke, who has been always a favourite with high and low, as a grand juror, as a county magistrate, as a benevolent landlord, and as a country gentleman of rare culture and endowments, acquired, in large part, early in life, by education and travel on the Continent.

The old church, which was of little size, is now a mere heap of rubbish. Some think the structure was a Franciscan monastery, but there is no ground whatever for such an opinion. The adjoining graveyard is a small one, and little used of late. The oldest epitaph in the place is inscribed on a headstone erected, in 1771, by Doctor Thomas Irwin, over his father, who died in 1761. The next oldest headstone bears an inscription, which would be the better of some development or explanation—it being uncertain, with the actual words, over whom the stone is erected.*

Near Mr. Cooke's cottage is a well dedicated to Saint Attracta, which is popularly called, like her other wells, Toberaraght. On the edge are two crosses—one a good sized Latin cross, inscribed in relief, on a limestone flag, and the other a Celtic cross, incised on a curious block of red sandstone. As one would expect, from Mr. Cooke's artistic and archæological tastes, both the well and the crosses are singularly well cared.

* The words are :—

“ Erected by
Rev. Patrick Hen
ry datd. Sep. 9,
1806.”

It would appear that Cloonoghill, Kilshalvey, and Kilturra were separate parishes in 1704, as we find three different Parish Priests registered for them at the General Quarter Sessions of the Peace held at Sligo on the 11th June, 1704. The Parish Priest of Cloonoghill, at that date, was Teige Brenane, who was then 56 years of age, lived at Ballinrea, had been ordained at Creigin, county Galway, in 1672, by Teige Keogh, or Keoghy, Titular Bishop of Clonfert, and had for sureties of his good behaviour, Thomas Corcoran, Sligo, and Patrick Duany (Devany), also of Sligo.

The Parish Priest of Kilshalvey, at the same date, was Teige Davey, who was 33 years of age, lived at Coolany, had been ordained by Dr. Donellan, Titular Bishop of Clonfert, in 1697, and had for sureties of good behaviour, George Enerist, Ballymote, and Bryan McDonogh, Carrowhobid.

And the then Parish Priest of Kilturra, called, in the Record, Kiltoruffe, was Teige McDonnagh, who was 52 years of age, resided at Knockrany, had been ordained in 1768, at Clonfert, by Teige Keoghy, Titular Bishop of Clonfert, and had for his sureties Miles Philips, Ballindune, and Morgan McDonogh, Roscrib.

The next Parish Priest we meet with is Rev. Mark Rush, who was a clergyman of note in his day, and is said to have been Dean and Vicar-General of Achonry diocese, as well as incumbent of the three parishes, Cloonoghill, Kilshalvey, and Kilturra, which formed then, as they form now, the Union of Buninadden.

Father Rush was born at Kilturra, in 1740, of highly-respectable parents, received his classical education in Buninadden, and passed through his ecclesiastical studies in Tours in France, where, too, he was ordained priest in 1765. A vacancy in the incumbency of Buninadden Union occurring soon after the young priest's return from France, he was appointed Parish Priest, and held the living down to his decease on the 1st April, 1817, in the 77th year of his age, and the 50th of his sacred ministry. This good man was buried in Kilturra; and his friends love to tell how his coffin was carried to the grave by eight pall bearers of

social standing—the five McDermots of Kilturra, Joseph McDonnell of Doocastle, and Daniel O'Connor and Charles O'Connor, father and son, both of Roadstown.

Like other priests of the period, the pastor of Buninadden, had much trouble with the Thrashers; labouring, first, to keep his parishioners away from these misguided men, and, next, to save from the penal consequences of their acts, such of them as, deaf to his advice, entangled themselves in the meshes of the law.

An anecdote is told of Father Rush, which throws a strong side light on the kind of people he, and, no doubt, other priests of those rude times, had sometimes to deal with:—

As he was making a pastoral round through the parish, attended by his dog, "Bunty," a companion that he had generally with him in his walks, the dog playfully leaped into a "clutch," or brood of young ducks, injuring one of them; and, next minute, the priest felt himself seized, as in a vice, in the arms of a coarse hulk of a fellow, who called on him to stand, and pay for the damage done—the brutal proceeding reminding one of the unjust steward in the Gospel, who, "laying hold of his debtor, throttled him, saying, Pay what thou owest."

Father Rush did not know his assailant, but, on being told that he was a parishioner, who knew nothing and cared nothing about religion, the good priest turned to the dog, and said, "Blessing on you, Bunty, as you have made me acquainted with this unfortunate being, whom I must now try to make both a man and a Christian." Such incidents bring home to us the immense social progress that has been made within a century or so.

Reverend John Coleman, afterwards Parish Priest of Swineford and Archdeacon of the diocese, was Parish Priest of Buninadden, about the beginning of the century. Father Coleman was a native of the parish of Ballysadare, and member of a family which has lived in the neighbourhood for more than seven hundred years.

This excellent priest was succeeded by Father John Doddy, who got into conflict, first, with the civil authorities, by officiat-

ing at a prohibited marriage, and, next, with the ecclesiastical authorities, by disregarding and resisting their injunctions. This resistance to his superiors, occasioned deplorable tumults in the parish, and involved his abettors and followers, who were numerous, in the guilt of disobedience and schism. It is pleasant to be able to add that, after a time, he and his partizans had the grace of returning to their duty.

Reverend Bernard O'Kane, so well remembered for his learning and accomplishments, was the next incumbent. Though his pastorate was troubled by the agitation kept up in the parish in connexion with Father Doddy, he found time and means to build the handsome and commodious parish church of Buninadden previously to his promotion to the parish of Emlaghfad or Ballymote, where he succeeded Dr. Durcan, in 1832.

The Rev. John Corley was the next Parish Priest of Buninadden.

To Father Corley succeeded Rev. James Henry; and, on Father Henry's quitting the parish, from ill health, in 1852, Reverend John Browne was appointed to his place.

Father Henry's health having been re-established, he resumed the incumbency of Buninadden, on Mr. Browne's death, in 1858, and administered this charge up to 1876, when he died after a short illness, full of years and virtues—he and his uncle, Very Rev. James Henry, Parish Priest of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet; and his grand-uncle, Rev. Walter Henry, Parish Priest, also, of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet; being three priests of whom the diocese of Achonry has good reason to be proud.

Very Rev. James Mac Dermot was the next Parish Priest of the union, having taken charge in 1877. It is a loss to religion that Canon Mac Dermot's health began to give way soon after his settling in Buninadden, for, with his talents, learning, and virtues, he was sure to exercise an influence which would be felt far beyond the limits of his parish, and even of his diocese. It is well known to his friends, that he was engaged, during the last years of his life, in preparing a theologico-canonical dissertation, on a subject of great concernment to the Irish

church, and more especially, to the portion of it that lies in Lower Connaught.

This amiable and accomplished ecclesiastic died in 1881, and is buried outside the rails of the high altar in the parish church of Buninadden, by the side of his predecessors, Canon Henry and Father Browne. It is matter of regret to have to add, that all three lie in uninscribed graves, and that there is no memorial of any kind, within or without the church, to preserve the memory of men who deserved very different treatment.

Very Reverend Canon Owen Stenson succeeded Canon Mac Dermot, in 1881, as Parish Priest of Buninadden, and is the actual incumbent.

CHAPTER XXVII.

UNION OF KEASH.

To the east of Buninadden Union, and divided from it by the Owenmore river, stretches the parochial union of Drumrat and Toomour, popularly called the Parish of Keash. We meet with Drumrat in the Annals of the Four Masters at the years 788, 946, 1015, 1016, 1237, but we must not assume that the Drumrat of these entries is always that of Corran. In a note on Drumrat, under the year 788, O'Donovan observes, in his edition of the Four Masters, "Colgan says this is a church in Leyney, in the province of Connaught;" but Colgan says nothing of the kind; for, in the place referred to—the Index Topographicus of the Acta Sanctorum, p. 876—he merely states that there are two Drumrats, one in Meath and the other in Leyney, but gives no opinion as to which of the two the entry of 788 concerns. The entry of 946 records, that "an army was led by the Foreigners over Drumrat, and they burned the oratory and seven-score and ten persons in it," an occurrence which we may refer to the Meath Drumrat; for, had it taken place in Sligo, there would be some tradition of the tragedy in the neighbourhood, of which there is not a trace. On the other hand, it is certain that the event recorded under the year 1237, "They went northward, across the Curlews until they arrived at Drumrat," had to do with the Sligo Drumrat, as the mention of the Curlews clearly shows. Where, then, Drumrat is mentioned in old documents, one must think twice before fixing the locality.

The owners of Drumrat, in 1641, were Lord Taaffe, Owen Horroghy, John Boswell, Sir Robert King, and William Dodwell; and the chief grantees, under the Acts of Settlement and

Explanation, were the Earl of Carlingford, John Boswell, and Lord Collooney.

Another grantee, though of a small grant, should not be passed over. It is Richard Fibbs, the ancestor of the prosperous and numerous Phibbs family. One of the Reports of the Schedules and Petitions of Cromwellian officers and soldiers * records, that Richard Fibbs claimed, as a soldier of Colonel Richard Coote's regiment, and Captain Francis King's troop ; that the amount of arrears he claimed for was £62 2s. 0d. ; and that, in satisfaction of this claim, 82 acres 1 rood 0 perches, subsequently reduced to 54 acres 3 roods 13 perches, were assigned him in the townlands of Sniggeen and Knockgrany, in the parish of Drumrat, which, at 10s. an acre, came to £41 2s. 6d. for the 82 acres 1 rood 0 perches, and to £27 15s. 0d. for the 54 acres 3 roods 13 perches, thus leaving in his favour a balance of claim, in one case, of £20 19s. 6d., and in the other of £34 17s. 0d., or thereabouts.

It was from this small beginning the Phibbs family started on the career of aggrandisement, which they have since so steadily and successfully pursued, being now owners, between them, of near 20,500 acres of the most fertile land in the county—for the most part church lands. A short time before the Phibbs family

* The Report runs thus :—

“ To the Honourable his Majesty's Commissioners for putting in execution the Act of Settlement and the Explanatory Act of the same.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS—

“ Pursuant to your Honors' instructions we have compared and examined the petition and schedule of Richard Fibbs who claymes as a souldier, and doo report the state thereof to be as follows :—

Com. Sligoe.

Bar. of Corran.

Colonel Richd. Coote's Regt.

Capt. Francis King's Troop.

<i>Sums of Money.</i>	<i>Old Proprietor's Names.</i>	<i>Denominations of Land.</i>	<i>Quantity of Land.</i>		
			<i>A.</i>	<i>R.</i>	<i>P.</i>
£26 2 0	Owen Horroghy.	Sniggeen & Knockgrany.	82	1	0
To be deducted as granted to the Earl of Carlingford in fee			27	1	27
			54	3	13

Commonwealth Books ; at present in the Public Record Office, Dublin.

got possession of these church lands, they were held on lease from the Bishop of Killalla and Achonry, by Lord Kingsborough, whose interest, it would appear, the Phibbs acquired by purchase or otherwise.

While it must be admitted that more than one of the Phibbs family have always acted justly and humanely by their tenants, it is certain, on the other hand, that some of them have been among the most objectionable landlords in the county. The leading principle of action with the late Mr. William Phibbs of Seafield, as a landlord, seems to have been the substitution everywhere of cattle and sheep for human beings; and the miles upon miles of "cleared" grass land, left by him in the parishes of Ballysadare, Killaspugbrone, and Drumrat, are there to show how effectually he carried this inhuman principle into practice.

Wherever he had the power, houses and cabins disappeared, and interminable field walls, built in great part with the stones of demolished houses, rose up in their place.

A late member of the Phibbs family, whom we shall call A. B., was, perhaps, as good-for-nothing and as rack-renting a landlord as could be found in Ireland. He was a good-for-nothing landlord; for while he owned 499 acres 0 roods 34 perches of, for the most part, prime land, in the parish of Ballysadare, he never employed a labourer, if we except a few days in the hurried season of hay-making, when he paid those employed a shilling or ten pence a day without meat or drink, just half of what they could receive from others, taking care too that they must not charge for a half or a broken day; and when he called on such tenants, as had horses and carts, to give him a hand, instead of entertaining and regaling them generously, as others always do in similar circumstances, he never provided the usual "entertainment for man and horse," but sent the carmen home at meal times to recruit, at their private expense, their own and their horses' strength, with directions, not to lose a moment when the meal was over, in hastening back to their work.

That A.B. was a rack-renter, will appear from the ratio of

rent to valuation on his property, as seen in the following cases :

Tenants.		Rent.			Valuation.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Pat. McK.	...	8	5	0	3	10	0
James McK.	...	9	5	0	5	0	0
Mrs. Q.	...	13	0	0	5	15	0
Pat. Q.	...	4	0	0	2	0	0

Nor let any one say that these may be exceptional cases, for a like proportion is observable in the instances of nearly all the tenants who had to do with this unfeeling taskmaster.

And what aggravated enormously the injustice of these rents, is, that the land was all reclaimed by the tenants themselves or their predecessors in title. When the parents of Pat and James McK. came into possession, there was not a perch of arable land in their holdings, all being wet, unwalkable bog, still in its primeval state. Day after day, and year after year, these miserable men and their children, delved, and drained, and manured, up to the knee in water or sludge, the desolate ungrateful waste, continually realising infinitely more than their proportionate share of the hard lot assigned to the children of Adam, of "eating their bread in the *sweat* of their face." And to crown their misery, a patch of land was no sooner made ready to give crops, than the landlord stepped in and set on it a rack-rent; thus, as it were, inflicting a penalty on the tenant, instead of dealing out a reward to him for reclamation and improvements.

It is with great reluctance, and only from an imperious sense of duty these references to particular persons and cases are made ; but history, to be useful, must notice the good and the bad of men and things.

The most remarkable object in the adjoining parish of Toomour is the famous hill of Keash. The part this hill has had in the legends and folk lore of the people, may be inferred from the fact, that it forms the subject of one of the Fenian Tales, under the name of *Brughean Cheise Corainn*, the enchanted

fort of Ceis Corann,* and that it figures largely in another of these tales, which is given in the third volume of the Ossianic Society publications, as *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*.† Antiquaries differ as to the origin of the name of Keash; some maintaining that the hill is so-called from the Irish word *Ceis*, signifying Harp strings, because the entrances to the “Caves” on the west side shorten in a graduated scale like the strings of a harp;‡ some, that the name comes from a lady called Ceis, who, after being transformed into a pig, was killed there;§ others derive it from the Irish word *cuas*, cave, in reference to the famous caves of the hill; others again, including Very Rev Canon Judge, of Killasser, a native of Keash, and a first-rate Irish scholar, trace the “style and title” to the resemblance, real or imagined, which the hill, with its entourage of little hills, offers to a sow and her litter. The third opinion is the more likely one.

Sheanachies tell droll stories of the formation of the chief cave, and of its vast extent, the most moderate of these *raconteurs* stretching this cave to Rathcroghan, in Roscommon;||

* Transactions of the Ossianic Society, Vol. III., p. 20.

† Idem, pages 170-171.

‡ What is said in the Dinnseanchus of the cave seems to point to this etymology:—“Here used to dwell the gentle Corann, whose hand was skilful in playing on the harp . . . Here was he, this generous man, not without literature, or in a churlish fortress, but in a place where the stranger was at liberty to sojourn with him.”—*The Irish Penny Journal*, p. 9.

§ Ibidem. In his article on the Caves of Kish-Corran, in the *Irish Penny Journal*, p. 9, Dr. Petrie observes:—“The same authority, the Dinnseanchus, accounts for the prefix, *Ceis*, or, as it is pronounced, Kish, which is applied to the mountain by a very singular legend, according to which it would appear that it was originally the name of a lady, who, with five others, were by a charm compounded with the nut-fruit, metamorphosed into pigs, the unhappy Ceis herself being here subsequently slain. However this may be, there is nothing improbable in the supposition, that the caves of Kish-Corran were in former times the favourite dens of the wild boar, the wolf, and many other animals now extinct; they furnish a secure retreat to the fox and many other wild animals at the present day.

|| In proof they quote the adventure of a woman, who, while driving a calf at Rathcroghan, seeing it enter a cave there, caught hold of it by the tail to

but geologists will, no doubt, maintain that all the caves were formed by water falling into the fissures on the summit, and, after penetrating into the interior, forcing its way out through the side, and carrying with it in its flow the decomposed limestone—thus enlarging by degrees the orifices of the outlets.

This solution will appear the more probable if we hold with Professor Hull,* that “the cleft which traverses the summit of this limestone hill” is a dried up river valley. It is a pity that these caves, or “coves,” as they are locally called, have never been scientifically explored. Dr. Doberk, late of the Markree Observatory, tried once to do so, but complained that, owing to the crowd of young fellows that gathered in upon him, he was unable to proceed. Had he been allowed to continue his operations, he would, very probably, have made some interesting discoveries, which are now reserved for other explorers.

A very important battle, called the battle of Ceis Corainn, was fought at the foot of the hill in 971, between the Northerns and Connaughtmen, in which the latter were defeated with great loss, Cathal, son of Teige, King of Connaught, being among the slain.† The Book of Ballymote contains an interesting statement in reference to this battle, which is translated as follows, in the Ordnance Survey volume of extracts relating to the county Sligo:—“In the rage of the battle of Ceis Corainn, fell Searrach O’Flaverty, King of the Kenelowen, and Donough the son of Donnell Roydamna of the Kenelowen. Also Teige, the son of Mortagh, the father of Concannon; and Cathal, the son of Teige, King of Connaught, and all these chiefs, both northern and southern, were interred in Cill Easpaig Luidhigh, between Mael-an-Chinn—Sein-Slebhi—and Corrsliabh Seghsa (Curlews).”

Our Annalists call the battle, in which the kings fell, the

pull it back, but being instead pulled forward herself, and keeping “a firm grip of her holding,” found herself at last, after a wearisome journey, and a thousand ups and downs, issuing into light through the great Cave of Keash.

* Physical Geography of Ireland, p. 182.

† Chronicon Scotorum, A.D. 971.

Battle of Keash, without supplying any further indications of the precise locality ; but, as we learn from an inquisition sped at Ballymote, on 22nd May, 1611, before Nicholas Brady, that a denomination of land, then called the *Tryne of Cloncagh*, that is, the *Tryne of the Battle-field*, lay between Toomour and the crest of Bricklieve, we are sufficiently warranted in pitching upon this place as the exact scene of the conflict. This spot being fenced, on the west, by the Hill of Keash, and, on the north, by Bricklieve mountain, escape or flight, in these directions, was next to impossible, which may account, somewhat, for the exceptional slaughter of the battle.

The exact situation of the interment of the chiefs who lost their lives in the engagement has remained unknown hitherto, though there can hardly be a doubt that it is the churchyard of the old church of Toomour, of which the ruin still stands, in fair preservation, in the townland of Toomour. The extract from the Book of Ballymote informs us that the slain chiefs were interred in the church of "Bishop Luidhigh," so that to identify this church is to identify the burying place of the chiefs who fell in the great battle of Keash.

From the words "Cill Easpaig Luidhigh between Mael-an-chinn, Sein Slebhi, and Corsliabh-Seghsa," coupled with the fact that the battle was fought at Keash, it follows that the church lay in the neighbourhood of Keash and the Curlews. Of the three points given, Corsliabh-Seghsa is certainly the Curlews; and, though the other two points, Sein Slebhi and Mael-an-Chinn, are not known now by these names, there may be little hesitation in affirming that Sein Slebhi, in English, the Old Mountain, is the famous hill of Keash, and that Mael-an-chinn is some point or pinnacle of the adjoining Bricklieve mountain—"mael," according to Dr. Joyce, "being applied to hills and promontories" (Names of Places—First series, p. 360). The position of Toomour old church is within the triangle formed by these three points, so that there can hardly be any doubt as to the identity of this spot with Cill Easpaig Luidhigh.

But there is additional evidence, which, if possible, is still

more decisive on the subject ; for, the Martyrology of Donegal, under the date of the 6th of October (*pridie nonas Octobris*), gives, in express words, “Lughaidh, as Bishop of Tuaim-fobhair (Toomour), in Leyney ;” * and as it is certain that Leyney was the old name of the diocese of Achonry, as well as an alternative name, for a long time, of Corann or Coranna, the statement of the Martyrology is in effect the same as if it were this other, “Lughaidh Bishop of Toomour, in barony of Corran, and diocese of Leyney.” It is seldom the identification of old Irish churches is so satisfactory.

The facts mentioned enable us to clear up a point or two in the life of the famous St. Kevin of Glendalough, which, in spite of the efforts of all the saint’s biographers, foreign and domestic, still continue obscure and unsettled—namely, the identification of the bishop who ordained him, and of the place in which the orders were conferred.

The many writers, who have treated the life of this saint, agree that he lived, for some time, in the monastery of “Bishop” Ligidus or Ligid, and that he received the order of priesthood at that bishop’s hands ; but they all fail to identify the bishop, or the place to which his religious house belonged. Colgan makes no mention of any “Bishop” Ligid or “Saint” Ligid, either in the *Acta Sanctorum*, or the *Trias Thaumaturga* ; Dr. Lanigan states, † that he knows no “bishop” Ligidus by whom Saint Kevin could have been ordained, except St. Ligidus, bishop of Connor, whom he cannot regard as the person in question ; Baert, ‡ the

* “Luhaidh, son of Lucht, son of Anrodhan, son of Maeltuile, son of Aithcleach, son of Ferb ; and Medhbh, daughter of Garbhan, son of Brocan, son of Garbhan, son of Dubchertan, of the Ui-Saithghil of Ciarraighe, Luachra was his mother. He was bishop of Cuil-Beannachair, on the brink of Loch Erne, and of Rath Muighe-tuaiscirt in Ciarraighe Luachra ; or of Cuil Beannachair in Ui Failghe, and of *Tuaim-fobhair in Luighne*.”

† “I know of no bishop Ligidus, by whom he could have been ordained, when arrived at the proper age for priesthood, except Lugadius (same name, I dare say, as Ligidus), bishop of Connor. But how account for Coemgen’s going so far away from his own country as the diocese of Connor ?”—*Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 43.

‡ “Baert remarks, that he could find no saint, named Ligid or Ligidus in

editor of the Bollandist "Life of St. Kevin," professes himself equally unable to discover this Bishop Lugid; while the learned and painstaking Father O'Hanlon, the latest of Saint Kevin's biographers, has also searched in vain for the missing information.

After all the troublesome and bootless inquiries of these distinguished men, it would be gratifying to think that we had at last fallen in with the object of their search; and there is the best reason for believing that the extract from the Book of Ballymote, when correctly understood, acquaints us with that object. Without affirming dogmatically that the Luidhigh of *Cill Easpaig Luidhigh* is the ordainer of Saint Kevin, there is no ground for doubting the fact.

It is true the names Luidhigh and Lugid are slightly different, as the first part of Lugid has a *g*, which is not found in the other; but such a difference of orthography is not uncommon in Irish words, even while the names are still the same, as Coeman and Kevin without a *g* are the same word as Coemgen with it, and *tighearna* with a *g* the same as *tierna* without it.

Anyhow, it is quite clear from the Martyrology of Donegal, that Luidhigh, Lugid, and Lughaidh are, all three, different forms of the same name, as the Martyrology applies the name of Lughaidh to the person whom the Book of Ballymote calls Luidhigh, and the biographies of Saint Kevin, Lugid. It is important to note that as Luidhigh is styled in the Book of Ballymote, "Bishop," or *Easpaig Luidhigh*, so also Lugid is styled in the lives of Saint Kevin "Bishop" Lugid, as if Bishop was a *prænomen* in each case, or, so to speak, the popular style and title of the person spoken of; a fact, which, of itself, and independently of the conclusive proofs already offered, would serve to show the identity of "Bishop" Luidhigh and "Bishop" Lugid.

In regard to this valley of Toomour, it may be remarked that,

Colgan; but he finds many named Lugaid, Lugbee, and Lugnes. He confesses himself at a loss to discover, if any of them could be identified with the present Lugid."—*Note in O'Hanlon's "Lives of the Irish Saints," Part 61, p. 41.*

judging from what appears in the "Life of Saint Kevin," the place was far from being the paradise one might expect, in the time of the saint, that is, in the sixth century. It was probably about the middle of that century Kevin was ordained in the church of "Bishop" Luidhigh, seeing that he died in the year 618, at an extreme old age, and that he was probably thirty years, or thereabouts at the time of his ordination, which would fix that event at, or close on, 560. There are proofs that, even during the stay of the saint in the valley, crimes of such magnitude as robbery, perjury, and murder, were not unknown, or, apparently, uncommon there.

It is told, for instance, that robbers stole some animal belonging to the flock of Bishop Luidhigh's establishment. The robber, on being charged with the act, added perjury to dishonesty, and swore, on some sacred objects—" *Signa sacra*," (no doubt the rounded stones of The Altar), that he was innocent of the alleged crime; but it is satisfactory to be able to add that, on being reproved by Saint Kevin for the perjury, he repented, and passed the remainder of his life in doing penance for his sins.

Murder, too, stained the neighbourhood of Bishop Luidhigh's monastery; for, Saint Kevin, in one of his rounds, found, it is said, lying in his path, the dead bodies of two murdered females, and, on inquiry, ascertained that the murder, like many other Irish crimes, was the prompting of revenge; the murderers having acted in retaliation for some injuries, real or imaginary, which they had received from relatives of the murdered persons.

The church of "Bishop Lugid" being ascertained, a question now arises, whether it should not be identified with the church, that Saint Patrick founded at *Dumecha nepotum Ailello*.* In what is stated, in another page, under the head of the Parish of Aghanagh, may be seen a conjecture, that this foundation of our national apostle was a church which stood on the site of what is now called the Nunnery, at Carricknahorna, in that

* Documenta de S. Patricio, E. Hogan, S.J., p. 70.

parish ; and while this opinion derives some probability from the fact, that the Nunnery lies in Tirerrill, where St. Patrick's church is located by Tirechan, a strong argument on the other hand for identifying that church with Toomour, though in the present Corran, will be found in the Taxation Roll of 1307.

In that roll, among the churches of Achonry, there is mention of one named Kellasennig, probably a misprint for Kellasis, which is an equivalent of *ecclesia senis*, the very name that this church of St. Patrick receives at one place in the Book of Armagh.* As Toomour is not given, under that name, in the Taxation roll, and as so old and renowned a church could hardly be omitted, it is likely that Kellasis, or Kellasis, stands for it, and the more so, as Kellasis belonged certainly to the same district, being placed on the roll between Kekelcurn and Emlaghfad, the exact situation of Toomour.

It can be objected that Toomour is not in Tirerrill, where St. Patrick's foundation certainly was, but there is little force in the objection, as Toomour is on the border of Tirerrill, and was probably within the border in remote times, similar small changes in the extent of territories being of frequent occurrence. And supposing the church of Toomour to have been built by Saint Patrick, it might, in the course of time, have got the name *Cill Easpuig Luidhigh* from St. Luid, who may have rebuilt or restored it, and who, in any case, as appears from St. Kevin's putting himself under his rule, was a most distinguished bishop in his day.

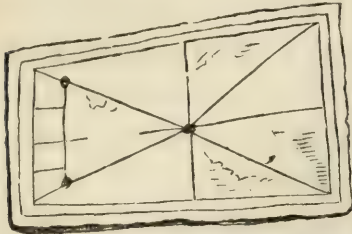
No one can give any information as to the origin of the name Toomour, but, it may be taken as certain, that it comes from the holy well near the church ; for Toomour, that is Tuaim Fobhair, signifies the Hollow of the Spring, the F being aspirated, and in consequence, losing its sound. (Joyce's Irish Names of Places ; First Series, p. 20.)

And the present English name of the spring—Kings-town Well—is as great a puzzle as the Irish one ; but a little reflection

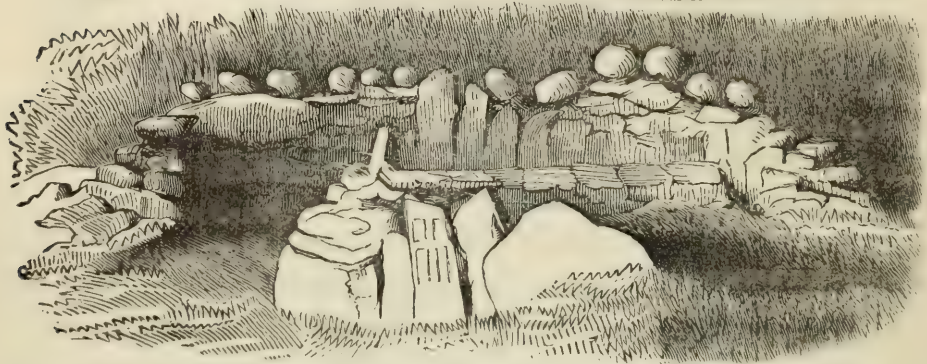
* Documenta de S. Patricio, p. 60.

will satisfy us, that it comes from the "Kings" buried in St. Lugid's church, from whom the place got the name of the *King's Town*, in Irish *Baile-na-Righ*.*

A



B



GRAVE OF THE KINGS WHO FELL IN THE BATTLE OF KEASH-CORRAN.†

* We may take occasion of what is here said of the King's Town, to point out what appears to be the correct meaning and application of a line in the Book of Fenagh, which seems to have been misapplied. The line occurs at page 279 of the book, and runs thus:—

“The Battle of the Kings in Cairbre.”

On this line Mr. D. H. Kelly observes in a note, “It is uncertain which of the conflicts that took place in Carbury, between the O'Rorkes and O'Donnells, is here referred to.”

Instead of referring to any conflict between the O'Rorkes and O'Donnells, the line must relate to the famous battle between the O'Conors of Connaught and Flaherty O'Muldory, Lord of Tirconnell, in 1181; for, first, this battle is expressly called, in the Four Masters and in all our annals, *Cath Criche Cairbre*, that is, the battle of the territory of Carbury; second, it is the most famous of the battles fought in the district, and was the most momentous, so that it deserved to be specially associated with Carbury; third, those engaged in the contest are styled the “sons of Kings,” just as those engaged in the battle of Keash Corran are similarly styled; and lastly, the author of the Book of Fenagh, in the passage (pages 278-279), is speaking not of the O'Rorkes or O'Donnells, but of King Turlough O'Connor and his descendants.

† Drawn on the wood by Mr. Wakeman, from a sketch by Mr. Coleman of Ballaghaderreen.

The exact place in which the Kings are buried, is not the existing ruin of Toomour church, but a spot about 60 feet to the west of it, which measures fifteen feet by nine, and which, as appears from existing foundations, was formerly enclosed on all the four sides, though at present the only parts of the walls standing, are three feet high of the east wall, with two feet seven inches long of the south wall attached, and five feet eight inches of the north one. On the west wall there is laid a range of seventeen rounded sea stones, varying in diameter from nine to three inches, and a four sided flag, A, marked with several incised lines, and measuring lengthwise one foot six inches, and in breadth one foot. This flag the country people call the Altar-table, and under it a stone stands bearing an incised cross, one foot four inches high, and one foot wide. Six similarly incised crosses, one apiece for the kings, appear on the rude circular flag B, that covers the grave, each being five inches by five. In this covering flag are too small round depressions, which, the people tell you, were made by the knees of the saint of the place in his constant prayers at the Altar.

It may be doubted whether this little structure was the original church of "Bishop" Lugid, though, considering the small dimensions of primitive churches, *Teach Molaise*, in Inismurray, for instance, measuring internally but eight feet ten inches in length, by seven feet ten inches in breadth, it is probable that it was; the larger church, of which the ruin remains, measuring fifty-three feet long and twenty-three broad, exterior measurement, being a later erection,

The sepulchral enclosure is always spoken of by the people as The Altar, and no one had any notion of its mortuary character when the writer, after visiting the place, and putting together various scraps of information, picked up here and there, conceived the idea that it must be the burying-place of the Kings who fell in the battle of Keash. To test the conjecture, Father Pat McDermott, the obliging and accomplished curate of Keash, was asked to explore the spot, who, having kindly complied

with the request, described thus in a letter the result of the examination :—"As you conjectured, the little structure *is a grave*. I removed the flag a few days since, and dug down three feet deep. On removing the flag, just on the surface I found a number of bones very large. Having removed some of the earth I found more bones laid on stones. Under the stones there seemed to be a vacuum, as I could have put the bar of iron a foot beneath the stones without interruption. On removing them, however, I found more earth, and again more stones with a number of human bones. I have kept two small bones that you may see them. They seem to have been there for ages."

Now that the facts in connexion with Toomour are known, it will be admitted, that the spot yields to no other in the county, either in religious or in secular interest. From the religious stand-point we see, first, Saint Patrick and his disciples founding what was probably their first church in the district of Sligo; and, secondly, in the establishment of "Bishop" Lugid, we meet with one of those religious houses which continued and extended, in the sixth century, the great work of St. Patrick; while the case of St. Kevin, coming all the way from Wicklow to Toomour, illustrates for us a practice, not uncommon in these days, of fervent souls travelling to distant monasteries and distant religious teachers in quest of greater perfection.

From the secular point of view, we are brought face to face with one of the most momentous battles recorded in the annals of the country—one in which all Connaught was engaged against all Ulster, and in which, "with a countless number of others," the most exalted princes of both provinces were slain. And, what is remarkable at this early period, we find the bodies of the princes, instead of being buried on the battle field, carried religiously to the next church, and there deposited in one and the same grave, where, their enmities ended, they have lain together at rest for 917 years. It may be doubted whether any other single grave, containing so many kings or princes, can

be pointed out in Ireland. Anyhow, there is nothing else of the kind in the county Sligo, so that in this respect the church of Toomour, like the church of St. Denis, near Paris, enjoys a great distinction, and may, like it, be styled a "Royal Mausoleum."

The churchyard of Toomour is nearly deserted as a burying place, there being now only one or two families in the parish which continue to bury in it. Templevanny, though a much later foundation—being a work of the monks of Boyle—is at present the chief cemetery of the district.

At the date of James the First's pardon to Donnogh O'Connor and others, Templevanny was the most populous spot in the parish of Toomour, the following inhabitants receiving then the royal pardon;—"Owen Grany McMoylronie finn, of Templevanny, gent; Keodagh McMoyleronie Fin, of the same, kerne; Brian Boy McMoyleronie Fin of the same, kerne; Rory Oge McMoyleronie Fin of the same, kerne; Arte McGillyworin, of the same, labourer; Gilleduffe McBrian Buy, of the same, labourer; Will Boy O'Gibbalaine, of the same, kerne; Donald McGillyworne, of the same, kerne; Moriasse McGillyworaine, of the same, labourer; Edward McGillyworaine, of the same, kerne; Moriertagh Glas McMoilrony Finn, of the same, labourer; Cahall Duffe McDwalty, of the same, labourer; Dermot O'Lapane, of the same, labourer."

Toomour and Drumrat are entered as separate parishes on the List of the Popish Parish Priests of 1704, James Mullrussin of Templeavanny being the then Parish Priest of Toomour, and John McDonnagh, of Taunagh, the Parish Priest of Drumrat.

The following is the succession of recent Parish Priests:—Rev. O'Connor, Rev. James McDonnagh, Rev. Owen Banagher,*

* Father Banagher is buried in Knockbrack graveyard. His tombstone bears the inscription:—

" Pray for the soul of OWEN BANAGHER,
who died April 3rd, 1800,
aged 68 years."

Rev. Rickard Fitzmaurice,† Rev. James O'Hara,‡ Rev. C. Cosgrave, and Rev. Mark Cooke. The actual incumbent is Rev. Patrick Skully.

There was no priest of the county more esteemed in his day than Father Rickard Fitzmaurice. His devotedness to duty through life would, of itself, gain him general respect; but an event occurred a little before he left France, where he was educated, for Ireland, which rendered him an object of exceptional interest to everybody. It was in the worst period of the Revolution; and some rabid revolutionists, learning that there were priests in a neighbouring house, hastened to the place to take their lives. As these miscreants were breaking in, Father Fitzmaurice hid himself in the spacious chimney of the apartment, and was there while his companions were butchered. From his concealment he heard everything that went on; and the scene acted so powerfully on the nerves and the imagination, that he was then and there seized with a tremor, which lasted him all his life, and which, while keeping

† Father Fitzmaurice is also interred in Knockbrack, and his monument is inscribed with the words:—

“ Pray for the soul of RICHARD FITZMAURICE,
who departed this life, April the 7th, 1831,
P.P. of Keash,
35 years.”

This good priest presented a chalice to the parish of Toomour, as we learn from the inscription:—

“ Pro Parochia Toomover, RICKARDUS FITZMAURICE,
me fieri fecit 1802.”

‡ The inscription on the tombstone over FATHER O'HARA's grave in the same cemetery runs thus:—

“ JACOBUS O'HARA vixit LIX annos.
Obiit die xxviii Jan. Anno Dom. MDCCCLI.
R.I.P.”

Father Constantine Cosgrave and Father Mark Cooke are buried in the Parish Church of Keash, and it is matter of regret that there is no memorial of any kind over their graves. At a time when people in other parts of Ireland are erecting costly marble monuments over the remains of their priests, it might be expected that the parishioners of county Sligo parishes would put up at least simple slabs to record the names of their pastors.

alive in the minds of those who saw him the memory of the tragedy, caused them to respect him as a sufferer for the faith.

Anterior to the Reformation, the church and the poor were well provided for in this district, there being 2,114 acres of church land in Toomour, and 551 acres in Drumrat.

Under the Established Church, Toomour and Drumrat belonged to the union of Emlaghfad, so that the Vicars of Emlaghfad were Vicars also of Toomour and Drumrat.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

BARONY OF TIRERRILL.

THE MAC DONOGHS.

TIRERRILL, *recte* Tirollioll, so-called from Ollioll, son of Eochy Moyvane, occupies the south-east of the county Sligo. The district, as seen from one of the neighbouring eminences, resembles, not a little, a framed picture or map, more or less circular; the elevations of Union Rock, Slieve da En, Branlieve, the Curlews, Drumfin, and Carrickbanagher, forming the frame. The enclosed plain, which maintains all through much the same level, is tumulated; the tumuli, or hillocks, gaining somewhat in size as one moves towards the south, Ardley more being larger than Ardley beg, Gaddan than Ardley more, Sooley than Gaddan, and so on till the southern boundary is reached at Moytura and the Curlews.

The north-west and west portion of the barony is well timbered, containing, as it does, Union Wood, Cloonmucduff, Markree demesne, Cloonamahon, and a considerable part of Annaghmore. Some of these places produce trees of great size and the finest quality. The beeches of Annaghmore, the limes and elms of Markree, and the ashes, oaks, and firs of Union Wood, are equal to anything of the kind in the country.

The younger timber too is flourishing. The late Markree forester, Mr. J. Robertson, who boasted that he took all the seedlings out of the nursery, and put them down in thousands through Ballygawley, Cloonmucduff, and Markree demesne, might be proud of the square miles of beautiful and luxuriant plantations, which now bear witness to his skill and success.

Some of those young trees, if spared by the woodman, bid fair to have as long and prosperous a life as the famous Plunket

limes of Markree, which were so-called from being planted by Patrick Plunket, the owner of Markree in 1641, and which survived down to our own day, enjoying a green old age, furnished with boughs as thick as the trunks of most other trees, and capable of supplying, with their wide spreading branches and foliage, shade and shelter for half the flocks and herds of the county.

The best timber habitat in the county is Union Wood, which has been marked in all our old maps and surveys as a natural forest. The trees are still very abundant, though four or five carts have been daily drawing them for several years to the Chemical Works of Collooney, and to the Messrs. McNeile's factory, Sligo: to say nothing of the sales constantly made to customers on the spot.

Like the other tracts of the county, Union Wood suffered severely in the great storm of 1884, the ravages of which are still visible in the fallen timber lying in all directions about. Uprooted trees were to be met with everywhere, but more especially at a spot called Castle View, on the south-eastern side near the top of the ridge. If the whole wood looked like a Titanic battlefield, strewn with dead bodies, the spot, referred to, resembled the camp or citadel where the last great struggle came off, the place being filled with corpses of huge firs, oaks, and beeches; many lying flat on the ground; some in collision, like two gladiators locked in deadly embrace, but each unable to bring the adversary under; some decapitated, some with arms torn quite off, or hanging by the side; and some with whole perches of soil and rock, like gigantic shields firmly clutched by the roots, and still held up in defence or protection over the prostrate body.*

* In poring over the annals of the country we meet occasionally accounts of similar storms, as, for instance, in the year 1178, when, to use the words of the Annals of Loch Ce, "Very great wind came in this year, which prostrated large tracts of woods and forests, and huge trees; and it moreover prostrated six score large trees, *vel paulo plus*, in Doire-Cholum-Chille."

The groves round Ballygawley lake, owing to the sheltered situation, weathered the storm of 1884 with comparative impunity, and form as thriving and picturesque plantations as can be found in the country. Even when they were much fewer and thinner than they are now, they struck the artist's eye of Dr. Petrie, who, after seeing them from the Sligo and Ballyfarnon road, records his impressions in these strong words:—"I was in raptures with the scenery along the shore of Lough Gill, and the sweet little wood-embosomed lake of Ballygawley, and, if I had been in better spirits, and less absorbed by the spirit of antiquarian research, I should have felt great delight in transferring some of their beauties to my portfolio."*

A ramble through the place increases one's admiration, as it brings under immediate view rare specimens of fine young trees, including the oaks which skirt the Slieve da En side of the lake, and which, judging by their vigorous branches and broad sappy leaf, bid fair to equal one day the noble oaks for which Ireland was once so famous; the various walks leading to points of interest, and opening up charming views at every turn; the miles of rhododendrons which line the lake walk, and in June, form with their corymbs a long streak of beauty, brilliant as one of the colours of the rainbow; and the sweet secluded tranquil lake, referred to by Dr. Petrie, far away from the haunts of men, unseen and unappreciated, like the theme of Gray's lines:—

"Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

The stretch from Ballygawley to Lough Dergan, was planted about sixty years ago by the late John Ormsby, but owing to the want of protection, most of the trees perished, and those that survived, and still grow, have a scraggy look, except near Lough Dergan house, where they are doing fairly well. At Bloomfield there are flourishing groves; and at Castle Neynoe there is good soft timber, though this and other places of the barony suffered severely in the destructive storm of 1884.

* The Life of George Petrie, LL.D., M.R.I.A. By William Stokes, M.D., D.C.L. Oxon, p. 258.

The MAC DONOGHS of the county Sligo are a branch of the Mac Dermots of Moylurg, being descended from Donogh, who was a son of Tomultach McDermot, and who died in 1232. Mulrony More, who died in 1077, being their ancestor, as well as the ancestor of the Mac Dermots, both families got the name of Clan Mulrony; the Mac Donoghs being known as the Clan Mulrony Lower, and the Mac Dermots as Clan Mulrony Upper.

On taking the new name the Mac Donoghs possessed themselves of Tirerrill, some settling at Collooney, some at Ballindoon; and others in various spots through the district, the chief being taken now from one of these places, and again from another, in accordance with the qualifications of individuals for the office.

From the beginning they played an active and influential part in the affairs of Lower Connaught, engaging in all the transactions that occurred there in the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. They displayed on all occasions a high and martial spirit, of which the deaths of the first and the last of the Collooney chiefs may afford a good illustration.

Cormac Mac Donogh, Tanist of Tirerrill, or, as he is called in the Annals of Loch Ce, Lord of Tirerrill, is the first of the Collooney chiefs of whom we have any account. His death occurred in 1388; and the following simple narrative of the event shows well the lofty courage of the man:—"Cormac Mac Donogh, royal champion of Tirerrill,* and its Tanist, went by night on a predatory excursion into Moylurg, and made great preys. O'Connor Roe, the grandson of Felim, the sons of Cathal Oge O'Connor, and the sons of Hugh Mac Dermot, namely Cathal and Cormac, with their forces, followed him in pursuit of the preys. Cormac Mac Donogh betook himself to the rear of his own people, where some of O'Connor's party first made towards him, and unsparingly attacked him; but O'Connor himself came up with them, and commanded his people not to kill him, if they could take him prisoner; but Mac Donogh did not

* Annals of the Four Masters, 1388.

consent to protection or quarter, so that they were at last obliged to kill him. There was not of his tribe, up to that time, his peer for hospitality and prowess."

Brian Mac Donogh, who represented the county Sligo in the eventful Parliament of 1613, and was the last of the MacDonoghs that inhabited Collooney castle, possessed, in the highest degree, the characteristic courage of the family. His lot falling in the dark days of 1641, he took side with his countrymen, and bore a chief part in the capture of Sligo, and the transactions which followed upon the taking of the town. Smarting, like all around him, from the wrongs which had goaded the country into insurrection, he felt, more than many others, the need of caution and system in the contest on which they had entered, and set his face against desultory and tumultuary action, as sure to lead to no permanent result. With such sentiments he was averse to a precipitate attack on Sir Frederick Hamilton's position at Manorhamilton, deeming it wiser to wait till some turn in events offered a better prospect of dealing an effectual blow to so dexterous, unscrupulous, and, withal, so formidable, an adversary. But, as often happens in times of revolution, the hot-headed prevailed over the long-headed in the Confederate council of the county Sligo, and it was decided to beard, without delay, the lion in his den, to grapple with the griffin of Manorhamilton—whether within or without his well-fortified castle.

In the absence of Major-General Lucas Taaffe, who was engaged elsewhere, the task of carrying out this resolution was committed to Lieutenant-Colonel Brian Mac Donogh, who was next in military command to Taaffe in the county. This commission Mac Donogh accepted, not only without objection, but, with particular satisfaction, resolved, whatever might be thought of the prudence of the undertaking, the responsibility of which he left to others, to do all that one man could to make the forlorn hope a triumph.

On the 1st April, 1643, which was Easter Saturday, he set out from Creevelea, near Dromahair, the camp of the Irish, his command proceeding in three divisions—the first division com-

manded immediately by himself, Captain Francis Taaffe, and Captain Cormac O'Hara ; the second by Sergeant Major Teige O'Dowde, Captain Daniel O'Dowde, and Captain Brian O'Hara ; and the third by Captain William Tyrrell, Captain Brian McSweeney, and Captain Roger O'Connor. They met no enemy till they reached Manorhamilton, where Sir Frederick's troops were skilfully posted at the foot of the hill, so as to command the narrow bridge which spanned the Bonet and afforded the only passage across the river.

Nothing daunted by the almost certain death which faced him, if he advanced, he held on his way without pause or hesitation, stepping lightly over the bridge, and calling on his men to follow, who, fired by the intrepidity of their gallant leader, dashed through, regardless of the murderous fire that assailed them. To draw them into an ambushade, the enemy retired a little, as if in retreat, when the incautious Irish, on darting forward in pursuit, received, from the men in concealment and under cover, volley upon volley of bullets, bringing them in hundreds to the ground.

Among the fallen was MacDonogh himself, wounded in several places, but still, by word and gesture, animating his followers to the fight. At this decisive moment the Manorhamilton troops rushed, with pike and sword, in great numbers, from their ambush upon the Irish, striking down those that still fought, and knocking on the head the prostrate wounded. The Lieutenant-Colonel they would gladly take alive, to reserve him for the ignominy of the gallows, but as he still fought furiously, moving about on his knees, after the lower limbs were broken with the pikes, his assailants, tired of the contest, despatched him with the cold steel.

Such was the end of Brian MacDonogh, the last Chief of Collooney ; and if William III. is praised for having remained on the field of the Boyne after receiving a wound, which was hardly skin deep ; and if Napoleon is extolled to the skies for crossing the bridge of Lodi in face of the Austrian artillery, the man who was foremost in passing the bridge of Manorhamilton amid

a shower of bullets, all levelled at himself, and who, in order to avoid the disgrace of coming under the power of his own and his country's enemies, did, even while his whole person was a mass of wounds and broken bones, still ply the sword, from which nothing could part him, with such spirit as to prevent his assailants from capturing him alive, and to force them, in their fear and fury, to kill him, is surely entitled to no mean place on the roll of fame.* Their leader having fallen, the Irish retired from the contest, and suffered enormously in retreat.

The passion of the Mac Donoghs for a military life did not cease with the death of the gallant Brian; for, to say nothing of others, forty-two members of the family served in France, as captains or lieutenants, in the single regiment of Dillon, from 1690 to 1770;† while we find, in the Act of Settlement, among

* Mac Donogh's heroism extorted the admiration even of Sir Frederick Hamilton, who had nothing but contempt for other Irishmen. Of Brian Mac Donogh, the *Relation* says:—"Their Lieutenant-Colonel led on most furiously along a bridge over a river at the foot of the hill where our men were drawn up. As they marched in a loose body and gave fire on us, we seemed a little to retreat, when we got the benefit of a ditch for our musketeers to fire out of—whereupon the Rogues, thinking we retreated, did, with great shouts, cry out, as if they had already beaten us; but our musketeers did from that ditch so pepper them, that it is not to be believed what a sudden alteration our handful made among their multitude. Thus having killed their *Lieutenant-Colonel, who fought most desperately as ever man did, being divers times with shot and pike beaten to the ground, yet did he fight upon his knees—pity so great courage should have been in so arch a traitor*, who was thought to have been one of the greatest firebrands in Connaught in this rebellion. . . . We put the Rogues, after killing their Lieutenant-Colonel, to such a disorderly and confused retreat over the river, where numbers of them threw one another into it, so as it is almost incredible to speak or write what number of proper personable men, as any Ireland affords, were killed that day by our weak handful, to God alone be the glory."

† O'Callaghan's "History of the Irish Brigade in the Service of France," p. 95.

The writer regrets that he has not fallen in with a pamphlet which throws much light on the history of the Mac Donoghs, and which was composed and published by a member of the family in 1792. It is entitled—"Memoir of M. Mac Donogh, Native of Ireland, Lieutenant-Colonel of the 60th Regiment of Infantry, Chevalier of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, shut up during twelve years and six months, in a dungeon in the Isles of St. Margaret, by virtue of a *Lettre de Cachet*, granted by M. de Montbarrey, formerly

those “who served beyond seas under the king’s ensigns,” “Lieutenant Brian Mac Donogh, of Sligo, Lieutenant Turlough (Terence) McDonogh, of the county Sligo, Ensign Christopher Mac Donogh, of same, Lieutenant John McDonogh, of Cusca, in the county Sligo, and Lieutenant Michael McDonogh, of Colloony, in the county Sligo.”

And it should not be forgotten, that at the battle of Fontenoy, so glorious for the Irish, a Mac Donogh particularly distinguished himself, for he advanced in front of his countrymen to the famous charge, and having been singled out for attack by a brave British officer, he closed with the officer, disabled him, and made him prisoner in the sight of the two armies, the episode, according to the historians of the battle, being taken as an omen of ill luck for the English, and as an earnest of victory for the Irish brigade and the French army.*

Minister of War.—Printed at Lyons by Louis Cutty ; and to be had in Paris at Desene’s, Bookseller, Palais Royal ; in Rochelle at Roy’s and Company, 1792.”

On this publication John Cornelius O’Callaghan observes in his “History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France,” p. 96 :—“This Lieutenant-Colonel André, or Andrew, Macdonagh—who supports his assertions by an appendix of “justificatory pieces,” which, exclusive of those in notes to the text of his narrative, occupies from page 111 to page 157 of the pamphlet—belonged to the ancient sept of the Macdonaghs, or Mac Donoghs of Sligo ; and first served in the regiment of Dillon, in which he shows, by a due certificate, that, from 1690 to 1770, so many as 42 of the family of Macdonagh had been Captains or Lieutenants. The substance of the writer’s case is, that he, having been the nearest or presumptive heir of old Count Charles O’Gara (son of Colonel Oliver O’Gara already described), was intrigued out of this inheritance by a Randal Plunkett, styled Lord Dunsany, General Plunkett, Governor of Antwerp, and Rose Plunkett, to whom he, the writer, was married.”

* Mr. O’Callaghan, in his History, page 357, thus describes this incident :—“As the Irish approached the British, an officer of the Brigade, Anthony McDonough, younger brother of Nicholas MacDonough, Esq., of Birchfield, in the county of Clare (an offshoot from the old sept of the MacDonoughs of Sligo), being in advance of his men, was singled out and attacked, by a British officer. But the spirit of the gallant Briton was above his strength. MacDonough, as the fresher man, soon disabled his adversary in the sword-arm, and, making him prisoner, sent him to the rear ; fortunately for him, as he was so fatigued, that, in all human probability, he must have fallen in the charge or the retreat ; and, it is pleasing to add, that these gentlemen afterwards became great friends.

The MacDonogh family produced some men as eminent in the arts of peace, as those just referred to were in the art of war. Of Cormac Ballagh, who died in 1463, the Four Masters write, "Cormac Ballagh McDonogh, the son of Conor McDonogh, and son of a chieftain the most illustrious for hospitality and prowess, and the most profoundly skilled in every science of all the Irish of Lower Connaught, died after the victory of Uinction and Penance."

Counsellar Terence McDonogh, sometimes called Turlough Caech, or, Terence the Blind, or the one-eyed, was the most distinguished Catholic of his time in the county. He came of a branch of the McDonoghs that flourished at Creevagh, in the parish of Kilmactrany, and that managed to retain a good part of their possessions, in spite of those confiscations of the seventeenth century, which robbed all others of the name. The Counsellor was member for the borough of Sligo in King James' Parliament, and was probably the most able man that ever represented the borough.

Though a lawyer, and in large practice, he took up the sword, and continued to use it while the conflict between James and William lasted; and we find him in Ballymote Castle at the head of a small garrison in 1689, and later in the same year, in command of some Connaught men who made an irruption into the north—a movement which savoured more of courage than of prudence. On this occasion the Counsellor was made prisoner in Fish Island in the Erne,* but soon after he and

This rencontre in the presence of both forces occasioned a momentary pause, followed by a tremendous shout from the Brigade at the success of their own officer, the effect of which could only be felt by a spectator; and at such a critical juncture, that startling shout, and the event of ill omen to the British with which it was connected, were remarked to have had a proportionable influence upon them."

* In reference to this attempt of the Connaught men, Hamilton writes, in his *Actions of the Enniskilliners*:—"All their foot fled away towards Sligo, or got off safe, except some few that were taken in the Fish Island near the town, with their Captain, one MacDonough, a Counsellor-at-law, commonly known by the name of "blind MacDonough."

others were exchanged for Williamites. His *forte* hardly lay in war; for, though endowed with the characteristic courage of the McDonoghs, he performed no exploit which calls for notice.

After the Treaty of Limerick he resumed the practice of his profession, and soon came to be the first man at the bar. We are told that he was the only "Catholic counsel that was admitted to the Irish Bar after the violation of the Conditions of Limerick, and that he was traditionally called in the country, the Great Counsellor McDonough,"* but it is not stated whether this admission to the bar was a mere personal favour, or accorded in virtue of the second of the Civil Articles of Limerick, which stipulates, that "all the inhabitants of Limerick, and in the several counties of Limerick, Clare, Cork, Kerry, *Sligoe*, and Mayo, shall enjoy . . . all the rights, titles, and interests, etc., which they enjoyed in the reign of King Charles II."

However this may be, the extraordinary popularity which he acquired, may be inferred from the reference to him contained in the following observation of Rev. Dr. O'Connor, regarding the Venerable Charles O'Connor:—"He (Charles) attained to such a degree of popularity among the Irish as no one person experienced since the days of Counsellor McDonough, and no one

* In his edition of the Annals of the Four Masters, *sub anno* 1598, O'Donovan writes in a note, "The family of MacDonough, who are an offset of the MacDermots of Moylurg, retained some property in the county Sligo till very recently." (The writer is happy to add that they still retain it.) "In 1688 Terence MacDonough, Esq., of Creevagh, was M.P. for the town of Sligo; he died in 1713. He was the only Catholic Counsel that was admitted to the Irish bar after the violation of the conditions of Limerick. This Terence, who is traditionally called in the country 'the great Counsellor MacDonogh,' was the lawyer who saved to Donough Liath O'Connor of Belanagare, a small tract of property from confiscation. A bill of discovery had been filed against this Donough, by Mr. French, of French-park, under the statute, I. Anne, chap. 32, but MacDonough managed to reply so ably, and being supported by the interests of Lord Kingsland and Lord Taaffe, finally succeeded in restoring Donough O'Connor to about seven hundred acres of land, which descended to his son, Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare, the historian. The family of MacDonough have now scarcely any property remaining, and the race have latterly fallen into obscurity."

person has any prospect of ever attaining again.”* His favourite clients were ecclesiastics and the old Irish gentry; and we learn from Father McDonogh’s *Narrative*, that the Counsellor undertook a suit for the friars of Sligo; and from the *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Charles O’Conor*, that it was he who saved from confiscation the remnant of the O’Conor Don estate, a service for which Denis O’Conor, the father of Charles, was so grateful, that “his first care, on getting possession of his property, was to erect a monument to the memory of his benefactor.”

In private life the Counsellor was the most genial of men. His “facetiousness” is chronicled in hundreds of anecdotes, and is commemorated even in his epitaph. One of the anecdotes goes to show, that clever as the Counsellor was, he could sometimes meet his match. As the story runs, his man, who was a shrewd, sharp young fellow, applied to him one day for legal advice, saying he desired to carry away a female friend unknown to her guardians, and to marry her, but that he was afraid of the law, which made it a capital felony to “run away” with a girl in such circumstances. Having stated the case, he asked what had best be done, when McDonogh replied at once, “Let the girl, you blockhead, run away with you, and you can snap your fingers at the law.”

The man, much relieved in mind, thanked his master for the opinion, and lost no time in carrying it out; for, the next day a horse was seen on the high road galloping at a furious pace, with a man and girl on its back; the girl in front, and whipping up the horse, and the man behind, bawling at the top of his voice, that he was being run away with, and calling on all good Christians to stop the abduction. The Counsellor, remembering the interview of the day before, at first enjoyed the joke even more than others, but when the horse neared

* *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the late Charles O’Conor, of Belanagare, Esq., M.R.I.A. By the Rev. Charles O’Conor, D.D., Member of the Academy of Cortona.* This is a particularly rare book; the writer’s copy being, no doubt, the only one in the county.

him, and he recognised in the pair of equestrians his own niece, who lived in his house, and his serving man, the whole situation flashed upon him, and he felt that he was undone by his own legal opinion, and “hoist with his own petard,” *Se non e vero e ben trovato.*

MacDonogh was noted for open-handedness, almost as much as for rare abilities; and the large sums he received in the practice of his profession, were employed in relieving the distress of his neighbours, as well priests as people. Nor were his benefactions confined to the county Sligo; for we learn from the Preface to Hely’s translation of O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia* (p. xi.), that “Counsellor Terence McDonogh, of Creevagh, was the ‘best patron and best friend’ of Roderick O’Flaherty, at a time when that learned man was shamefully neglected by the rest of his countrymen.”

The “Great Counsellor,” as he was commonly called, died in 1713, and was buried under the tower in Ballindoon Abbey, where a monument, four feet eight inches high, and two feet ten inches wide, stands over his grave, and bears the following inscription:—

“Terence McDonogh lyes within this grave,
That says enogh for all that’s generous, brave,
Fasecious, friendly, witty, just, and good,
In this loved name is fully understood—
For it includes whate’er we virtue call,
And is the Hieroglyphic of them all.”

“Pray for ye soul of ELLNR. O’ROIRKE, his wife, who caused ye monument to be erected in ye year 1737.”

October 1819, this monument was removed from Ballinagar, and erected here by ANDREW McDONOGH, of Derna, Esq.

From this inscription it appears that it was Elleanor O’Rourke, and Andrew McDonogh, that had the monument erected in his honour, though Rev. Dr. O’Conor gives the credit of the erection to Denis O’Conor. The only part the O’Conors had in the matter was to compose an epitaph—the work, apparently, of Rev. Dr. O’Conor—which they meant to substitute for the lines previously

inscribed upon the stone, an intention which was never carried out. Even the removal of the stone from Bellanagare, and its erection at Ballindoon, were at the expense of the McDonoghs themselves. This is the intended epitaph:—

TO THE MEMORY OF
TERENCE McDONOGH, OF CREEVAGH, ESQ.,
COUNSELLOR AT LAW, AND M.P. FOR THE TOWN OF SLIGO
IN 1688.

HIS FORTUNES HURRIED HIM INTO PUBLIC LIFE
IN THE ANGRY DAYS OF JAMES II.,
WHEN, EVEN IN PRIVATE LIFE,
THE SOURCES OF SOCIAL HAPPINESS
WERE POISONED BY CIVIL DISCORD
AND A FEROCIOUSNESS OF MANNERS
THAT WAS STYLED RELIGIOUS.
YET,
THROUGH A LONG LIFE, CHEQUERED WITH CROSSES,
HE HAD NO ENEMY BUT THOSE
OF HIS KING,
AND THOSE WHOM HE CONSIDERED
THE ENEMIES OF HIS COUNTRY;
PROUD TO OWN
THAT TO THIS EXALTED CHARACTER
THEY ARE IN A GREAT DEGREE INDEBTED
FOR WHAT HAS BEEN SAVED FROM THE WRECK
OF THEIR ANCIENT PROPERTY
THE O'CONORS, OF BELANAGARE
HAVE,
NEAR ONE HUNDRED YEARS
AFTER HIS DEATH
INSCRIBED THIS EPITAPH.

—
READER, REMEMBER THAT
VIRTUE FINDS A MORE LASTING MONUMENT
THAN BRASS OR MARBLE
ON THE HEARTS
OF
A GRATEFUL POSTERITY.

—
OBIIT A.D. 1713.
Pax vivis. Requiem defunctis.

It is just as well that this long and laboured composition has not found a place on the monument, for, whatever its author

may have thought about it, it would hardly attract as many readers, or keep the memory of Terence McDonogh as fresh as the curious "Hieroglyphic" lines actually inscribed upon the stone.

It was admitted, on all hands, till very recently, that Counsellor McDonogh and his wife had no children. Of late, however, it has been asserted, even in print, that they had a family of sons and daughters, who survived their parents, and whose descendants are still living. For this assertion no proof is adduced, nor, in all probability, is any adducible, as everything goes to show that they died *sine prole*.

In the first place, Father Filan, the Parish Priest of Geevagh, the parish in which the Counsellor lived and died, after collecting all the evidence to be had on the subject, has concluded that there were no children of the marriage; and when a man of Father Filan's ability to sift and weigh evidence arrives at such a conclusion, with all the facts of the case before him, it would be great presumption in others to try to set up a contrary opinion.

Second.—An old man, of more than eighty years, named Riley, living still on, or near, the Mac Donogh property, whose ancestors were in the domestic service of the Counsellor, testifies that he always heard from those who lived before him, that Counsellor McDonogh and his wife died childless.

Third.—The descent of the Geevagh property in the collateral line of the family, proves the same thing; for, had the Counsellor sons of his own, it is inconceivable that he would deprive them of the estate and bestow it on a nephew.

Fourth.—the anecdote told above of his niece points in the same direction.

Lastly.—Passing over other proofs, the wills of Terence McDonogh, and his wife, Elinor O'Rorke, seem to *demonstrate* the fact, for in neither of these instruments is there any reference, direct or indirect, to children. The writer has been fortunate enough to procure copies of both these wills, and subjoins them here, to enable the reader to judge for himself.

The first is the Counsellor's; and, independently of the immediate object for which it is here quoted, the document in itself is full of interest, as the production of the most famous man of the county in his day:—

“**I** TERENCE McDONOGH, of Dublin, Esq., being in perfect health (God be praised) and now at Libertye to make any other settlement doe make my last will and testament in manner and form following hereby revoking all former wills and testaments that is to say I leave 'and bequeath all my reall and personal estates to my dearly beloved wife Elinor McDonogh *als* O'Rourke for and during her naturall life from and after my death and I doe hereby constitute and appoint her sole and only Executrix of this my last will and testament and doe recommend to her to pay all my just debts and after that to be as kind to my relations as her circumstances will allow in wittnesse whereof and in declaration and manifestation of this my last will and testament I have hereunto put my hand and seale this fourth day of March One thousand six hundred ninety and four.

“TERENCE McDONOGH (Loco
Sigilli.)

“Sealed and published in presence of us

“JAMES ^{his} ~~X~~ GAFFERT; BRYAN O'ROURKE
_{mark.}

“CHRISTI DUNLEVY.”

The following is the wife's will, which has also its intrinsic interest, as coming from one of the most noble-hearted women of the time—one, too, descended from a long line of renowned ancestors:—

“**I**N the name of God. Amen. I, ELINOR McDONOGH, widow and relict of Terence McDonogh Esq. now residing in Belanagare these nine years past in my nephew Denis O'Connor's house being sound and in perfect mind and memory (praise be

to God) doe make this my last will and testament revoking and annulling all former wills by me made. First, I recommend my soul to God Almighty that created it hoping thro' his passion to obtain pardon and full remission of all the sins I have committed and do firmly hope to partake of the meritts and passion of my Lord Jesus Christ and I doe commit my body to the Earth from whence it came and to be interred where my best beloved husband aforesaid is buried. 2ndly I leave my nephew Michael O'Rourke and his two sons ten pounds ster. to be equally divided amongst them and also to my nephew Thady O'Rourke Fit. Thady McOwen oge five shillings ster. 3rdly I leave to my nephew Denis O'Conor, and his wife my niece Mary O'Rourke first having paid and discharged all my debts Legacies and funeral expenses which I desire and charge the said O'Conor and his wife to pay and discharge in twenty dais after my being interred all rents and arrears of rents all bills and bonds judgments notes and all other promisory engagements due now to me or which will be due to me at the time of my death as also all personal effects of what kind or nature soever and do nominate and appoint the said Denis and Mary O'Conor Execs of this my last will and testament. 4thly I leave my cousⁿ Onora Bartan *alias* O'Hara six pounds ster. 5thly I leave and bequeath over unto my niece Elinor O'Conor daughter of the aforesaid Denis and Mary O'Conor the bond passed to me by the co-heirs of my deceased husband Terence McDonogh, Esq., payable in three calendar months after my decease. Signed and sealed and published as my last will and testament this twenty-third day of Jany. in presence of us

“OWEN DURKAN JAS. ALMOND CORMICK PARLAN.”

The silence of these instruments in itself appears to be quite conclusive on the subject in hand; for it is inconceivable that a father and mother would have nothing to say, on so solemn an occasion, regarding their children, if such children existed; but the silence, taken in connexion with the other evidence noticed

above, supplies proof so peremptory that no one in his senses can question it. Anyone then pretending, in the face of such evidence, to be the lineal descendant of the great Counsellor, must be prepared to be counted either a simpleton or an impostor.

The McDonoghs have deserved as well of the church as of the country. To them religion is indebted for the convents of Ballindoon, Ballymote, Cloonymeghan, and Sligo—this last, though not originally built by them, being, when burned down in 1410, rebuilt and restored by Dermot McDonogh. These convents, as well as the abbey of Ballysadare, were rarely, if ever, without McDonoghs among their inmates; while the secular clergy was recruited largely from members of the family, including Thomas MacMorrissey McDonogh, who died bishop of Achonry in 1398, and, very probably, Michael McDonogh, bishop of Kilmore, who died, and was buried at Lisbon in 1746, and several Parish Priests and Curates of the dioceses of Achonry and Elphin.

While speaking of the eminent ecclesiastics of the McDonogh family, we must not forget Manus McDonogh, of whom the Annals of Loch Ce, under the year 1504, contains this very laudatory obituary notice: "Manus, son of Brian McDonogh, *i.e.*, abbot of the monastery of the Trinity on Loch Ce, a man who was the preserving shrine and casket of the bounty and prowess of Erinn, and the man, who of all that had come down from Tomaltach-na-Cairge, had given and presented most to poets and musicians, and to men of every craft, died at Cill Diubhdhuin (Killadoon), et sepultus est in Trinity Island on Loch Ce; and this death of McDonogh's son is a decapitating blow to the learned of Erinn."

And they built more, and stronger, castles than any other family of the county Sligo.

1. The castle of Collooney was erected in 1408,* by Murrough, son of the famous Cormac McDonogh, who lost his life so heroically in 1388. As far as can be judged by existing re-

* *Four Masters*, 1408.

mains, which are much covered by rubbish, this was a strong and spacious structure, with lateral towers like those in the castle of Ballymote.

2. In the same year the castle of Ballindoon was built by Conor, the son of Teige McDonogh.

3. In 1422,* the castle of Lough Deargan was built by Conor McDonough, Lord of Tirerrill on the site of a primitive cashel, some of which still remains *in situ*. The new fortress was the occasion of great disunion among the McDonoghs, the nephews of the builder regarding it as an encroachment on their own rights and possessions, to vindicate which, they invoked the aid of the O'Donnells, O'Neils, and othe chieftains of Ulster, who invaded Connaught, and "burned and destroyed Tireragh, Tirerrill, and Corran."† A considerable portion of the structure still remains, and shows the whole to have been of exceptional strength. The grouting employed was so tenacious, that fragments of the wall, which dropped into the adjoining lake, near a hundred years ago, are still as cemented and solid as when they first fell down.

4. The castle of Coolea, near Ballinakille, was a work of the McDonoghs; and according to an Exchequer inquisition of Elizabeth, sped in 1593, it was forfeited by Ferdoragh McDonogh, chief of his name, who was attainted of high treason. A good part of the eastern gable and of the sidewalls still stands.

5. The castle of Bricklieve, lying between *Lough na Leiby* and Keash, belonged to the McDonoghs,‡ and passed from them to Gilbert Green, by whom it was occupied in 1593. A small fragment remains.

6. The castle of Knockmullen, in the parish of Ballysadare, was a McDonogh castle, and according to an inquisition of James I., held in 1606, was then occupied by Rory Ballagh McCarbery McDonough.

* *Four Masters*, 1422.

† *Idem*.

‡ *Four Masters*, 1350 and 1512.

All the houses of Cartron, near Tubberscanavin, were built with stones taken from this building, many of them having been tastefully hammered and chiselled, as may still be seen. Sir Richard Bingham occupied Knockmullen castle in 1586, while on the look out for the Scots whom he put to the sword at Ardnarea.

7. Doonamurray, in the parish of Kilross, called in the deed of Partition of the O'Connor Sligo estate, Downamoney, *alias* Downamony, contained a castle of the family, which was captured by O'Donnell in 1516. No remains of this structure are now visible. It may be the building now called Drumcondra Castle.

8. Behy Edenmore, in the parish of Kilmacallan, another of their castles, was occupied in 1616 by Shane Oge McDonough. The walls are in large part still standing. Sir Gilbert King is landlord. There were other McDonough castles through the baronies of Tirerrill and Corran, but there is no need to describe them here in detail. In a note to his Four Masters, already quoted, O'Donovan remarks, "The family of MacDonoughs have now scarcely any property remaining, and the race have latterly fallen into obscurity."

It is true the McDonoghs are no longer Irish chieftains, and no longer own whole baronies as their inheritance, but many of them still occupy good social position in Ireland and in other countries. O'Donovan should have known that Doctor W. F. MacDonogh, Cromwell Lodge, Twickenham, England, is still the proprietor of the estate in Geevagh of his ancestor, Counsellor MacDonogh, which has never left the possession of the family, and there are many other McDonoghs living in different parts of Great Britain, well able to hold their own in the classes to which they belong—the professional men and the merchants of that country.

On the Continent, notably in France, may be found members of the family, descendants of the officers of the Irish Brigade, still holding high rank in the French army.

And in America, as well in the United States as in the British possessions, the McDonoghs know how to make their

mark—a McDonogh being one of the leading names associated with the triumph of the young American Navy in the war of Independence, as may be seen in D'Arcy McGee's *Irish Settlers in America*,* as well as in the popular American ballads even of the present day, where one often meets with such references as the following, in a ballad of Mr. Morrow's, Pittsburgh :—

“ If England will not profit
 By the lessons of the past,
 She may learn to her sorrow
 That we have learn'd fast ;
 Let her boast the while we ponder,
 Of her wars, her bloody scenes,
 Of young Barry and McDonough,
 And the chief of New Orleans.”

In the British possessions too, the McDonoghs come often to the front, in public as well as in private life, and in the past, as well as in the present, when we meet with such men as John McDonogh, of Thorold, Ontario.

This gentleman was Mayor of Thorold for four different terms, and might still enjoy the position, but that he declined the proffered honour. And what perhaps shows still better the respect in which he is held in the country of his adoption, is the office that he fills, of President of the Liberal-Conservative Association of the county Welland. And in further proof of his popularity and social standing, it may be mentioned, that he occupied the chair at the great meeting of the inhabitants of Welland and contiguous counties on the occasion of Sir John

* In the quarrel between America and France, or rather the Directory, one of the severest actions fought was that of the *Constellation*, commanded by Commodore Truxton, with the French frigate *L'Insurgente*. In this action, midshipmen Porter and James McDonough distinguished themselves. The former was of Irish descent, the latter of Irish birth. Mr. McDonough had his foot shot off, and was obliged to retire from the navy ; but his younger brother, Thomas, who entered the same year, more than justified the expectations of the friends of that family. Their father, Major McDonough, had settled at Newcastle, Delaware, shortly before the birth of Thomas, who used to say of himself, that “ his keel was laid in Ireland, but he was launched in America.” Major McDonough died in 1796.—*A History of the Irish Settlers in America from the Earliest Period.* By Thomas D'Arcy McGee, p. 68.

MacDonald, the Premier of the Dominion of Canada's visit to that portion of the Dominion, on the 13th December, 1886.

The mention of Thorold affords an opportunity of saying here a word of a leading merchant of that town, another county Sligo man, Mr. David Battle, who is still well remembered and deeply respected in his native county of Sligo. In any case Mr. Battle would be remembered in the neighbourhood, owing to the respectability and popularity of the family connexions he left after him, but a striking incident of his incipient boyhood created a great sensation at the time of its occurrence, and still keeps his memory fresh in the minds both of old and young.

Standing one day on the bank of Ardree river, while fishermen were making ready to lift their net from the sluice or gap of the weir, the lad missed his footing, fell into the water, and was swept away by the flood to the consternation of all present, who gave him up for lost; but Providence was watching over the boy; for he was moved along by the volume and rush of waters into the gap, so that the fishermen were thus enabled to take him in their net, and bring him safe to land, where, on being examined, he was found to be little the worse for his startling sub-aqueous experiences.

It is gratifying to county Sligo men to find their county having such representatives in the important town of Thorold as Mayor McDonogh and Mr. Battle.

CHAPTER XXIX.

UNION OF RIVERSTOWN.

THE Tirerrill or southern side of Slieve da En contains many interesting antiquities. On the peak, at the west end of the range is a rock chamber, called by the people Calliagh a Vera's House, which is ten feet long, three feet three inches wide, and more than four feet deep ; the roof being formed by rude gneiss flags, an average one of which is five feet three inches long, four feet eight inches wide, and twenty inches thick. Though the chamber is now exposed to view and open, it is clear from the heaps of small stones lying thick round it, that it was once covered with a carn formed of these stones.

A thousand yards or so to the east of Calliagh a Vera's House, there is, on a still higher peak of the mountain, another carn, or rather remains of a carn, presenting nothing at present to the eye but a congeries of small stones ; but there can be little doubt, if the stones were removed and a search made, that a chamber like that in connexion with the west-end peak would be found.

Some two or three thousand yards down the slope there is a still more remarkable piece of antiquity, which the people call *Clogh a gadaide*, or the Thief's stone. It consists of three stones, one about six feet high, set on end, and two more laid on edge, both of triangular shape, one three feet and a half to the south of pillar stone, and the other seven feet and a half to the north of it. The inhabitants of the district tell you that these three stones are the respective remains of a father, his son, and a cow, which they were stealing, when met by a necromancer, who, in punishment of the theft, turned the whole three into stone ; but they are, no doubt, an example, probably the only

example in the county, of the *triliag* (three stone) monuments, to which the author of the *Vita Tripartita* refers, when he says:—"Moram contraxit inter tres colossos sive edita saxa, quæ gentilitas ibi in memoriam aliquorum facinorum, vel gentilitiorum rituum possuit." (He made a short stay at three colossuses or lofty stones, which the Gentiles had set up in memory of some Gentile events or rites.)

In the townland of Ardnasbrack, and the adjoining townland of Caronagh, are two so-called Giant's graves, which are somewhat different in plan from the structures commonly so named. The ordinary Giant's grave or Cromlech is a sloping stone, or often a horizontal stone, resting on two or more other stones serving as a support, and enclosing between them a few feet square of ground; but the Ardnasbrack and Caronagh structures are oblong in shape, running from east to west, and consisting each of three compartments, which communicate with one another by means of rude doors or opes of about two feet wide. The original dimensions of the Ardnasbrack monument cannot now be fixed with certainty, owing to the removal of some of the stones, but there is good reason to believe that it was something more than fifty feet long, exterior measurement, with an average width of about eleven feet. There are twenty stones still *in situ*, all gneiss boulders from the neighbouring mountain, some of them six feet long, nearly as many wide, and a couple of feet thick.

The size of the Caronagh inclosure is more easily ascertained. As it appears now, its length is twenty-eight feet ten inches, and its general width eight feet six inches, the eastern compartment being near two feet wider. There are seventeen stones *in situ*; one, seven feet three inches by six feet seven inches; another five feet eight inches by three feet four inches, and a third, four feet ten by four feet.

The folk lore of the neighbourhood throws no light on these objects, with the exception of what has been stated in regard to *Clogh a gadaide*. The annals of the county however record, as occurring in this neighbourhood, two events, with which, it is

likely, the carns and *Clogh a gadaide* are connected. The Four Masters tell us under the year 1196, that "Congalach O'Rourke was slain by the men of Leyney on Slieve da En," and, under the year 1308, that "the sons of Donnell O'Connor proceeded to Slieve da En," that "the English of Tireragh and Leyney pursued them to the summit of the mountain," and that "the sons of Donnell turned on them, and a battle ensued, in which the English were routed and pursued as far as Leac-Easa-Dara, Thomas MacWalter, Constable of Bunfinna, his brother, and many others being slain." There is then good reason to think that the carns and the *triliag* are memorials of the death of O'Rourke, and of the bloody battle between the O'Connors and the English.

Little as the people know about *Clogh a gadaide*, they know still less of the Giants' graves. Men who were born and had lived all their lives beside them, seemed unaware of their existence, having regarded them, apparently, with about the same amount of intelligence and curiosity that cows and horses did.

Anyone that has seen the Druids' Altar in Mr. Wynne's Deer Park, Calry, will hardly fail to notice a marked resemblance between that monument and those of Ardnasbrack and Caronagh, the chief difference being the much greater size and the more complicated plan of the former. With this difference, there is much similarity between the Calry and Tirerrill structures; for both are oblong; both consist substantially of three compartments; both have opes or doors between the compartments; and both are outlined and bounded alike by unhewn boulder stones, set on end or laid on edge.

There is nothing known of the nature or purpose of these structures; nor, in the absence of sufficient data, such as might be had in excavations, is there much ground for a decided opinion whether they were habitations of the living, or sepulchres of the dead, or fixtures for games; though one might be inclined to infer, from the ope or doorway, that they were habitations of anchorets or other religious. Such enclosures, even when covered in, as, of course, they would be, with boughs of trees, strips of turf,

skins of beasts, and other such primitive appliances, ill accord with the notions men have at present of human residences, but it would not be so if we realized the state of things in the past, in those times, for such there were, when there was hardly a single house, in the modern sense of the word, throughout all Connaught ; when residences of men were sheds or shanties, run up in woods round the trunks of trees ; and when, perhaps, plenty of people never put the head under a roof of any kind, but lived all their lives in the open air, very much like the beasts of the field or the fowls of the air.

“Cabin’d, cribb’d, confin’d,” as anchorets must be in such narrow cells, they would still be more at ease there than St. Coemgen or Kevin, of Glendalough, cooped up in the hollow of a tree ; than Saint Pacomius, on his ledge of rock ; than Saint Simon Stylites on his pillar ; than Saint Macarius in his morass : than St. Benedict in the cave of Subiaco ; and than thousands of other solitaries in Egypt and Gaul, who were sometimes mistaken, amid rocks and jungles, for wild animals.

However, it is much more likely that the structures of Ardnasbrack and Caronagh are sepulchres, though, if so, there is nothing to show, at least conclusively, whose graves they are. In treating of megalithic remains of this class, Irish archæologists commonly take them to be pre-historic, an opinion for which no proof is adduced, and which seems a mere guess. One is then free to hold, as the writer does, that such monuments date from historic times, and some of them even from a time sufficiently modern ; and with regard to the two under consideration, there is considerable ground for thinking that they come from the year 1389, and stand over the remains of members of the O’Healy family, a powerful family of the district, who were slain on the spot by the O’Rorkes and O’Connors, as is thus recorded in the Four Masters *sub anno* :—“Owen O’Rorke, and the sons of Cathal Oge (O’Connor), went to Caislen-an-Uabhair (Castleore), where they were met by the cavalry of Muintir Healy. These were defeated, and Manus O’Healy and others

were there killed. They afterwards plundered Muintir Healy and killed Murtough O'Healy."

In truth the purpose of such structures is not yet settled, and if there is reason for taking them to be cells of religious, and some for regarding them as sepulchres, there is some too for counting them fixtures for games or sports. See Vol. I., p. 473.

Separate and independent parishes were more numerous formerly in Tirerrill than at present. In the county Sligo Survey of 1633, eleven of them are enumerated—Enagh, Drumdoney, Killrass, Ballinakill, Kilmacallan, Drumcolum, Tawnagh, Kilvickduan, Shancough, Kilmacrany, Ahanagh, and Killerry—whereas, at present, there are only five, including unions.

The old parish of Enagh forms now the Tirerrill portion of the parish of Ballysadare. And, having mentioned Enagh, this may be the best place to correct another, and not the least important, of the numerous errors into which O'Donovan has fallen in regard to the topography of the county Sligo.

Referring, in a note, to the words "*Aenach Tíreoilella*," mentioned by the Four Masters at the year 1397, he observes, "This was, most probably, the village of Carn-Oilella, now in ruins, on the west side of Lough Arrow, in the barony of Tirerrill, and county of Sligo;" but if he had devoted to this entry the serious study, which he gave to other subjects, he could have easily found that the *aenach*, or, rather, the *annagh* of Heapstown, has been always called *Annagh Ivenaghan*, sometimes, in more modern documents, with the *alias* of Kingsborough.* To give an instance: the famous inquisition about the lands of the county Sligo, sped at Roslee, in 1615, states, "Carbry McDonogh, of Annagh Ivenaghan, is seised as of fee of Annagh Ivenaghan and the *parcel of land called Annagh Ivenaghan*." In the same inquisition, Heapstown is called simply

* In D'Alton's Memoir of the family of King (Annals of Boyle, Vol. I., p. 53), the author says, "Francis King, the eldest son, married, in 1698, Dorcas, eldest daughter of William Ormsby, of Annagh, County Sligo, and, dying in 1708, left issue by her two sons and one daughter, viz.:—William of *Annagh-Ibanagher*, otherwise *Kingsborough*, in the county of Sligo." See also Lodge's *Peerage and Baronetage*, Vol. III., p. 223. Article, *Earl of Kingston*.

"*Carne*," as it is called by the Irish-speaking people of the place Ballycarne, thus clearly contradistinguishing it from the neighbouring townland of Annagh.

Aenach Tireoillella is certainly the spot now called *Cul na Braher*, near Ballysadare, but known, less than forty years ago, as *The Aenach*,* where, according to local tradition, a great fair was formerly held. On this spot the religious of Ballysadare built a cell or church, which is shown on the Down Survey map, and of which the foundations still remain; and it was from this church the old, and now forgotten, parish of Enach, or Aenach, of Tirerrill, stretching from Beladrehid to Carrickbanagher, took its name; the name of the barony (Tirerrill), being added to that of the parish (Aenach), to distinguish it from the *aenach* of Carbury, now called Hazelwood, and the *annagh* of Leyney, now represented by Annaghmore, the seat of the O'Hara family. Aenach Tireoillella appears in English official documents as "Enaghe in Tirrerell;" and we find it under this form in the grant of James I. to Edward Crofton of the possessions of Ballysadare abbey. In the old Survey of 1633, etc., it is given as the parish of "Enagh Tirerrill;" thus clearly identifying it with the "*Aenach Tireoillella*" of the Four Masters, which O'Donovan mistook and misplaced.

This rectification is the more useful, as it leads to the identification of the place called *Srath-an-fherain* (literally, the Srath of the land, or the great Srath), which the Synod of Rathbreasil fixed as one of the boundaries of the diocese of Killala, and which has not been correctly identified; for, as we learn from the Four Masters, at the year 1291, that the *Aenach Tiroilella* and *Srath-an-fherain* are adjoining districts,† we are warranted in concluding that the latter is the place now called Shramore (the great Shrath), which, in fact, adjoins, on the south, *Cul na braher*, or, the ancient Aenach.

* The family of the tenant who rented the spot at the time referred to, still call it *The Aenach*.

† "Manus O'Connor came up with the preys at *Srath-an-fherain* and at *Aenach*."

If it be objected that the spot called *Srath-an-fherain* in Roderick O'Connor's translation of Keating's History, is given as *Srahantearmainn* in Archdeacon Lynch's Latin rendering of the same work, it may be answered that *Srahantearmainn* is an *alias* of *Srath-an-fherainn*, the *srath* being a part of the *termon* of Ballysadare abbey. From all this, then, it follows that both *Aenach Tireoilella* and *Srath-an-fherain* lie in the present parish of Ballysadare, which includes the old parochial district of Enagh in Tirerrill, as well as the parochial district of Easdara in Leyney.

In the same note, under the year 1397, O'Donovan asserts that the cairn of Heapstown was raised over Oilioll, from whom Tirerrill has its name, and, in proof of his assertion, refers to Part III., chap. 79, of O'Flaherty's *Ogygia*. In turning, however, to the passage indicated, the reader will look in vain for the expected proof, as O'Flaherty says nothing on the subject. Nor does there appear to be any proof forthcoming. What probably induced some persons to connect the cairn with Oilioll, if others besides O'Donovan have done so, was its old name, Oillthrialla; but though there is some resemblance in the first part of this name with Oilioll, the addition of Thrialla would go to show that the full name refers to a different person.

And, while on this subject, it may be opportune to notice a remark of O'Donovan's, quoted by Mr. Hennessy in his learned preface to the Annals of Loch Ce: Finding in an inserted leaf in the manuscript Annals of Loch Ce the following memorandum:—"I am this day at Baile-an-chairn Oillthrialla, the 10th of November, 1698—John Conmidhe," O'Donovan takes up the parable, and observes, "John Conmidhe, or (as the name is now written and pronounced) Mac Namee, was probably a travelling bard or scholar, who, in a visit to the MacDermot's country, was able to read and transcribe the page which had become effaced in consequence of the book being kept without a cover."

Here too, as in so many more of his conjectures, John O'Donovan is at fault, for the Conmees (*not* Mac Namees) were

at this time a local family of Heapstown, and of such social standing, that, when one of them—probably this very John—died in 1712, two bishops—Doctors O'Rorke and Mac Dermot—and a good many priests of the counties of Sligo, Leitrim, and Roscommon, came from their hiding places, and from great distances, at the risk of falling into the hands of the priest-catchers, to attend the obsequies and mark their respect for the deceased. These interesting facts we learn from depositions which were taken on the 4th November, 1712, by three Sligo magistrates, Percy Gethin, W. Ormsby, and Robert Lindsay, and which the reader will find quoted *in extenso* in a preceding page; Vol. I., p. 229. The Conmee vault may still be seen in Kilmactrany graveyard.

We may add, that the Very Reverend J. S. Conmee, the learned and able president of Clongowes Wood College, is a member of this family, and, no doubt, a lineal descendant of John Conmidhe the antiquarian, a circumstance that greatly enhances the satisfaction which the writer feels in correcting the depreciating, but utterly groundless, assertion or conjecture of O'Donovan.

The parochial union of RIVERSTOWN, of which Father Quinn is Parish Priest, comprises the six old parishes of Kilross, Ballysummaghan, Ballynakill, Drumcolumb, Kilmacallan, and Taunagh. Excepting Cooper Hill, the portion of Markree demesne belonging to the union, and a few small plantations here and there, the district is bare and bleak, the fences of the northern parts being low stone walls, and those of the southern, sod banks, sometimes, but rather rarely, topped with scraggy whitethorns. The land is for the most part in pasture, with about the same average proportion in tillage as we find in the rest of the county. The surface of the union is monotonous, being a rolling or tumulated plain, with little narrow valleys running here and there, between or around small elevations. The presence everywhere of rushes—on the summit of the hillocks, down the slopes, and through the valleys, shows the cold, wet nature of the soil, and the need of cultivation.

The church of Kilross—church of the wood—from which the parish has its name, was founded in 1233 by Clarus MacMailin,* the famous Prior of Trinity Abbey in Loch Ce, and belonged to the Premonstratensians, as did several other churches in this and the neighbouring counties, founded by the same zealous and able man. A good part of the ruins still remain; and it is clear from an inspection of the western end, that this portion of the structure served as a residence for the clergy, while the rest of the building formed the church—an arrangement common enough in Irish churches in past times.† Kilross is not only the chief burying place of the parish, but is much used for interments of people belonging to other parishes—Protestants as well as Catholics are interred in it—and the Ormsbys, late of Castledargan, has a vault there. The church was well endowed with lands which lay round it; and Cottage Island, in Lough Gill, was one of its possessions.

The place called Kilellin at Ballygawley, in the same parish, contained a church, which preceded in time that of Kilross, and which also had a cemetery attached, where a pillar stone, popularly known as *clogh an easpuig*, marks the last resting-place of some primitive bishop, whose name has not come down to us. Within a few yards of this cemetery, and under the shade of some fine ash trees, there is a holy well, which, till recently, was frequented by crowds from all quarters, including the Town of Sligo. Country people tell you that there are Ogham lines, on the part of *clogh an easpuig*, that is sunk in the ground.

To this parish belong the remarkable antiquities already described‡—Calliagh a Vera's House on the summit of *Slieve-da-en*, the *Triliag* on the slope of that mountain, the remarkable monuments in the townlands of Caronagh and Ardnasbrack, and

* Clarus Mac Mailin . . . in Dei omnipotentis honore ecclesiam Sanctæ Trinitatis apud Cill Rais ædificant."—Annals of Loch Ce, Vol. I., p. 397.

† "We know," says Du Noyer, in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, Vol. VIII., p. 36, "that Geoffrey Keating and Camden allude to the fact that the parish churches of Ireland were used as dwellings before and after the Reformation."

‡ See pp. 239-240.

the cashel as well as the castle on the brink of Lough Dergan. The Survey of 1633 says of Ardnasbrack: "It claims the ould castle called Castle Lough Dergan, and hath part of a pretty lough where are excellent trouts." It is said that the "trouts" have disappeared, having probably been made away with by the enormous pikes, which seem to have evicted them and taken most of the lake to themselves.

On the 18th July, 1618, William Crofton, of Templehouse, received from James I. a grant of the "site of the chapel or cell of Killrosse, and 2 quarters of land adjoining the island Inishkilleghan (called now commonly Gallagher's Island, sometimes Cottage Island, and, occasionally, Bullock Island), in Lochgill, near the town of Sligo, and certain other small islands there."* These, with the other possessions of William Crofton, passed to the Perceval family by the marriage of George Perceval, youngest son of Sir Phillip Perceval, to Mary, daughter and heiress of William Crofton. The owners of the parish in 1633 were William Crofton, Sir Thomas Wenman, the McDonoghs, Rev. Mr. Dodwell, and Donogh O'Connor.

The adjoining parish on the south is Ballysummaghan, which is called Drumdoney in the Survey of 1633, and is mentioned in an Exchequer inquisition of the 15th of James I. with the *alias* of Dromdrayne—the ridge of the blackthorn. The present name comes from persons of the name of O'Summaghan, anglicised Somers, who were formerly very numerous in the district. Several of them are named in James the First's Pardon of Sir Donogh O'Connor and the other inhabitants of the county Sligo; and in the Survey of 1633, Knocknagee, in this parish, is set down as "the inheritance of Donogh O'Connor, Esq., mortgaged to Andrew Crean, Esq. He leases it to his son John, who sets it to Thomas O'Summaghan and John Darragh O'Laghna, fosterers." Dunally, Bloomfield, and Castle Neynoe are in this parish; the last named place contains an imposing castellated house.

Some ruins of an old parish church are at Kiltycloghan,

* Patent Roll of James I., p. 391.

where also there is a graveyard which is little used for burials at present, but which contains an imposing cut stone monument set over the vault of the Neynoes. Ballysummaghan is not given in the Taxation of 1307; but we have it as Drumdowan in the record of the inquisition held in 1584, by the bishop of Kildare, at Achonry.

Ballynakill parish is not mentioned in the Taxation of 1307; nor does it occur under this name in the inquisition of the bishop of Kildare, though, no doubt, it is represented in the latter by Coolea, or Cooleha, the vicarage of which is rated by the bishop so low as eight pence. And from another inquisition held the same year at Sligo, before John Crofton, we find that the Rectory of Culea belonged to the Priory of Inchvickryney.

The eastern gable of Ballynakill old church remains, and resembles that of Kilmacowen with a like lancet window. The graveyard of the place is crowded, an enclosed square at the western end being reserved for the Cogan family. About a thousand yards to the west of the church are the remains of Coolea castle, the fragments now standing being a portion of the eastern gable, seventeen yards wide, four feet thick, and sixteen high, with about sixteen feet long of the southern side-wall, and as many of the northern. Grout was employed in the building of both church and castle. The owners of Ballynakill parish in 1632 were Lord Taaffe, William Crofton, the McDonoghs, John Ridge, and Rev. Mr. Dodwell.

We have Drumcolumb in the bishop of Kildare's inquisition as Drumcollon; and it is, probably, the Drumduliand of the Taxation of 1307. As the name implies, it is a foundation of Saint Columba. In his Life of Saint Columba, O'Donnell tells that the saint, after founding the church of Emlaghfad, near Ballymote, passed to Tirerrill, and receiving from the inhabitants of that district, who were his own relations, a tract of land, called then Druimnamac, but later Drum Colum Cille, built thereon a church, set over it his disciple St. Finbar, presented it, in token of his affection, with a bell called *Glassan*, and erected on the south side of it a tall cross; foretelling at the same time, that

all would go well with the church, so long as the bell and cross remained.*

Drumcolumb is a fragmentary parish, consisting of three different parts, separated widely from each other. There are some small remains of the church, with a little used, if not a disused, graveyard attached. Lisconny belongs to the more western part of Drumcolumb, and illustrates the changeableness of tenancy often met with in this part of Ireland. From the time the McDonoghs lost it by their attainder, towards the close of the sixteenth century, to the Cromwellian Settlement, it was granted successively to four or five different grantees. Under the Commonwealth, William Mortimer was the Titulado of Lisconny, and passed it on to his family, one of whom, John Mortimer, sold it in the last century to Jack Phibbs.

This Mr. Phibbs was a self-made man, having raised himself by industry, thrift, and successful dealing, from the position of a day labourer, to that of one of the chief graziers of the county, as well as the owner in fee of Lisconny. He seems to have been of a somewhat eccentric turn of mind; for on reaching near the end of his career, nothing troubled him except a desire to have a good wake and a large funeral; and to secure this, his great desideratum, he ordered, a day or two before his death, all the women about the house to take to the making of oaten bread, and enjoined his executors to afford every man, woman, and child, that attended his wake, or accompanied the funeral to Emlaghfad, plenty of bread and butter, with as much whiskey as they could drink; carrying his solicitude so far as to require

* Porro illinc digressus, in regionem de Tiroiliolla penetravit, ibique inter suos cognatos et posteros, Olillii filii Eochadii Mugmedonii verbum salutis disseminans: multos Christo lucrificet, donatus interea a loci incolis eo fundo qui tunc quidem *Druimnamac*, hodie vero *Druim Colum Cille* appellatur: ubi extracta ecclesia alumnum suum S. Finbarrium pro rectore, nolem suam vulgo *Glassan* vocatam pro monumento, et proceram crucem, quam pone sacram œdem ad Australem plagam erexerat pro præsidio reliquit, prædicens illam fore deinceps semper celebram, et tamdiu bonis successibus usuram, quamdiu memorata crux, et tintinnabulum in ea perseverarent.—*Trias Thaum.*, pages 406-7.

that a cartload of the solids and liquids should be conveyed into the churchyard to regale all who should be present at the interment, including even casual bystanders.

Jack Phibbs had no son; and his daughter and heiress was taken away, with her own consent, from Lisconny by a gentleman named Brabazon of the county Mayo, and brought before Father John Fitzmaurice, the then Parish Priest of Collooney, who forthwith married them; having, no doubt, good and sufficient reasons for officiating. The issue of the marriage was an only daughter, who in due time, was married to a son of Lord Norbury, and carried the Lisconny and Doorla estate into the Toler family, where it still remains.

Another Mr. Phibbs, whom the people, with the peculiar politeness of the times, commonly called Blind Billy Phibbs, succeeded Jack in the occupancy, but not in the ownership of Lisconny. Arthur Irwin, a famous horse racer, generally styled Commodore Irwin, was the next tenant; and local *seanachies* love to recall how, when he exercised his horses in the Blackfield at Doorla, he had a pet deer so trained, that it ran before them and showed them the course. From Blind Billy, Lisconny passed to Counsellor Baker; from the counsellor to Mr. Waldron; and from him in turn to Mr. Bryan Cogan, the father of the late Mr. Bernard Owen Cogan, J.P., and the grandfather of Mr. Bernard Cogan, the last occupying tenant of Lisconny House and lands.

The owners of Drumcolumb in 1632 were the Bishop of Elphin, O'Connor Sligo, Patrick Plunket of Markree, the McDonoghs, and Lord Taaffe.

We find Kilmacallan both in the Taxation of 1307, and the bishop of Kildare's inquisition—in the former as Kilmactalum, but in the latter exactly as it is now spelled. Who this Macallan, or son of Allan, was, no one has told, or whether he was the founder of the church, or its patron saint, or both. It is likely, and seems certain, he was the Saint Mansen whom we find mentioned in Elizabeth's grant to Eugene O'Connor, where with other possessions bestowed, we read of "St. Mansen's, otherwise

Killinicallen, a rectory in Elphin diocese.”* The rectory of Kilmacallan was appropriate to the Priory of Inchmacnerin in Loch Ce. The old church of Kilmacallan goes by the name of Templemore; its walls still stand, and in good preservation. It is one of the most frequented burying places of the county.

Tawnagh is the oldest church in the union, and, probably, in Tirerrill. It is a foundation of Saint Patrick himself, and is given as such in Tirechan’s Annotations in the Book of Armagh, where we read, “Et exiit trans montem filiorum Ailello, et fundavit ecclesiam ibi, id est, Tamnach.” (And he went out across the mountain of Tirerrill, and founded a church there, that is Tawnagh.)†

The Tripartite is more detailed in its account:—“Peragravit Sanctus Patricius regionem de Hua noilella, et construxit insignem ecclesiam de *Tamnacha*; quæ Dei et hominum singulari patrocínio et tutela custoditur. Ecclesiæ Tamnacensi prefecit Episcopum Carellum, quem juxta Ecclesiæ consuetudinem in Episcopum ordinarunt Patricius, Bronus, et Bitæus.”‡ (Saint Patrick travelled through the district of Tirerrill, and erected the great church of Tawnagh, which is under the special protection and care of both God and men. Over the church of Tawnagh he set Bishop Carellus, whom, in accordance with the usage of the church, Patrick Bronus, and Bitæus consecrated a bishop.)

The only town, big or little, in the union, is Riverstown, which stands partly in the parish of Drumcolumb, but chiefly in that of Kilmacallan. The approaches by Ardcummer and Cooper Hill show it to be a place of some consequence, as the roads are lined on either side with rows of fine old trees. The village is well situated for business, being surrounded by an extensive, thickly inhabited, and rather prosperous rural district, which has no other place for selling or buying within convenient reach.

* Patent Roll of James I., p. 84.

† Documenta . . . ex Libro Armachano.”—Edidit E. Hogan, S.J., p. 85.

‡ Trias Thaumaturga, p. 135.

The name Riverstown is a very appropriate one, for the village of that name appears to have more water around it, than any other of the county, more especially in winter, when the rivers overflow their banks and submerge much of the adjoining land. Riverstown is called, in Irish, Ballyederdaowen—the town between the two rivers—from its situation between the Uncion and the Douglas, where most of its houses, including all the shops, still stand. The houses are, in general, good, and several of them new; and the shops, for a country village, are showy and well appointed, more particularly that of Mr. Judge, which, by its appearance and arrangement, bespeaks no ordinary tact and energy in its owner, who is also its manager. The other chief shops of the place are those of Messrs. Gethin, Flynn, Irwin and Barlow.

The Parish Priest and Protestant Rector are well housed, one on the right, and the other on the left bank of the Uncion, within easy reach, and almost whispering distance of each other. The Presbytery was built according to the plan, and under the immediate supervision, of Father Quinn, and exhibits, both in the residence and the offices, his fine judgment and cultivated taste. The Doctor's new house stands on the left bank of the Douglas, and is a neat, commodious, and graceful structure.

Adjoining Riverstown, and in the same parish of Kilmacallan, is Cooper Hill, a name, no doubt, suggested to Mr. Arthur Brooke Cooper, who imposed it, by Cooper Hill, near London. Cooper Hill house is in the form of a square and rises five storeys high, one of the storeys being the basement; and when the first course of the cyclopean masonry appeared at the surface, everything looked so gigantesque that, if a visitor that had seen the pyramids of Egypt, had come across it, he could hardly have failed to think that Mr. Cooper was about to copy, on Cooper Hill, the wonderful work of Cheops. Even to-day, a person looking at the structure must get the idea that Mr. Cooper meant it, as their builders meant the pyramids, to last for ever, it is so substantial and huge.

It is not known how much this building cost. It is believed that Louis the Fourteenth, after finishing the palace of Versailles with the *trianons*, destroyed the accounts to avoid the odium, which knowledge of such lavish expenditure was sure to create among his subjects. Whether Mr. Cooper imitated the *Grand Monarque* in this particular is a secret ; but, anyhow, local gossip or tradition compensates somewhat for the absence of documents ; for the people of the neighbourhood assure you that Mr. Cooper, before engaging in the undertaking, had provided for the cost a "tub of gold guineas," but that the last guinea was paid away before the building showed above the surface of the ground.

In this extremity there was nothing for it but to sell portions of his estate, which he accordingly did, disposing of Cloghfin to the Coopers of Markrea, and of Teesan and parts of Magherow, in the barony of Carbury, to the Gethins of Ballindoon. The single item of providing the stones must have been a formidable sum, for it took eight years to quarry them and to draw them from the quarry on Doon Hill to Cooper Hill, a distance of about six miles, the conveyance being effected by sleighs, or sleds.

Even apart from questions of cost, no gentleman would think now of building such a monster mansion. Better taste in art prevails ; and architects, instead of drawing their inspiration from Egypt and India, where bigness was everything, recur for models to Greece and Italy where mere massiveness was never counted majesty, nor bulk beauty, and where elegance and commodiousness were always the paramount considerations in regard to domestic architecture.

A solid, as well as ornamental, cut stone bridge spans the river Arrow or Uncion, near the mansion. This structure, considering its finished material, and the extraordinary difficulties of erection offered by the nature of the site, involved enormous outlay, though it could hardly be as expensive as the people of the neighbourhood say ; for they tell, that it cost as much as Cooper Hill House itself.

Though there seems to be no documentary proof, there can

hardly be any doubt that the Coopers, of Cooper Hill, and the Coopers of Markrea are of one and the same stock. The identity appears sufficiently from their having the same arms, as also from their estates being contiguous, which would point to a friendly family arrangement. Sir Bernard Burke, in the "Landed Gentry of Ireland," article O'Hara, counts them the same family.

In this ecclesiastical union there are four churches—two Catholic and two Protestant—in use at present for public worship. Of the Catholic churches, one stands in Riverstown, and the other in Sooey. The Riverstown building dates from the year 1801, when the Reverend Bryan Kelly raised the existing slated structure round an old thatched chapel, which occupied the same site. The Sooey church is more modern, being built in 1837 by Reverend Luke Cullinan, who preferred the present situation, as adjoining the high road, to the hill of Sooey, where the old chapel was, and where some remains of it may still be seen. Father Cullinan died in 1850, and was buried in Sooey chapel. The preceding Parish Priest of Sooey, Father Patrick Duffy, was buried in Kiltycloghan.*

Except Father Owen Feeny, P.P., who died in 1876, and was buried in Riverstown church, the incumbents of the Riverstown union were interred in Templemore. Father Bryan Kelly's pastorate lasted from 1782 to 1803. The stone that covers his grave in Templemore bears the inscription:—

"The REVD. BRYAN O'KELLY, P.P.,
in Union since 1782, laid the first stone in this chapel 1801.
May he and his subscribers meet in Heaven."

* Father Duffy's tombstone in Kiltycloghan bears this inscription:—

"Ora pro anima
REVERENDI PATRICII DUFFY,
per annos viginti tres hujus curæ pastoris, charitate erga
Deum et proximum insignis, spiritum Deo reddidit
die 29 Octobris anno Domini 1831,
ætatis vero suæ 85.
Requiescat in pace."

It is to be remarked that this stone was originally built in the wall of Riverstown church,* but was taken out and placed over Father Kelly's grave in Templemore.

Father Kelly's immediate predecessor, Revd. Darby Brennan, was buried in the same graveyard, where his resting place is under a tombstone with this inscription:—

“ This stone is erected over the body of REVD. DARBY BRENNAN,
27 years Pastor of this parish,
Where he zealously taught his flock both
by word and example.
He departed this life, sincerely regretted, 30th July, 1782.
R. I. P.”

And Father Kelly's immediate successor, Very Rev. Canon James Hester, awaits his resurrection in the same place. The following Latin words are inscribed on his tombstone:—

“ Ora pro anima
JACOBI HESTER, Canonici Elphinensis
et per annos 33 pastoris hujusce curæ de Tawnagh,
Kil McAllan, et Kil Columb,
qui tandem laboribus attritus, cœloque maturus, gregi fideli
verbo et exemplo ad mortem usque Prelucens Deo
spectabilis suisque venerabilis e vivis
excessit anno Salutis 1836,
die vero Februarii 22,
Nonaginta annos natus.”

The ruin, within which the remains of these good priests lie,

* On Christmas day, 1841, the gallery of Riverstown chapel fell during the Parochial Mass, and injured several persons in the congregation. A paragraph in the *Sligo Journal* of December 31st, 1841, thus describes the occurrence:—
“Frightful Accident.—On Christmas morning at early mass, an awful circumstance occurred in Riverstown chapel. While the service was going on, the gallery, at which some repairs had been making, fell, and above forty persons were seriously injured. Several had their legs and arms broken, and one woman's skull was fractured. We are glad to hear that none have been killed, but several of those injured are still in imminent danger. They have been removed to the County Infirmary.”

is extensive, and proves the church to have deserved its popular name of Templemore, or big church, while its position on the summit of a hill, visible for a great distance all round, must have added much to its impressiveness. Hard by the walls is the foundation of an old building, which the people name *Teach na Calliagha dhu*, House of the Nuns, which would go to show that there was formerly a nunnery on the spot. Within a hundred yards or so of the graveyard is a holy well, known as *Tober Muneen*—words which, according to the neighbours, signify Monica's well. These several indications point to a primitive establishment, that followed the rule of St. Augustine, which Templemore may have been before it became a parish church. It is said that a smaller and older church was erected in the adjoining townland of Drumdoney. The etymology of Drumdoney—*Dorsum dominicæ*, or Ridge of the church—would bear out the tradition.

It would hardly be right to leave unnoticed a transaction which has formed for a long time the chief subject of gossip in the neighbourhood. The story is, that a couple of priests rented some of the land of Templemore from the landlord Mr. Dodd, and lived on the farm, when the landlord's son, happening to come the way, they entertained him at dinner on a leg of mutton. Upon returning home the young man told his father and mother that he had dined with the priests, and eaten the sweetest mutton he had ever tasted. "And where," it was asked, "did this wonderful mutton come from?" "From their own farm," replied the son. Whether young Mr. Dodd wished it or not, the information brought ruin on the priests, for his parents forthwith had them evicted, with the view of turning in their own sheep on it, and securing the toothsome mutton for themselves. The covetous couple, however, lost much more than they gained by the selfish proceeding, as the priests, it is said, on quitting, left their curse to the place, with the result, that Dodd's sheep died of some mysterious disease as fast as they came on the land. For this the country people called the

field *Parc na mallaght*, the field of the curse—a name by which it is still known.

Near each of the churches of Ballynakill, Tawnagh, and Drumcolumb, there is a holy well; and close by the site of Drumcolumb building, there is a ravine with precipitous sides, within which Mass used to be said in the Penal times; and it is told that, when a shower came on, the men present, in order to keep the rain off the altar, stuck their walking sticks on the overhanging bank, and taking off their coats, fixed them on the sticks, themselves being, in consequence, obliged to worship in their shirt sleeves.

The existing Protestant church of Kilmacallane, at Rivers-town, was built in 1817 on a gift of £900, and a loan of £500. Previously to the erection of this edifice, the old Catholic church of Tawnagh was used for Protestant worship, the interior being plaistered so as to hide away all memorials of its original destination. It was only a few years ago, on some of the plaster falling off, a holy water stoup was found *in situ*. The addition of a porch and vestry was made to the building in 1768, when, as an inscribed slab inserted in the western gable informs us, John Dodd and William Cooper were churchwardens.

Kilmacallane was a prebendal church under the establishment, and the succession of prebendaries, according to Cotton's *Fasti* (Vol. IV., p. 149), was as follows:—1634, Milo Summer; 1666, Edmund Rowlatt; 1722, Thomas Walls, D.D.; 1750, James Blair; 1755, Richard Doherty; 1760, Robert Curtis, M.A.; 1799, Thomas Hackett, B.A. Rev. Thomas Hackett held the prebend for 42 years, and is given in Erc's Register as incumbent of the extensive union of Boyle, Tawnagh, Kilmacallane, Drumcollum, Kilross, Aghanagh, Ballynakill, and Ballysummaghan. In Sergeant Shee's book on the Irish Church, the ascertained cost of Ballysummaghan Protestant church is set down at £1,223. There have been recent improvements which must have cost a good sum.

The names of the recent Rectors of Ballysummaghan parish are :—

FFOLLIOTT, F.	...	1828 to 1830.
HACKET, T., JUNR.	...	1830 to 1832.
LUCAS, E. A.	...	1832 to 1861.
MONYPENNY, A.	...	1861 to 1866.
KNOTT, THOS.	...	1866 to 1874.
BRADSHAW, M.	...	1874 to 1885.

The Reverend Mr. Mouldsdale, who is the present Rector, was instituted in 1886.

CHAPTER XXX.

UNION OF GEEVAGH.

To the east of the Riverstown parochial union is that of Geevagh, consisting of the three parishes of Kilmastrany, Killadoon, and Shancoe. In Kilmastrany—Kil Mac Treana, the church of the son of Treana—lies the famous battle-field of the northern Moytura.

Few subjects have exercised our Irish antiquaries more than the battles of the two Moyturas. For that there were two Moytura battle-fields, one near Cong in county Mayo, called the southern Moytura, and the other in the parish of Kilmastrany in the county Sligo, called the northern Moytura,* seems to have been commonly admitted until Mr. W. M. Hennessy, in the preface to his edition of the *Annals of Loch Ce*, published in 1871, called in question the existence of the southern battle-field. As, however, the Mayo Moytura does not come within the scope of these pages, the writer has nothing to say to the difference between Mr. Hennessy and his brother antiquaries, which may one day develop into a new battle of Moytura, in which, as in the old one, giants are sure to be engaged.

The northern Moytura, which lies in the parish of Kilmastrany, is a small table land of about a mile square, insulated, on

* The Venerable Charles O'Connor writes thus in reference to this subject :—
“ The Fomorians invited back the Belgians to their assistance, and their conjunction produced the second battle of Moy-turey, near the lake of Arrow (Lough Arrow), but distant from the former Moy-turey about fifty miles, and, by way of distinction, called Moyturey of the Fomorians. This place, surrounded by high hills, great rocks, and narrow defiles, was pitched upon, probably, by the weaker side, but which made the attack is not recorded.”—
Dissertations on the History of Ireland, p. 167, Dublin, 1753.

three sides, from the surrounding country by low lying valleys, and, on the fourth, by the waters of Lough Arrow. Ascending from Ballindoon by the steep old road that leads to Moytura, you are struck, as you go on, by the vast quantity of stones, varying in size from a foot to three or four feet in height, which lie in all directions about. How they got there, whether by human agency or some convulsion of nature, you are at a loss to discover ; and, at first, on seeing to your right, about half-way up the slope, a dilapidated cromlech, or dolmen, and finding on the left, in the townland of Carrickglass, another cromlech of immense proportions, and in excellent preservation, you feel inclined to think, that all the stones about, as well as those in the cromlechs, had undergone artificial arrangement ; but on thinking better of the matter, and finding tens of thousands of these stones huddled together in groups of all shapes and sizes, you find yourself forced to give up this view, and to ascribe the scene to the action of the elements.

And this idea is confirmed by the appearance of things presented on reaching the plateau, for there, too, considerable stretches are covered with similar stones, and with others of still greater size, among which half a dozen or so, towering like pillars, or obelisks, above everything around, are sure to arrest your attention. One of these, called by the inhabitants Aiglone, is seventeen feet high, twelve feet three inches broad, and seven feet two inches thick, and though, perhaps, a little larger than the others, will afford a fair idea of the size of all. They stand for the most part in a line, running from east to west, near, and parallel to the south margin of Moytura plateau, so that they look like beacons, set up at more or less regular intervals, to indicate the way. Among them, it should be mentioned, is a so-called "rocking-stone," which is daily becoming harder to move or rock, a full-grown man, with all his force, being now unable to stir it as much as a child with his finger could some years ago.

If it be hard to account for the presence of the boulders which are strewn in such numbers on the ground, those immense

vertical blocks are a much greater puzzle ; and as it is almost inconceivable that mere human agency, especially in rude times, could poise and fix firmly on end these masses, it is necessary to refer their presence and position to geological changes. Even in this hypothesis it would still be somewhat doubtful, whether they were carried and deposited by glaciers, or, rather, the surrounding earth being cleared away by the weather and floods, were left as they are by denudation. The latter opinion is the more probable ; and it is the more acceptable, as it would also account for the boulders lying in clusters in the same line with the pillars, both boulders and pillars being thus tossed together by the torrents which washed away the earth from about the latter.

Within a few yards of Aiglone is what the inhabitants call a Giant's grave, its area being forty-four feet long, and nine wide (exterior measurement), fenced by large stones laid for the most part on edge. Of these stones twenty-one are still *in situ*, one of them being nine feet long, and another five feet ten inches, while the others are much smaller. Lengthwise the grave, which runs from north to south, is divided by cross stones into two parts, the southern part being ten feet eight inches long, and the northern thirty-three feet.

The north end is unfenced, with the exception of one stone laid on edge, running in the direction of the length of the area, and thus, apparently, having for object, to form two passages into the interior. A peculiarity of this Giant's grave is a line of stones curving outwards at each side of the northern end. Only three or four of these stones are in position, so that there is no means now of judging how far the curves originally extended, or what was their use.

The pillars, rocking stone, and this Giant's grave are in Moytura Conlon, while, at some little distance north-west, in Moytura MacDonogh, are the other antiquarian remains of the field : first, a second Giant's grave, which is twenty-one feet long and seven feet wide, internal measurement, and which is said to be the grave of Nuadh the Silver-handed ; second, a cashel, one

hundred and twenty-five feet in diameter, and hardly two feet over the surface of the surrounding land ; third, another cashel, one hundred and twenty feet in diameter, but low, like the preceding one ; and fourth, quite close to this cashel, a cairn, called popularly Carn Dun, about twenty feet high, the summit being flat, and thirty-three feet in diameter.

Carn Dun was explored by Lady Louisa Tennyson without yielding any find ; and the alleged grave of Nuadh the Silver-handed, was excavated and examined recently by an inhabitant of the district, who is said to have found some bones in it, but whether, if found there, they were bones of man or of animals, is not sufficiently ascertained.

The so-called cashels are so little remarkable, that a man might pass them by without notice, if his attention was not called to them ; and it is passing strange how Dr. Petrie could write of those very poor examples of the cashel, in the following terms :—" I had the good fortune to discover the remains of the great towers—cashels, or cahirs, from which the place derived its name."* The appellation Moytura—said to mean Plain of the Towers—could hardly be derived from these cashels at all, and, if it refers really to towers, must have come from the standing stones, such objects in other places, as at Tory island, sometimes receiving the name of Tors, or Towers, in consequence of their rising conspicuously above surrounding objects. Tower-Hill, near Dunaveragh, has its name from the Tor or pinnacle that rises at the east end of the Bricklieve mountain, a little to the south of Mr. Gardiner's residence.

* Letter to John O'Donovan—in the Life of George Petrie, by Dr. Stokes, page 259. In the same letter the writer adds, " It is no wonder that in both instances (Moytura north, and Moytura south), these towers should have been deemed worthy of such celebrity, for their magnitude was extraordinary, and their construction truly cyclopean."

When he mentions, further on, the information he received, " that these were the only stone forts or cashels in the barony," he seems to have forgotten the noble cashel, called Cashelore, so admirably described by himself in a previous letter (written from Rathcarrick, August 16th, 1837).

The battle of which this place is said to be the field is called the battle of Moytura of the Fomorians, and is supposed to have been fought twenty-seven years after the battle of Moytura of Cong. The contending forces were the Fomorians and Firbolgs, on the one side, and the Tuatha de Danaans on the other, the expected prize of the victors being supreme authority in the county. The Tuatha de Danaans were already in possession of power when the enemy effected a landing to oppose them, and took up position at Moytura in such numbers that the ships, which carried them over sea, are said to have formed a continuous line from the Hebrides to Ireland.* This battle, like that of the southern Moytura, resulted in victory for the Tuatha de Danaans.

The Annals of the Four Masters barely mention this battle, and only incidentally, under the year 3330; but, *en ravanche*, an Historic Tale, quoted by O'Curry,† is as particular and precise as the military correspondent of a London newspaper could be in naming the leading combatants and achievements in a great modern battle.

According to this authority some rather remarkable personages figured in the fray. There was, first of all, the General in chief of the Fomorians, Balor of the Stiff Blows, with one eye, *à la* Polyphemus, in the centre of his forehead, and, in the back of the head, another, which had the property of petrifying everybody and everything it fell on; there was Kathleen, his Amazonian wife, who could deal blows little less damaging than those of her husband; there was Nuadh the Silverhanded, the King of the Tuatha de Danaans, with the silver hand so nicely adjusted and tempered as to be instinct with motion and even feeling; there was Looee of the Long Hands, which nobody or nothing could escape; there was the Daghdha Mor, with his colossal proportions and superhuman strength; and, strangest

* Professor O'Curry's Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Ancient Irish History, page 249.

† Idem, page 248.

article of all, there was Diancecht, the Physician, with his medicated bath, which made the wounded whole, the moment they touched it, and sent them back to the fight stronger and more formidable than ever.*

* The best way to acquaint the reader with the ideas transmitted by Tradition on the battle is to set under his eye O'Curry's analysis of the Historic Tale in question. Passing over some of O'Curry's observations on the subject, the following is the substance of what he says :—

“The tract opens with an account of the lineage of Breas, and how it was that he became King. We have seen that the warrior regent resigned the sovereignty at the end of seven years to Nuada the King ; but it was more by compulsion than good will that he did so, for his rule was so marked by inhospitality, and by entire neglect of the wants and wishes of his people, that loud murmurs of discontent assailed him from all quarters long before his regency was terminated. In short, as the chronicler says, the knives of his people were not greased at his table, nor did their breath smell of ale at the banquet. Neither their poets, nor their bards, nor their satirists, nor their harpers, nor their pipers, nor their trumpeters, nor their jugglers, nor their buffoons were ever seen engaged in amusing them at the assemblies of his court. It is, in fine, added, that he had even succeeded in reducing many of the best and bravest of the Tuatha de Danaan warriors to a state of absolute servitude and vassalage to himself ; and his design seems to have been to substitute an absolute rule for the circumscribed power of a chief king under the national law of the clans.

“At the time that the discontent was at its height, a certain poet and satirist named Cairbre, the son of the poetess Etan, visited the king's court ; but, in place of being received with the accustomed respect, the poet was sent, it appears, to a small dark chamber, without fire, furniture, or bed, where he was served with three small cakes of dry bread only, on a very small and mean table. This treatment was in gross violation of public law, and could not fail to excite the strongest feeling. The poet accordingly arose on the next morning, full of discontent and bitterness, and left the court not only without the usual professional compliments, but even pronouncing a bitter and withering satire on his host.

“This was the first satire ever, it is said, written in Erinn ; and although such an insult to a poet, and the public expression of his indignation in consequence, would fall very far short of penetrating the quick feelings of the nobility or royalty of these times (so different are the customs of ancient and modern honour), still it was sufficient in those early days to excite the sympathy of the whole body of the Tuatha de Danaan, chiefs and people ; and, occurring as it did after so many just causes of popular complaint, they determined without more ado to call upon Breas to resign his power forthwith. To this call the regent reluctantly acceded ; and having held counsel with his mother, they both determined to retire to the court of his father, Elatha, at this time the great

These extravagances show that, if there is any fact in this account of the battle of Moytura, its proportion to fable is even less than that of Falstaff's halfpenny worth of bread to the intolerable deal of sack.

chief of the Fomorian pirates, or sea-kings, who then swarmed through all the German Ocean, and ruled over the Shetland Islands and the Hebrides.

“Though Elatha received his son coldly, and seemed to think that his disgrace was deserved, still he acceded to his request to furnish him with a fleet and army with which to return and conquer Erin for himself, if he could, from his maternal relations, the Tuatha de Danaan. Breas was therefore recommended by his father to the favour of the great Fomorian chiefs, Balor ‘of the Evil Eye,’ king of the Islands, and Indech, son of De Domnand; and these two leaders collected all the men and ships lying from Scandinavia westwards, for the intended invasion, so that they are said to have formed an unbroken bridge of ships and boats from the Hebrides to the north-west coast of Erin. Having landed there, they marched to a plain in the present barony of Tirerril, in the county of Sligo,—a spot surrounded by high hills, rocks, and narrow defiles;—and, having thus pitched their camp in the enemy’s country, they awaited the determination of the Tuatha de Danaan, to surrender or give them battle. The latter were not slow in preparing to resist the invaders, and the recorded account of their preparations is in full accordance with their traditional character as skilful artizans and profound necromancers.

“Besides the king, Nuada ‘of the Silver Hand,’ the chief men of the Tuatha de Danaan at this time were, the great Daghdá; Lug, the son of Cian, the son of Diancecht, their great Esculapius; Ogma Grian-Aineach (‘of the sun-like face’), and others; but the Daghdá and Lug, were the prime counsellors and arrangers of the battle. The tract proceeds to state how these two called to their presence:—their smiths; their cerds, or silver and brass workers; their carpenters; their surgeons; their sorcerers; their cup-bearers; their druids; their poets; their witches; and their chief leaders. And there is not, perhaps, in the whole range of our ancient literature a more curious chapter than that which describes the questions which Lug put to these several classes, as to the nature of the service which each was prepared to render in the battle, and the characteristic professional answer which he received from each of them.

“The battle (which took place on the last day of October), is eloquently described, with all the brave achievements, and all the deeds of art and necromancy by which it was distinguished. The Fomorians were defeated, and their chief men killed. King Nuada of the Silver Hand was indeed killed by Balor of the Evil Eye, but Balor himself fell soon after, by a stone flung at him by Lug (his grandson by his daughter Eithlenn), which struck him (we are told) in the ‘evil eye,’ and with so much force, that it carried it out through the back of his head.

“The magical skill, as it was called—in reality of course, the scientific supe-

Considering that the date of the conflict is laid in 3330, near two thousand years before the Christian era, and six or seven hundred years before the siege of Troy, the writer of the *Historic Tale* could, humanly speaking, know nothing in particular of it, even if it had actually happened, so that all he tells about it, must be the outcome of fiction or illusion. Tradition at most might show that a battle was once fought at Moytura, a conclusion more or less confirmed by the monuments on the spot; but the exact date of the conflict, the parties engaged on one side and the other, the movements of the field, the feats of individuals, and the significance of existing monuments, would be all matters still undecided, and as open as ever to inquiry and conjecture.

riority of the Tuatha de Danaan,—stood them well in this battle; for Diancecht, their chief physician, with his daughter Ochtriuil, and his two sons, Airmedh and Mioch, are stated to have previously prepared a healing bath or fountain with the essences of the principal healing herbs and plants of Erin, gathered chiefly in Lus-Mhagh, or the Plain of Herbs (a district comprised in the present King's County); and on this bath they continued to pronounce incantations during the battle. Such of their men as happened to be wounded in the fight were immediately brought to the bath and plunged in, and they are said to have been instantly refreshed and made whole, so that they were able to return and fight against the enemy again and again.

“The situation of the plain on which this battle was fought is minutely laid down in the story, and has been ever since called *Magh Tuireadh na bh-Fomoragh*, or, ‘The Plain of the Towers (or pillars) of the Fomorians,’ to distinguish it from the Southern Moytura, from which it is distant about fifty miles.

“The story does not enter into any account of the setting up of any tombs, towers, or pillars, though many ancient Cyclopean graves and monuments remain to this day on the plain; but as it appears to be imperfect at the end, it is possible that the tract in its complete form contained some details of this nature.

“Cormac Mac Cullinan, in his celebrated Glossary, quotes this tract in illustration of the word *Nes*; so that so early as the ninth century it was looked upon by him as a very ancient historic composition of authority.

“I have only to add, that the only ancient copy of this tract that I am acquainted with, or that, perhaps, now exists, is one in the British Museum, finely written on vellum, by Gilla-Reabhach O'Clery, about the year 1460. Of this I had a perfect transcript made by my son Eugene, under my own inspection and correction, in London, in the summer of last year (1855); so that the safety of the tract does not any longer depend on the existence of a single copy.”

As there is record of a conflict in Moytura in 1398,* and no record of any other there in historic times, one may hold, till the contrary is proved, that the proceedings of the fourteenth century were the source of all the high sounding traditions connected with the place. The recent date will, no doubt, militate against this view in minds accustomed to refer the events of Irish history to preposterously remote times; but as modern antiquarians are re-casting Irish chronology and curtailing greatly periods which older authorities extended *ad libitum*, and almost *ad infinitum*, the modern date may meet less objection now than it would have met in the days of General Vallancey and his school.

If an earlier battle were reported authentically by our annalists as occurring in the place, it would, no doubt, square better with the folk-lore about the Battle of Moytura of the Fomorians; and it is only in the absence of such a record that the conflict of 1398 is offered as an hypothesis, and for what it is worth. A strong objection to this hypothesis would be the references to the Battle of Moytura, contained in documents supposed to be older than 1398, but, there being good ground for doubting the alleged age of these documents in their present form, the objection drawn from them could hardly prove fatal—more especially as Tighernach, who lived towards the close of the eleventh century, and who is the most trustworthy of all our annalists, has not a word about such a battle.

People acquainted with the literature of the Battle of Moytura may be disappointed at not finding here some reference to what Sir James Fergusson has written on the subject in his esteemed work on Rude Stone Monuments. No one has a better right than Sir James to be heard on such a subject, and

* “O’Conor Roe and MacDermot marched with a great army against the Clann-Donough of Tirerrill, until they arrived at Magh-Tuireadh, where they committed great depredations. The Clann-Donough and Murtough, son of Donnell O’Conor, with all his forces assembled, came up with them, and a battle was fought between them, in which O’Conor Roe was defeated, and Sorley Bay MacDonnell and his people were killed.”—*Four Masters, sub anno.*

the writer turned to his chapter on "Moytura" with a confident expectation of finding light in it, but was surprised to discover that the twelve pages and four illustrations, which Sir James thought he was devoting to the northern Moytura, were, every word and every line, given to Carrowmore in Coolerra, a place near twenty miles distant.

It is a great loss that, by the intervention of a putative Moytura, we are left in the dark as to the views of this sober, experienced, and able antiquary in regard to the real Moytura. However the extraordinary mistake may have occurred, it supplies one of the most striking instances, to be met with, of leaving Hamlet out of the play.

In appearance the plateau of Moytura is one of the most unattractive in Ireland—sombre, weird, and barren. Dull, however, as it looks, it commands a varied and picturesque prospect: all round, the mountains of Leitrim and Sligo; to the south, the rich and cultivated tract of *Tir Tuathal*; at various points, the lakes of Lough Bo, Lough na Suil, Lough Skean, Lough Ce, and Lough Arrow; and on the west, the sunny, smiling slopes of Hollybrook, backed up by the historic Dunaveeragh.

The etymology of Moytura is not agreed on. The meaning more commonly attached to the word is the Plain of the Towers; others say that Moytura is equivalent to *Moigh-na-teere*, which, they tell us, signifies the best part of the earth, an opinion as devoid of foundation in the Irish language, as in the quality of the land; and others again that the word is the name of a great giant, called Motore Mor, who took a leading part in the great battle. O'Donovan writes,* "he never believed that Moytura means the Plain of the Towers;" and the two other opinions are so silly as to need no notice.

In these circumstances one is free to search out a new solution, which may, perhaps, be found in a conjunction of the word *Magh*, a plain, with the adjective *oughteragh*, upper, or *eightragh*, lower. This is little more than a conjecture, but a

* Ordnance Survey Letters relating to the County Sligo.

conjecture which has much in its favour: first, the popular pronunciation, which is always *Meethragh*, a fair speaking contraction of *Magh eightragh*, or *Magh oughteragh*; and secondly, the frequent application in that neighbourhood of *eighteragh* and *oughteragh* to denominations of land, as *Coill oughteragh* to the site of High Wood chapel on the very plateau of Moytura, *Kil-eighteragh* to Kilmactrany old church, on the south-west of the plateau, and *Cartroneightra*, alias *Cartronightragh* to the west of Moytura.*

KILMACTRANY is a very old church, as it is named by the Four Masters, under the year 1236, in the following entry: "Magrath Mac Mailin, Priest of Kilmactrany, died." We have it in the Taxation of 1307 as Kilmactrena, and in the Bishop of Kildare's inquisition as Kilm^ctrena. The Taxation adds, that in 1307 this "church was waste."

The parish of KILLADOON has its name from the old church of Cill-Duibhdhuin—the church of Doyne, or probably, Devine—mentioned in the following entry of the Four Masters at the year 1504:—"Manus, the son of Brian MacDonough, abbot of the monastery of the Blessed Trinity on Lough Key, repertory and repository of the wisdom and knowledge of Connaught, died at Cill-Duibhdhuin, and was buried in the monastery of the Blessed Trinity on Lough Key."

This church was appropriate to the monastery of the Blessed Trinity in Lough Key, and, in the grant of James I. to William Crofton of the possessions of that monastery, is mentioned as "the site, ambit, and precinct of the cell, or chapel, of Kilvegoone (*sic*), in the said barony of Tirerrill, with one half quarter of land and the tithes; the rectory of Kilvegoone, with the tithes, parcel of the possessions of the said monastery."† The church of Kilvegoone, or Killadoon, must be distinguished from the abbey, or convent, of Ballindoon, with which it is often confounded.

* Patent Roll of James I., page 571.—Grant to Sir Robert King.

† Patent Roil of James I., page 435.

De Burgo seems to be in error in dating this convent from 1427.* According to this writer, the Dominican fathers of the great convent of Athenry, obtained an Apostolic Letter from Pope Martin V., authorising them to erect two new Dominican convents in Ireland; and these, though with some misgivings, De Burgo takes to be the Dominican houses of Ballindoon in the county Sligo, and Tombeola in the county Galway. The author of *Hibernia Dominicana* is generally the surest of guides, being well informed, and most painstaking, founding too his statements, in most cases, on authentic documents; but in this case he relies on traditions; and it is very suggestive of the danger of trusting to traditions, that we find them leading so cautious and learned a man into mistakes.

That he is in error on this occasion, not only in regard to the date, but in regard, too, to other leading circumstances of the Ballindoon foundation, there can be no doubt, as the *Annals of Loch Ce*, compiled in the immediate neighbourhood, expressly record, that "the monastery of Baile-an-duin, was begun by Thomas O'Fergheul, in 1507,"† probably "the young Prior Thomas O'Ferghail," whose tragic death is mentioned in the same record under the year 1527.‡ The style, too, of the fabric, of which the engravings in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland* § give a very good idea, confirms the recent date.

De Burgo in the middle of the last century admired the size and state of preservation (*amplitudinem cum integritate*) of this convent, but as the building has undergone little change since he visited it in 1775, and hardly any at all since Captain Grose drew it in 1798, there is good reason for pronouncing the words *amplitudinem*, etc., to contain somewhat of an *amplifi-*

* *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 310.

† *Annals of Loch Ce*, *sub anno* 1507.

‡ The young Prior O'Ferghail, i.e., Thomas, the son of Edmond, son of Rossa, Lord of Calidh-na-h'Anghaile, and the fifth best companion that was of the Clanna-Rughraidhe, was slain by the sons of Edmond O'Cellaigh, and by the sons of Felim, son of Gilla-na-naemh O'Ferghail, and his three sons along with him, *per dolum*.

§ Two plates; Vol. I., page 56.

cation or exaggeration, for the structure is only 84 feet long and 23 feet wide, interior measurement.

De Burgo states that the precincts of the abbey were granted at the Dissolution to Francis Crofton,* but this is an error, as it was to Francis Gofton, "one of the auditors of the imprests," they were granted by Patent, on the 31st January, the sixth year of James the First.† As to Ballindoon, a Chancery inquisition informs us that Melaghlin Oge M'Donough died in 1588, and that the lands of Ballindoon were granted to Uny Ny Rourke, his wife.

The Survey of 1633 states in regard to this place: "Andrew Crean has Moore (the townland on which the convent stands), both abbey and land; it is worth £7 *per annum*, by reason of the burialls in the abbey and the mill." At the Restoration it was granted to the Kings, who changed the name of Annagh Iveanaghan to Kingsborough, and from whom it passed to the Gethins, the present owners. The interior is still a burying place, but kept by Catholics for their exclusive use; and, some time ago, when a son of the late Mr. John Gethin was drowned in Lough Arrow, and his family tried to bury him within the walls of the church, the people of the neighbourhood assembled in great numbers, and resisted the efforts of the family, so that the deceased had to be interred outside the walls, where the monument to his memory now stands. It is the chief burying place of the M'Donoughs of Terrerrill, whose names appear on the greater number of the tombstones. The other leading names commemorated being O'Mullany, M'Tiernan, Conellan, and Davey.

Miss Eliza M'Donough, the last of the family that inhabited Coolmeen, died in 1883, and was buried in Ballindoon. She

* *Hibernia Dominicana*, page 311. Both Harris and Archdall fall into the same mistake.

† "The chapel or cell of Ballendowne, containing a church, a churchyard, and half-quarter of land, of small measure, with the tithes; parcel of the late Friary of Mendicants of St. Dominick's Order near Ballindowne." — *Patent Roll of James I.*, page 128.

inherited all the noble virtues of her race, and, more especially, their super-abounding charity, so that, in the end, she was as much wept by "widows" and others, and was as "full of good works and alms-deeds" as Dorcas, or the other saints we read of in Scripture and ecclesiastical history.

A most interesting recent interment was that of Doctor M'Donough in January, 1886. He was a member of the Great Counsellor's family, and resided in London for the sixty years preceding his decease. Like Jacob, he longed to have his bones laid in the grave of his fathers ; and a good son, another Joseph, the present Dr. M'Donough, of Cromwell Lodge, Twickenham, England, brought the remains with him to Ireland, and interred them in the sanctuary of the abbey, where not only the decaying bones, but almost every atom of the earth, formed once a living portion of some member of the great Clann Donough of Tirerrill. Father Filan, the esteemed Parish Priest of Geevagh, officiated at the grave, and was also celebrant of the solemn Mass, which the good son, with the traditional piety of the family, caused to be celebrated for the repose of his father's soul—*Requiescat*.

Before quitting the parish of Killadoon, it is well to note that, as we must not, as has been already said, confound the church of Killadoon and the convent of Ballindoon, so we must not regard the two old fortresses of the parish as identical ; for one of them, that demolished by Hugh O'Connor in 1352, was a primitive structure in the style of a cashel, while the other was a comparatively modern castle, being erected in 1408 by Conor M'Donough.*

SHANCOE is the third parish of the union, and is, perhaps, from the circumstances of its origin, the most interesting of the three. It is mentioned both in the Book of Armagh, and in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick. It was at Shancoe took place the curious occurrence narrated in the following passage

* The castle of Ballindown was erected by Conor, the son of Teige M'Donough.—*Four Masters*, 1408.

of the Tripartite:—" Having crossed the Shannon, St. Patrick with his companions came to the place called *Dumha-graidh*, and ordained there the excellent priest Ailbeus. He it is who is in the church of Senchua in Tirerrill, where, when the things necessary for the divine ministry, and the sacred vessels, were wanting, the holy prelate, divinely inspired, informed the priest that there was, in a certain stone cave of wonderful workmanship under the earth, an altar bearing on its four corners four glass chalices. He directed them to be cautious in digging in order to avoid injuring the glass, saying, 'Take care that the edges of the cave be not broken.'"*

It is highly probable that the name of the church, Senchua, which seems to be a combination of the two Irish words, *sen* or *sean*, old, and *cuach*, a cup or vessel, comes from the circumstances mentioned; and it is equally likely that the cave, which may still be seen under the walls of the old church, is the identical one that contained the altar with the four chalices. No doubt Saint Ailbe, or those who came after him, erected the church to commemorate the miraculous discovery of the chalices, just as the empress St. Helena constructed a church on the spot where she found the cross of Our Lord.

It is commonly inferred from the finding of the sacred vessels that there were Christians in Tirerrill before the time of Saint Patrick. Even in Jocelin's day this opinion was entertained, for after mentioning, in his life of St. Patrick, the circumstance of the chalices, he adds the words: "By whom this altar was made, and set up with its chalices, is still unknown to us.

* Trajecto igitur Sinanno, venit Patricius cum sociis ad locum, *Dumha-graidh* appellatum; ibique eximium Presbyterum Ailbeum ordinavit; et ipse est qui est in ecclesia de *Senchua*, in regione nepotum Olildæ; ubi cum deficerent necessaria ad divinum ministerium, sacraque utensilia, sanctus Præsul divinitus instructus indicavit præbytero, subtus terram altare in quodam specu lapideo, esse mirandi operis, in quatuor angulis habens quatuor calices vitreos; et monuit ratione vitrorum cautius esse fodiendum, dicens: Cavendum ne frangantur ore fossuræ. Interne potes enim Olildæ fuit, et baptizavit Maneum sanctum quem ordinavit Episcopus Bronus filius ignis (Icnei), qui est in Caissel-irra, servus Dei, socius Sancti Patricii.—*Acta Sanct.*, p. 134.

Some are of opinion that they belonged to Bishop Palladius or to his companions, and that they were left there after his departure.* Others might refer them to the supposed mission of Aristobulus and his twelve companions, to which Ussher alludes in the *Primordia* (page 744).†

The chief owners of the parish in 1632 were the M'Donoughs, and among them Turlough M'Donough of Crivagh, the father of the "Great Counsellor," Terence M'Donough. Rents were paid partly in money and partly in kind, as in the following instance, extracted from the Survey of 1633:—" *Garvoge*—The inheritance of Turlogh M'Donough of Crivagh, who sets it to under tenants for £5 per annum, 5 medders of butter, 10 medders of meale, a barrell of beere, 4 fatt muttons, 20 workmen, and $\frac{2}{4}$ of a beafe. It hath good turfe, and good shelter; it is good arable land; it is good for sheepe; it will graze 40 cows, and is worth £40 *per annum*."

A dilapidated cairn of stones, called on the Ordnance Survey maps "O'Connor's Monument," and situated in the parish of Shancoe, close to the parish of Killerry, claims a word of notice. The origin of this structure no one at present seems to know anything about; but there is some reason to identify it with *Bruidne Da Derga*, named in old writings *Arx Conarii*, the fortress of Conaire, which, with Conaire himself, is said to have been burned to ashes by malefactors, whom that good king had banished the kingdom, and who, returning unawares, took this

* In illo loco ubi a Magis inductas tenebras S. Patricius orando dimovit, extracta est ecclesia; in qua quemdam de suis clericis Ailveum dictum, ad gradum sacerdotalem, quatenus inibi ministraret, promovit. Ordinatus presbyter conquestus est S. Patricio, quod sibi deessent necessaria sacerdotali ministerio. Sanctus divinitus instructus indicavit presbytero quoddam altare mirandi operis, habens in quatuor angulis quatuor calices vitreos, in specu subterraneo, et ne forte frangerentur, præcepit ei, cautius effodere, humumque agerere. Fecit Præbyter sicut Præsul præcepit, et omnia sicut dixit reperit. A quibus autem personis illud altare factum fuerat, aut cum calicibus ibi repositum, nobis adhuc extat incognitum. Quidem vero opinantur, omnia illa fuisse Palladii Episcopi sive sociorum ejus, quæ relictæ sunt ibi post discessum ejus.

† Eundemque Aristobulum cum sociis duodecim in Hibernia Evangelium annuntiasset, refert Toletanus ille archipresbyter Julianus.

way to revenge themselves. Though others would locate this palace elsewhere—O'Donovan, in a note, under the year 1560, in his *Annals of the Four Masters*, and Dr. Joyce, in his *Irish Names of Places*, First Series, p. 267, placing it on the River Dodder in the County Dublin—Roderick O'Flaherty and Rev. Dr. O'Connor maintain that it stood in the County Sligo, and in the locality under consideration; for the latter, in the *Prolegomena* to his *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, p. lix., writes:—“*Arx Conarii I., Bruidne da derga, in agro Sliguntino prope Magh tuiremh (campum turre) non longe a flumine isto (Sligeach) sita erat ut patet ex nota marginali in exemplari Stowense Ogygiæ, p. 273.*” (The fortress of Conaire I., *Bruidne da derga*, was situated in the County Sligo near Moytura, and not far from the River Sligo, as appears from a marginal note in the *Stow* copy of the *Ogygia*, page 273.) The destruction of this castle and the death of Conaire the First are referred by our writers to the time of the infancy of our Lord.

As to the succession of the Parish Priests of Geevagh:

Denis Dermot was Parish Priest in 1704, and was sixty years of age at that time. His sureties, under the Registration Act, were Captain Francis King, Ballindune, and Bryan McDonogh, of Farnadaragh.

Father Dermot's immediate successor was Rev. Peter Feighney, who officiated often in the town of Sligo in 1712-13. See *Depositions*; Vol. I., p. 226, etc.

Coming down to the nineteenth century, Rev. John Harte was incumbent of Geevagh in the opening years of the century. The exact date of his death is not known.

Father Harte was succeeded by Rev. Bernard McManus, who died in 1842.

Father M. Spelman, who had been Father McManus's curate, succeeded him as Parish Priest, and died on the 24th May, 1847.

Father Hughes succeeded Rev. M. Spelman, but was transferred to the parish of Elphin in 1850.

Rev. Dominick Noone became incumbent in 1850, and died on the 10th February, 1871. He is buried in the parish church, where there is a marble slab to his memory.*

Father Noone was succeeded by Rev. John Morris, who was transferred to Castlerea in 1876, when Rev. Peter Filan, the actual incumbent, succeeded.

The mention, in the foregoing list, of Reverend Bernard McManus brings to mind his nephew, the late Monsignor McManus of Baltimore, who died in that city on the 28th of February, 1888, being then in the sixty-ninth year of his age. Though a native of Roscommon, he lived so long in the county Sligo, first, in Geevagh with his uncle, and next, in the town of Sligo, as pupil in Mr. Charles O'Connor's school, that the county has a claim to a portion of the honour which the life of this worthy priest reflects on every place with which he was ever connected.

It is not going a hair's-breadth too far to say, that no priest of America, either in the present, or in any past generation, was more admired and loved through life, or more lamented at death, than Monsignor McManus. Not to mind now other evidence, what occurred at his death supplies abundant proof of

* The inscription on the stone runs thus :—

“ Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.”

“ Of your charity,

Pray for the repose of the soul of the

VERY REV. DOMINICK NOONE, P.P., Geevagh,

who died on 10th February, 1871,

aged 64 years.

This tablet is erected by his bereaved parishioners in the district of Geevagh, as a slight testimony of their reverence and respect to his memory.

R.I.P.”

This care for the memory of Father Noone is quite in keeping with the character of the good people of Geevagh, who have always been remarkable for attachment to their priests.

this; for the two or three columns which the newspapers of Baltimore and New York devoted to the description of his solemn obsequies show well the place he occupied in the thoughts and feelings of Americans.

In reading the account of these functions, one would think there was question of some great prince of the church, some leading member of the college of cardinals. In one thing, at all events, the obsequies would bear comparison with those of prelate, prince, or Pope; and that was the sincerity and depth of the sorrow that accompanied them—sorrow felt alike by all who thronged the church, from the school child to the Cardinal.

So great was the desire of the people to honour one whom each regarded as a friend and father, that thousands after the church was filled to its utmost capacity, had to turn away and remain outside till the funeral procession, at the close of the ceremonies, started for the cemetery. Not only the priests of Maryland, but others from distant States attended to show their respect for a brother, whom all looked up to as a model. And it was no secret, that in the vast congregation, which surged round the *catafalque*, no one felt more tenderly than the Cardinal Archbishop, whose own elevation of character enabled him, better than others, to appreciate the noble qualities of the deceased. It was even noticed, while the eloquent preacher—Very Rev. Dr. Foley—was enlarging on the virtues of Monsignor, that the Cardinal's tears betrayed his affection, so that the exclamation of the Jews, on seeing our Lord weep for his friend Lazarus, came to the lips of many, "Behold, how he loved him."

Cast Father McManus's lot where you would, and he was sure to be dear to all round him. It was so with him from the beginning; and those who, like the writer, knew him at school, cannot forget how entirely that pale faced, fair haired, delicate, gentle lad, as he then looked, was first favourite with all the boys. Had he lived and died in Ireland he would have been the *sogarth aroon* of his diocese, and would have gone to his

Irish grave as loved and lamented, as he went to his American resting place. Feelings in each case would have been similar, though outward circumstances must have been different; for one could not expect to find in an Irish parish—whether rural or urban—the teeming thousands of laymen, the hundreds of priests, the four or five bishops, the Cardinal Primate of a great national church, and all the other dignified and solemn surroundings that encompassed Monsignor McManus's honoured remains in the ecclesiastical metropolis of the United States.

In looking over the long list of the clergy who assembled from all sides on the occasion, county Sligo men were proud to find, in the notice of the pall bearers, the respected name of Very Rev. H. F. Parke of Wheeling, a native of Sligo, and an ecclesiastic conspicuous, like Monsignor McManus himself, for all the virtues and rare qualities which make up and adorn the very highest type of the clerical character.

Father Parke was born in the town of Sligo of religious and highly respectable parents. After receiving his earlier education in the town, he emigrated to America; and having made his ecclesiastical studies in St. Mary's Seminary and University, Baltimore, he was ordained for the diocese of Wheeling, in West Virginia. Here he has passed his life, being regarded all through his edifying and brilliant career as the leading priest of the diocese. The estimation in which he is held by the bishops and priests of the States, may be inferred from the fact, that on the death, some years ago, of the Bishop of Wheeling, Father Parke was entrusted with the administration of the diocese *sede vacante*. Though this distinguished man's health has not been always as robust as one would wish, his Sligo friends will be happy to know that he was hardly ever better than on the 8th of May, of the year just passed, the sixty-third anniversary of his baptism in the old chapel in Sligo.

Much as this warm-hearted minister of religion is devoted to the country of his adoption, the land of his birth has never lost its due place in his thoughts and affections. The "friend in need is the friend indeed;" and in the seasons of distress or pressure

through which the country has recently passed, few in America have made such personal sacrifices in sending over relief as Father Parke, though more than others he takes pains to observe the Gospel precept, of not letting the left hand know what the right hand doeth. Father Parke then reflects great honour on his native town and diocese.

When the proper time for writing Father Parke's life arrives—and it is to be hoped that the day will be a distant one—his biographer will have many interesting, as well as many stirring, actions to describe, more especially in connexion: first, with the good Father's services in the war between the North and the South, when he followed his people into the field as chaplain, and shared all their hardships and dangers; and next, with his attachment to the poor slaves of the South, to whom he has been at all times specially devoted, as was proved on many memorable occasions, notably in the case of an untutored and unbaptized negro, known by the name of George, who was guilty of some offence against the law, which not only brought on him sentence of death by the proper tribunal, but roused such fierce indignation against him in the mob, that they would, if they could, have taken the law into their own hands and inflicted on him summary punishment.

Nothing daunted by threats levelled against George's friends, almost as much as against himself, the zealous and courageous Father faced the storm, took in hand the hated convict's interests, advocated them by tongue and pen, and, though he could not save the life of the wretched man, had the happiness under God of saving his soul, by grounding him in the principles of the Christian religion, baptizing him, reconciling him to his fate, and, in various other ways, helping him to die a death which eye-witnesses report to have been as edifying as that of the good thief on the cross.

Although, as one might expect from so perfect a priest, Father Parke would be a model of obedience and deference towards any prelate set over him, he still seems to have reserved for his first, and best, and life-long friend, as he loves to call

Bishop Whelan, a special place in his heart, which nobody else, be he bishop, priest, or layman, need expect to share. In his love and loyalty he misses no occasion of proclaiming the merits of this venerated friend; and in his just published "Sketches illustrative of the Apostolic Life of Richard Vincent Whelan, Bishop of the two Virginias," he has done so in a way that must be most agreeable to him, as it is sure to send the Prelate's name and his own together to posterity—the Prelate's for the Apostolic virtues recorded, and his own for the kindred virtues as well as the rare talents which the Sketches exhibit in every page.

CHAPTER XXXI.

PARISH OF AGHANAGH.

THE parish of Aghanagh occupies the south-west corner of Tirerrill, lying between Lough Arrow and Keash, and stretching lengthwise from the parishes of Drumcolumb and Tawnagh to the Curlews. The Curlew mountains are a range which runs from east to west, rises to a height of 863 feet, and lies partly in Sligo and partly in Roscommon, a line passing longitudinally along the summit, forming the mutual boundary of the two counties. This mountain is a noted topographical limit of Lower Connaught, being always meant by our annalists in the phrases "from the mountain downwards," "from the mountain upwards." The summit is a table land, and water-shed of a mile or more wide, sending part of its rainfall into Ballysadare bay, through the rivers Arrow and Owenmore, and part into the Shannon through the Boyle river and Loch Ce.

So late as the fifteenth century the crest and slopes were all wood and jungle, but the land being now reclaimed, the surface is covered with moderate tillage crops and coarse grass, there being some plantations in the occupation of the landlord, Colonel King Harman. There are a few houses on the plateau, while the white-washed cottages, scattered picturesquely over the long southern slope, shine out and scintillate from the dark background so brightly, as to form one of the most striking sights which the traveller, by train, meets with in the run from Dublin to Sligo.

The views from the crest are very fine—to the south, the famous far-stretching plains of Roscommon, the noble demesne of Rockingham, and the fine sheets of water of Lough Gara, Lough Ce, Lough Skean, and Lough Meelagh—and to the north the sweet, well sheltered Lough Arrow, the wooded demesne of

Hollybrook, and the serrated crest of Bricklieve, with the ranges of Slieve Gamh, Slieve da En, and Benbulbin in the distance.

As might be expected from their situation, lying between North and South Connaught, the Curlews have been the scene of many battles and other military operations, one or two of which cannot be passed over without notice, though it would take too much space to describe them all. In 1497 a great battle took place, the contending forces being Teige MacDermot, Lord of Moylurg, the O'Connor Don, and O'Connor Roe on the one side, and on the other, Con O'Donnell, Lord of Tyrconnell, Felim O'Connor, Lord of Carbury, and some of the O'Rorkes. Mac Dermot gained a crushing victory, slaying great numbers, taking many prisoners, including Felim O'Connor, and, what gives its special interest to this battle, obtaining the famous O'Donnell relic called the Cathach.

The Cathach is a small brass box, nine and a half inches long, eight broad, and two thick, with silver plates attached to the top and bottom, the top plate being richly gilt, chased, and ornamented with representations of scriptural and ecclesiastical subjects. Until recently the nature of the contents was unknown, the prevalent opinion being, that it contained some of the bones of Columbkille,* but the box being opened about 1826 by Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms, was found to contain a manuscript copy on vellum of the Psalms. It was the legend connected with this relic that rendered it so precious in the eyes of the O'Donnells; for the tradition was, that if carried three times, with due reverence, round the army of Tyrconnell before a battle, it would give that army victory over the enemy. It was from being thus supposed to fight for the O'Donnells it got the name of Cathach,† that is, the Fighter. The care of

* Irish Antiquarian Researches, Part I., page 110.

† Liber autem præliator, id est, Cathach vulgo appellatur; fert que traditio quod si circa illius patriæ exercitum, antequam hostem adoriantur tertio cum debita reverentia circumducatur, eveniet ut victoriam reportet.—Colgan, Trias Thaumaturga, p. 409.

the casket was committed to a family named Magroarty, a member of the family always accompanying it to the battlefield; and it speaks well for the fidelity with which the trust was discharged, that the Magroarty in charge on the Curlews clung to it to the last, and relinquished it only with his life, being slain in the effort to preserve it. Two years later Hugh Roe O'Donnell invaded Moylurg, recovered the Cathach, and exacted tribute from MacDermot.*

In 1599 another battle took place on the Curlews, and, unlike previous engagements, which were fought by Irish against Irish, this conflict had the Irish on one side, and the English on the other, under the command of Sir Conyers Clifford, the Governor of Connaught. And this brings us to some startling events which occurred in Sligo in 1595, which it will be convenient to mention here, as they led to the appearance of Sir Conyers Clifford on the scene.

In the opening month of that year the whole county seemed more completely in the power of the English, than, perhaps, it had ever been before; for George Oge Bingham, brother of Sir Richard, commanded the castle and town of Sligo; a second George Bingham, called, by O'Sullivan, Georgius major, held the castle of Ballymote; strong English garrisons occupied the castles of Collooney, Rathmullen, Ballinafad, and a new fortress, erected by Sir Richard Bingham in 1593, on the strip of land that separates Lough Arrow from Lough Ce, to stop the troublesome visits of the O'Rorkes and O'Donnells; while Sir Richard

* "O'Donnell, *i.e.*, Hugh Roe, marched with an army against MacDermot, *i.e.*, Cormac, the son of Rory, and never halted until he reached the Curlews mountains. MacDermot, having received intelligence of this, assembled the forces of Moylurg, and of the Tuathas of Connaught, to defend the pass of the Curlews against O'Donnell. O'Donnell, perceiving this, marched round Muintir Eolais, crossed the Shannon near the castle of Leitrim, and thus entered Moylurg. He seized upon many preys and spoils, and commenced ravaging the country. When MacDermot heard of this, he repaired to O'Donnell, and concluded a perpetual peace with him, and humbly paid him his tribute. He also returned to him the Cathach, and the prisoners who had remained in Moylurg from the time of the defeat of Bealach-Buidhe to that time."—Annals of the Four Masters, *sub anno* 1499.

himself, at the head of considerable forces, kept his head-quarters at Roscommon, ready at a moment's notice to pounce on any part of the county Sligo that showed signs of disaffection.

Nor was Sir Richard a man to be provoked with impunity. Coming to Ireland, as Governor of Connaught, in 1584, after having acquired in the wars of the Continent a character for cruelty, all his proceedings as Governor served to add to the terrors of his name.* At the first Assizes he held in Galway he hanged seventy persons, some of the victims belonging to the first families of the province, and several of them being women; about the same time he put to the sword, at Ardnaree, 2,000 Scots, whom he had fallen on when they least expected him; as far as he could, he exterminated the great Anglo Irish sept of the Northern Burkes, hunting them through lakes and mountains, pulling down their castles and residences, swinging them from the gallows, or knocking them on the head as they fell in

* Over the grave of Sir Richard Bingham, in Westminster Abbey, there is a tablet with the following inscription:—

“ *To the glory of the Lord of Hosts.*”

“ Hereunder resteth SIR RICHARD BINGHAM, Knight,
of the ancient family of the
Binghams of Bingham-Melcombe, in the
county of Dorset,
who, from his youth, was trained up in
military affairs, and served in the time of Queen
Mary, at St. Quintin's, in the western islands of Scotland,
and in Britain, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, at Leith, in Scot-
land; in the Isle of Candy, under the Venetians; at Cabo Chrio; at
the famous battle of Lepanto against the Turks; in the civil
wars of France; in the Netherlands; and at Smerwick,
where the Romans and Irish were vanquished.

After he was made Governor of Connaught, where he overthrew the Irish Scots, expelled the traitorous O'Rorkes, suppressed divers rebellions, and that with small charges to Her Majesty, maintaining that province in a flourishing state by the space of thirteen years; finally, for his good service, was made Marshal of Ireland and General of Leinster, where, at Dublin, in an assured faith in Christ, he ended this transitory life, the 19th of January, 1598, æt. 70.”

his way ; at a Sessions in Sligo, under the presidency of his brother George, he hanged, with several others, two of the O'Harts of Grange ; while he swept Breffny, the principality of the O'Rorkes, clear of man and beast, by letting loose on it two ravaging armies from opposite directions, starting one from near Longford, and the other from Sligo, with orders to proceed till they met in the heart of the territory, and to destroy in their passage everything they encountered with fire and sword.

Undeterred by the acts and character of this ruthless adversary, the dashing Hugh Roe O'Donnell invaded Connaught twice, within a few weeks, in the beginning of 1595, and carried away great preys of cattle in spite of Sir Richard's efforts to prevent him. The Bingham felt deeply the indignity thus put upon them ; and to avenge it, George Bingham equipped two ships in the harbour of Sligo, and sailing with them along the coast of Carbury, and round Teelin Head, put into Lough Swilly, where he disembarked, and ravaged the Carmelite monastery of Rathmullen, carrying away from it the sacred vessels and ornaments of the altar, the vestments of the priests, and every other article of value they could find. Passing thence to Tory island, they rifled in the same way the chief church there, which was dedicated to Saint Columba, the great patron saint of the O'Donnells ; and having thus taken their revenge on Hugh Roe, by outraging at once his religion and his territory, they returned to Sligo well pleased with what they had done. But their triumph did not last long. For Lieutenant Ulick Burke, who was second in command at Sligo, hating the Bingham for their treatment of himself, and their wholesale massacre of his relations, organised a conspiracy against the life of George Bingham. Having brought over to his design a sufficient number of the garrison, he and his associates fell on Bingham in the castle, butchered and despatched him, and put to the sword, or removed from the castle, all who took his part. There is nothing to show that O'Donnell was privy to the plot, though it was certainly he who derived the greatest benefit from it ; for Burke had no sooner become master of the place,

than he sent off messengers with an offer of it to Hugh Roe, who hastened at the head of an army to Sligo to accept and secure the valuable prize. Having received the keys of the place, O'Donnell handed them back to Ulick, thus constituting him Governor of the castle; and the office could not be better filled; for after the desperate deed in which he had been the chief actor, the new governor had a deeper interest than even O'Donnell himself in the success of the Irish cause.

As long as O'Donnell remained at Sligo, the place was a continual scene of joy and exultation. The tragedy of the castle, while paralysing for a time the action of the English, awakened new life and hope among the Irish of the province, so that crowds of them flocked to Sligo to congratulate O'Donnell on the altered aspect of affairs, and to concert with him the plan of future operations. Among those who visited him the Four Masters make special mention of the Burkes of Mayo, the O'Rorkes of Breffney, the Mac Dermots of Moylurg, the Mac Donoghs of Tirerrill and Corran, and some of the O'Connors Sligo, but not Sir Donogh, who was then in England, and who, if he had been in Ireland, would hardly have joined the muster. The numbers that came to Sligo on the occasion, or that otherwise notified their adhesion to Hugh Roe, were so great that, to use the words of the Four Masters, "In the course of one month the greater part of the inhabitants of the district, from the western point of Erris and Umhall to the Drowes, had unanimously confederated with O'Donnell; and there were not many castles or fortresses in those places, whether injured or perfect, that were not under his control."

The plan of operations being arranged, the Connaught chiefs retired to their respective territories, while O'Donnell returned to Donegal to organize a new expedition to Connaught. The foray came off in August; and instead of following the route through the county Leitrim, which he had been obliged to take on the last two occasions, he passed this time straight through the county Sligo, and a part of the barony of Costello in Mayo, where he stopped to take from the English the fortress of Cas-

tlemore-Costello ; after the capture of which he marched on to the county Galway, ravaged the countries of the Birminghams and Lord Clanrickarde, and carried with him immense preys of cattle, which he brought safe home in spite of all the efforts of Sir Richard Bingham to intercept and recapture them.

Roused by these proceedings of O'Donnell, and by the formidable combination of the Connaught chiefs, Sir Richard tried to deal a deadly blow to his enemies, by retaking, if possible, the castle of Sligo, which constituted their chief strength. With this design he followed O'Donnell ; and when the latter encamped at Glencar, Bingham took up his quarters in the abbey of Sligo, a position admirably suited to his purpose, as it afforded ample shelter to his troops, and stood quite close to the castle which he meant to attack. While here, some skirmishing took place between parties of his troops and those of Red Hugh, the only casualty resulting being the death of a nephew of Sir Richard, a high-spirited, dashing, youth, named Martin, who was slain while closing, in the heat of pursuit, on one of O'Donnell's men, as brave as himself, though then retreating in obedience to orders with the object of drawing the English into an ambuscade.

As there was no chance of carrying on a siege successfully with O'Donnell within a couple of miles of the town, Sir Richard thought to take the castle by means of a well-known military engine, called at the time, the Sow, and resembling the appliance named by the Romans *testudo*, the main purpose of both being to cover and protect men while engaged under it in sapping and mining operations.

The indispensable quality of the structure is strength, to enable it to resist the missiles of the enemy ; and, to get suitable materials, Bingham ransacked the whole convent, gutted the dormitories of the friars, and pulled down in the chapel the holy rood, called, by the Four Masters, *cranncaingel*. Having covered the sloping roof with raw, wet hides, to save it from fire, and having set low, strong, wheels under the machine, the capacious train, with its formidable freight of sappers and

miners, was rolled to the wall of the castle, which was hardly a hundred feet distant from the abbey.

It is clear that Ulick Burke was prepared for the attack, for he not only made sallies, but as soon as the engine was drawn alongside the castle wall, volley upon volley of large stones was hurled down upon it; an immense beam of timber, attached by ropes to rude pulleys, was let fall again and again upon the structure, striking it with great momentum at each descent; and to complete the discomfiture of the assailants, a murderous hail of shot was discharged upon them by musketeers from the castle windows, the loopholes, the embrasures, and the other points of vantage which the castle afforded, so that the survivors of the party had to run for their lives to the shelter of the convent walls, leaving behind them the crushed and broken Sow: a not unapt emblem, in its shattered state, of Bingham's altered fortunes, as he now moved away his troops from Sligo in a retreat, which looked very like a flight. In all his after life, Sligo must have been associated in Sir Richard's mind with bitter memories: with his mortifying repulse from the castle; with the humiliating retreat to Roscommon while his enemies were at his heels; with the tragic death of a brother and a gallant nephew, to both of whom he was warmly attached; and with the collapse of his power, which up to the loss of Sligo Castle nothing could withstand in any part of his command, but which, after that event, became so weak and contemptible that Elizabeth, to retrieve her authority, deprived him of the Governorship, and sent over Sir Conyers Clifford to take his place.

To make sure that the castle should not fall again into the hands of the English, O'Donnell took the extraordinary step of dismantling it, and pulling it down. For the same reason he acted in like manner in regard to other castles which he captured about this time; and the Four Masters, A.D. 1595, relate, that in a single expedition through Connaught, "thirteen of its castles were broken down by O'Donnell."

It is a pity that no plan or other illustration of the castle has come down to us, so that we are left very much to mere infer-

ence for an idea of the features and qualities of a building which had so prominent a place in connexion with the leading events of the province for close on four hundred years. We learn from the Annals of the Four Masters that it had towers and battlements, but we are left in the dark as to the size of the structure, the area it covered, and its other characteristics. That, however, it was a solid and imposing building, we may infer, with great probability, from the circumstances of those who had to do with its erection, and with its restoration. As Maurice Fitzgerald, the original founder, had abundant resources, both as a private man and as Lord Deputy, and knew besides the great importance of the situation, he would be sure to erect a fortress worthy of himself and of the place ; while—to pass over other restorers—the Red Earl, who restored or re-erected the building in 1310, was second to no Englishman that ever set foot in Ireland for the magnitude and magnificence of his undertakings and works, as may be seen even to-day in the noble remains of two of his castles, one at Inishowen in Donegal, and the other at Ballymote in our own county.

The difficulty, always found in taking the castle by force, supplies another proof of its great strength. The place must have been exceptionally strong which withstood successfully several sieges, and which baffled, for a good part of two years, all the efforts of Hugh Oge O'Donnell, and was captured in the end by that able, accomplished, and powerful chief, only by means of great cannon sent to him from France for the special purpose of attacking it ; there being no ordnance in Ireland capable of breaching it or battering it down.

Though this fortress is frequently mentioned in the first volume, where its various vicissitudes of fortune are described at some length, it will not be amiss to summarize here the references to it contained in the Four Masters and other old authorities, in order that the reader may have its entire history under the eye at a single glance :—

1. The castle of Sligo was erected by Maurice Fitzgerald and the Sil-Murray.—(Four Masters, 1245.)
2. Maurice Fitzgerald leaves the hostages of Tirconnell in castle of Sligo. Melaghlin O'Donnell and the chiefs of Tirconnell came on All-Saints day to Sligo, burned the bawn, but were unable to make their way into the castle.—(Four Masters, 1246.)
3. The castle of Sligo was demolished by Hugh O'Conor and O'Donnell.—(Four Masters, 1265.)
4. The castle of Sligo was rebuilt by the son of Maurice Fitzgerald, after it had been demolished by Hugh O'Conor and O'Donnell.—(Four Masters, 1269.)
5. The castle of Teach Temple, the castle of Sligo, and the castle of Athleague were demolished by Hugh O'Donnell.—(Four Masters, 1271.)
6. The castle of Sligo was given to John FitzThomas, and John himself went to England.—(Four Masters, 1293.)
7. The castle of Sligo was razed by Hugh, son of Owen O'Conor.—(Four Masters, 1294.)
8. The castle of Sligo was erected by the Red Earl.—(Four Masters, 1310.)
9. The castle of Sligo was taken and fallen down by O'Donnell.—(Annals of Clonmacnoise, 1315.)
10. Teige Oge, the son of Manus O'Conor, was treacherously killed in the castle of Sligo by Donnell, son of Murtough O'Conor.—(Four Masters, 1371.)
11. Donnell, the son of Murtough O'Conor, Lord of Carbury and Sligo . . . died in the castle of Sligo.—(Four Masters, 1395.)
12. Murtough Bacagh O'Conor, Lord of Lower Connaught, died in the castle of Sligo.—(Four Masters, 1403.)
13. Donough, the son of Murtough O'Conor, died of a fall in the doorway of the castle of Sligo.—(Four Masters, 1419.)
14. The castle of Sligo was taken by O'Donnell from Donnell, son of Owen O'Conor, after having been besieged for a long time.—(Four Masters, 1470.)

15. A great army was led by Mac William Burke into Lower Connaught, and they attacked the castle of Sligo. Donnell, son of Owen, went into the castle, but Mac William Burke broke down the tower of the gate, and they made peace.—(Four Masters, 1471.)
16. The castle of Sligo was taken by Mac William Burke from O'Donnell's warders, and given up to the son of Brian O'Conor.—(Four Masters, 1478.)
17. The descendants of Owen, son of Donnell, son of Murtough O'Conor, went into the castle of Sligo.—(Four Masters, 1494.)
18. Mac William of Clanrickard proceeded with an army to drive O'Donnell from the castle of Sligo, and O'Donnell left the castle—and Mac William plundered all who adhered to O'Donnell in Lower Connaught.—(Annals of Ulster, 1495.)
19. O'Donnell made peace among the people of Carbury—Felim O'Conor to possess the lordship, but the castle of Sligo to belong to Calvach Caech O'Conor.—(Four Masters, 1496.)
20. The castle of Sligo was taken by means of ladders ; and the sons of Rory, son of Turlough Carragh O'Conor, and the sons of Felim, made their way into it from the top.—(Four Masters, 1501.)
21. O'Donnell laid siege to the castle of Sligo, and destroyed all the country of the descendants of Brian O'Conor, but did not succeed in taking the town on that occasion.—(Four Masters, 1512.)
22. O'Donnell formed a camp around Sligo, and remained there from the festival of St. Bridget to Whitsuntide ; he did not, however, take the castle in all that time.—(Four Masters, 1513.)
23. The castle of Sligo was taken by O'Donnell, after it had been a long time out of his possession.—(Four Masters, 1516.)
See p. 286, *ante*.
24. The Connacian army lays siege to town and castle of Sligo—and O'Donnell raises the siege.—(Four Masters, 1522.)

25. The castle of Sligo was taken by Teige Oge, the warders having betrayed it.—(Four Masters, 1533.)
26. O'Connor Sligo's troops carry away the variegated door of the castle of Turraic to place it in the castle of Sligo.—(Four Masters, 1533.)
27. An army was led by Manus O'Donnell into Lower Connaught, and he triumphantly took the castle of Sligo, which was well defended by warders and cannon, after it had been for some time out of his possession, having been powerfully defended against his father, and it could not be taken until then.—(Four Masters, 1538.)
28. The Lord Chief Justice of Ireland proceeded across the Erne to lay siege to the castle of Sligo, and finding O'Donnell's flag flying from the battlements of the tower, he delivered the keys of the tower to Calvagh O'Donnell.—(Four Masters, 1561.)
29. The Scots came boldly to the hard walls of Sligo Castle, for which they paid well.—(Letter of Thomas Woodhous to Captain Anthony Brabazon—written from Sligo, July 7, 1582.)
30. Sir Richard Bingham and his people try to take the castle of Sligo, but finding themselves unable to effect anything against the castle, they are glad to escape with their lives—and O'Donnell demolished the castle lest the English should inhabit it.—(Four Masters, 1595.)
31. Calebeg (Killybegs), from whence the remains of Sligoh Castle are still visible.—(Camden's Britannia [Gibson's ed.], Vol. II., p. 1411.)

O'Sullivan Bearre thus describes the attack of Bingham:—
"Cum signis militaribus viginti quatuor Sligacham, obsidione vallatam oppugnat—Ulligus Burkus cum propugnatoribus egressus acriter dimicat. Tandem oboppugnatorum multitudinem in arcem compulsus ex turribus, pinnis, fenestris, et reliquis munitionibus missilia jaculando hostes arcet. Regii muchum, bellicum machinamentum militibus subter agentibus arcis muro

admovent, murumque forare et subruere incipiunt—Ulligus magnæ molis trabe funibus ligata ex arcis fastigio nunc dimissa nunc in alta sublata, muchum et milites qui sub eo latebant, conterit. O'Donnellus obsessis auxilio veniens appropinquat—Binghamus fugit—Arcem vero, quod erat tam laboriosum defendere O'Donnellus demolitur.”—*Historiæ Catholicæ Iberniæ Compendium*.—Dr. Kelly's edition, p. 175.

Coming back now to Sir Conyers Clifford and the famous battle of the Curlews, the occasion of the conflict was the siege laid by Red Hugh O'Donnell and Brian Oge O'Rorke to the castle of Collooney, with the object of capturing Sir Donogh O'Connor Sligo, who, on returning from England after a long visit, threw himself into this castle, which was then the only one in his territory open to him.

On learning the state of things at Collooney, the Lord Lieutenant Essex, and the Governor of Connaught, Sir Conyers Clifford, made great preparations to raise the siege, as Sir Donogh was then their friend and ally. While collecting an army to proceed by land to Collooney, under [the command of Sir Conyers, they despatched by sea to Sligo troops intended to co-operate with this army. To meet Sir Conyers, O'Donnell and O'Rorke, after stationing parties in and near Sligo to watch the English coming by sea, and leaving, round the castle of Collooney, men enough to carry on the siege, proceeded themselves with the main body of their forces to the Curlews, where O'Donnell encamped near Ballinafad, on the north side of the mountain, while O'Rorke took up position near Corrigeen Roe, at the east end of the range.

It was about 4 o'clock p.m., on the 15th August, which fell that year on a Sunday, the English reached Boyle, and Sir Conyers, thinking the pass of Ballaghboy clear, resolved, then and there, without halting, to cross the mountain, though, in this he acted against the advice and remonstrance of his officers, and against the wishes of his men, who, after a long march of two days, felt that they needed refreshments and some rest.

The Irish on their side were far from being as negligent as

Clifford supposed. On the contrary, being well aware of all the movements of the English, O'Donnell made elaborate preparations to receive them, and, after addressing his men in one of the most soul stirring speeches on record, in which he wrought upon their strongest feelings as Catholics and as Irishmen, and after placing parties in concealment along the woods and bogs through which the enemy must pass, he moved forward his army in two divisions, the first composed of musqueteers, bow-men, and javelin-men, and the second, consisting of heavy armed troops, equipped with swords, large-headed lances, and battle axes. "In one division," says the narrative of the Four Masters, "O'Donnell placed his swift and energetic youths, and his nimble and athletic men, and his shooting parties, with their high sounding, straight-shooting guns, with their strong smooth surfaced bows, and with their bloody venomous javelins, and other missile weapons. Over these soldiers he appointed a fight-directing leader, and a battle sustaining champion, with command to press, urge, and close them to the battle, and to hew down and wound after them, when they should have their missile weapons ready. In the second division he placed his nobles, chiefs, and veteran soldiers, with strong keen-edged swords, with polished thin-edged battle axes, and with large headed lances, to maintain the fight and battle. He then converted his cavalry into pedestrians among his infantry, in consequence of the difficulty of the way that lay before them. When O'Donnell had thus arranged his people, he commanded his shooting party to advance before the other division to meet and engage the foreign army before they should pass the difficult part of the mountain, and [he told them] that he himself and the other division would come in contact with them at a place where he was sure of vanquishing them, for [he knew] that they could be more easily defeated in the end, should they be first wounded by them [his first division]."

In these circumstances, the battle that ensued was of short duration, and seems to have been decided before O'Donnell's heavy armed division came up; for the English, on mounting

the brow of the hill, instead of finding the way clear as Sir Conyers expected, seeing it not only guarded by men, but impeded by barricades of felled timber, which O'Donnell had skilfully thrown up, were hindered, on the one hand, from advancing, by these obstacles, and the efforts necessary to remove them, and were prevented, on the other, from taking to the right or left, by the nature of the ground, and the murderous fire falling on them from these directions.

The Four Masters thus narrate what followed, in the rather inflated style usual with them when engaged in description :—
“The Irish discharged at them terrible showers of beautiful ash-handled javelins, and swarms of sharp arrows, from long and strong elastic bows, and volleys of red-flashing flames, and of hot leaden balls, from perfectly straight and straight-shooting guns. These volleys were responded to by the soldiers of England, so that their reports, responses, and thundering noise were heard throughout the woods, the forests, the castles, and the stone buildings of the neighbouring territories. It was a great wonder that the timid and the servants did not run panic-stricken and mad by listening to the blasts of the martial music, the loud report of the mighty firing, and the responses of the echoes. Champions were wounded, and heroes were hacked between them on the one side and the other. Their battle-leaders and captains commanded O'Donnell's people not to stand fronting the foreigners, but to surround and encircle them round about. Upon which they closed around them on every side as they were commanded, and they proceeded to fire on them vehemently, rapidly, and unsparingly, so that they drove the wings of their army into their centre by the pressure and vehemence of the conflict. Howbeit, the English at last turned their backs to the mighty men of the north, and the few routed the many.”

When the English advance was checked by the formidable barricade, and their men were thrown into confusion by the onslaught of the force posted behind and round it, the Irish, led on by Brian Oge O'Rorke, closed in upon them, and completed

their discomfiture, so that they turned panic-stricken and fled. It was in vain most of their officers tried to effect a rally, all except a Captain Cosby—a name associated with the horrid massacre of Mullaghmast—who was charged at the time by his superior officer, Sir Alexander Ratcliff, with setting the example of flight.*

And it was in vain Sir Conyers Clifford himself did all a brave man could do by word and example to retrieve the disaster and animate his followers. Nothing could arrest the rout; and Sir Conyers, maddened by his sense of the disgrace, tore himself in fury away from the officers, who, after failing to persuade him to come away with them, were trying to remove him by actual force off the ground, “and turning head alone, alone made head to the whole troops of persewers, in the midst of whome, after he was stroake through the body with a pyke, he dyed fighting, consecrating by an admirable resolution, the memory of his name to immortalitye, and bearing the example of his vertu to be intytuled by all honorable posterities.”†

It is to be feared that the Four Masters, with their inveterate habit of giving the lion's share of all the merit going to the O'Donnells, are not as just as they ought to be, to Brian Oge O'Rorke. No doubt they bring him on the scene towards the close of the engagement; but his part in their account is very small in comparison of the part he is made to play by other writers, who are more impartial and apparently better in-

* “Perceivynge him slack, Sir Alexander Ratcliff said, ‘Well, Coysby, I see I must leave thee to thy baseness, yet it were much better for thee to die in my company than at my return to perish by my sword;’ but Cosby, which is the general disposition of all true cowards, yielding to have the term of his life a while deferred, stood firm, with at least a third part of the vanguard, until he see the adversity of this noble knight, when, by example of his turninge head, the vanguard fled in such rout,” etc.—A Brief Relation of the Defeat in the Corleus, by John Dymmock.

† *Ibid.*

formed* with regard to the battle of the Curlews than the Four Masters, in whose account, those who have studied the subject, will not fail to notice more than one serious blot.

In what he writes on this battle, Moryson† names only O'Rorke of all the Irish; in John Dymmock's account, which O'Donovan describes as "the most minute and satisfactory English account of the battle written," it is stated that "the defeat was given by O'Rurke and MacDermon" (MacDermot), and that "*O'Donnell came not to fight*;" and as these writers are followed in this matter by Cox,‡ and all other historians that treat the subject, the fact seems to be, as far as the battle of the Curlews is concerned, that O'Donnell did the speeching, and that O'Rorke did the fighting.§

* In what the Four Masters say of the Governor, while at the Abbey of Boyle, "*daily menacing and threatening*," reviling and reproaching the Northerns, and promising that he would pass northwards across the mountain in despite of them, and on this day (15th August) he undertook to perform what he had promised they are in error, as it is clear from Dymmock and Sir John Harrington (*Nugæ Antiquæ*, Vol. II., p. 11,) that Sir Conyers made no delay at Boyle.

† Vol. I., p. 37.

‡ Hibernia Anglicana, Vol. I., p. 421.

§ The speech, as given in Rev. Dr. O'Connor's Memoirs of Charles O'Connor (p. 115), is very stirring. The Doctor professes to translate from the Irish, but it is likely he touched up his original a bit. A sentence or two may be given as a specimen:—"God has already doomed to destruction those assassins who have butchered our wives and our children, plundered us of our properties, set fire to our habitations, demolished our churches and monasteries, and changed the face of Ireland into a wild uncultivated district. On this day (15th Aug.)—more particularly I trust to heaven for protection—a day dedicated to the greatest of all saints, whome these enemies to all religion endeavour to vilify. But what! I see you have not patience to hear a word more. Brave Irishmen! you burn for revenge. Scorning the advantage of this impregnable situation, let us rush down and show the world that, guided by the Lord of life and death, we exterminated those oppressors of the human race; he who falls will fall gloriously fighting for justice, for liberty, and for his country; his name will be remembered while there is an Irishman on the face of the earth, and he who survives will be pointed at as the companion of O'Donnell, and the defender of his country. The congregations shall make way for him at the altar, saying, 'that hero fought at the battle of Dunaveeragh.'"

Of O'Rorke Dr. O'Connor writes: "The impetuosity of young O'Rorke, who breathed revenge for his father's death, threw the English army into

The most famous stretch of the Curlews is Bellaghboy, or the Yellow Pass, so called from its light or yellow colour, as con-

irreparable confusion. Their flight was precipitate, the pursuit relentless, the carnage frightful."

Dymmock's account of this battle, which O'Donovan extols so highly, may be seen in the latter's *Four Masters* under the year 1599, and is therefore so accessible to those who may wish to read it, that there is no need to reproduce it here; but as Sir John Harrington's account, which is at least equally interesting, the writer being so gifted a man, and still more trustworthy, himself being engaged in the battle, is found only in the *Nugæ Antiquæ*, a rather rare book, it is appended. Sir John's narrative, which is in the form of a letter, dated Athlone, in Ireland, 1599, and addressed to Sir Anthony Standen, runs thus:—

"I dowt not but many pens and tongues utter, after many fashions, the report of our late unfortunate journey, but yet I thought it not amiss to write you this brief narration of it, of which I may say, *Quæquæ ipse miserrima vidi, et quorum pars una fui*.

"On Sunday last the Governor marched with one and twenty companies or colours (for indeed some of them were but mere colours of companies, having sixty for a hundred and fifty) from Tulske, eight miles beyond Roscommon, to the Abbey of Boyly, some fourteen miles; and hearing belike that the enemy was but weak in the Curlews, and that they expected not his coming (because Captain Cosby the very day before came from Boyly towards Roscommon); on this account the Governor, God bless him, resolved to possess the Parc that nyght, being two miles from the Abbey. This was against the minds of most of the Captains; the soldiers being weary and fasting, insomuch that they spake for meat ere they went up, but the Governor promist them they should have beef enough at nyght, and so drew them on; but many, God wot, lost their stomachs before supper.

"The order was this, Captain Lyster led the forlorn hope; Sir Alexander Ratcliff and his regiment had the vaunt-guard; my Lord of Dublin led the battle; Sir Arthur Savage the rear; the horse were appointed to stand in a little pasture at the foot of the hill, to the intent that, when the Parc had been cleared, they might have come up.

"After our men had gone up the hill and entered part of the Parc, the rebels begun to play upon them from a barracado that they had made, but our men soon beat them from it, and, so mounting high, Sir Alexander Ratcliff very bravely beat them out of a thin wood into a bog on the left side of the Parc; and we who stood at the foot of the hill might see them, and all men thought that the Parc had been ours. But after the skirmish had lasted an hour and a half very hot, and our shot had expended all our powder, the vauntguard fell into the battayle; and in conclusion all fell in rout, and no man could stay them.

"The Governor himself labouring to turn them, lost his breath, his voice, his strength, and last of all his life; or, which is worse, in the rebels' hands, and

trasted with the dark woods and bogs, which formerly lined it on either side. It is often called the Bothair-an-Iarla-Ruad, the Road of the Red Earl, who is supposed to have laid out and formed all the roads of Connaught, though there is no good proof that he had anything to do with Bellaghboy. Like the Curlews themselves, it lies partly in Sligo and partly in Roscommon, passing through the townlands of Dunaveeragh, Mountgafney, Ballinafad, Cartron, Bellaghboy townland, Garroo, and Spafield, in which townlands the Yellow Pass is still traceable, and, in some places, passable.

none could force him off. How it can be answered at home by such as it concerned most I know not, but so vile and base a part I think was never played among so many men, that have been thought of some desert.

“But now the horse standing at the foot of the hill, and seeing through the woods and glades some disorder, though not suspecting so ill as it was, charged up the hill another way that lay on the left; if it may be called a way that had stones in it six or seven feet broad, lying above ground, and plashes of bogs between them. But with this charge we made the enemy retire, whereby all the foot and colours came off; but we bought this small reputation (if so it will be taken) very dearly, for our Commander of the horse had his arm broken with a shot, and had another shot through his clothes, and some seven or eight horse more killed, and several proper men. Captain Jephson was next to Sir Griffith Markham in the head of Lord Southampton’s troops, and charged very gallantly.

“I would not for all the land I have, but I had been well horsed. I verily think the idle faith which possesses the Irishry concerning magic and witchcraft seized our men and lost the victory. For when my cozen, Sir H. Harrington, in a treacherous parley with Rorie Ogie, a notable Rebel, was taken and conveyed to his habitation a prisoner; his friends not complying with the terms offered for his ransom, sent a large band to his rescue, which the Rebel seeing to surround his house, rose in his shirt, and gave Sir Henry fourteen grievous wounds, then made his way through the whole band and escaped, notwithstanding his walls were only of mud. Such was their panick, as verily thinking he effected all by dint of witchery, and had by magic compelled them not to touch him. And this belief doth much daunt our soldiers when they come to deal with the Irishry, as I can well perceive from the discourse. You will hear more from other Captains of further advances.

“*So I reste, to all commande,*

“JOHN HARRINGTON.”

Owing to the morasses and woods through which the line passed, and the steep gradients met with, it was next to impossible to make the way practicable for horses; and, though some able Irish chiefs and generals laboured at it; though Manus O'Donnell, encamping for the purpose on the Curlews in 1540, set his forces to work in levelling it off; and Owen Roe O'Neill in 1648, while he remained near Boyle, employed his army in preparing it for his intended march to Sligo,* still, after all these efforts, it continued so soft and rugged, that in 1691, when Lord Granard was bearing down on Sligo, the horses failed to draw the cannon, and the soldiers were themselves obliged to get into harness to do the horses' work.†

Though English writers try to minimise the gravity of this battle, there can be no doubt that it was one of a very serious character both in itself and in its results. The number of troops engaged on the English side could hardly be less than three thousand, and, including some squadrons of horse, must have been considerably more, all commanded by the Governor of the province in person, and officered by men of the first families, as well as of the highest rank in the army. And it was to all intents and purposes a pitched battle; for both sides anticipated the encounter and prepared for it, so that the victory could not be set down to surprise. The only surprise attempted was on the side of the Governor, who, on arriving in Boyle, hastened to cross the mountain, in the conviction that he would thus steal a march on the Irish.

The result could not well be more disastrous to the English. To say nothing here of the wounded, the Governor, some of his best officers, and about fourteen hundred of the rank and file, were slain; while both the wounded and slain, on the side of the

* Aphorismical Discovery.

† "Lord Granard was hard distressed in his march over the Curlieu mountains; for the draught horses being weak, the men themselves, with great cheerfulness, submitted to be put into the harness, and draw the cannon several miles."—*The History of the Life and Reign of William III.* By Walter Harris, p. 332.

Irish, hardly reached one hundred and forty.* The spoils of the victors, too, were great and valuable, consisting of arms, colours, tents, drums, money, and large quantities of military and other clothing.

What was a still greater calamity than the defeat was the conduct of the English troops in the field. The pains which English writers take to explain it away show how much they feel it. Fynes Moryson relates that he heard the defeat of the Curlews ascribed to a "turning of the van" on an order, the purport of which was misunderstood; Sir Conyers Clifford himself, however, charged it upon the vileness and baseness of his troops—vileness and baseness which he continued to his last breath to proclaim and denounce; and Sir John Harrington, in one place, sets it down to a notion, the soldiers had got, that they were bewitched by the Irish; but in another, where he is more serious and frank, to their cowardice, calling them "rascal soldiers, who, so their commanders were saved, had been worthy to be half hanged for their rascal cowardliness."

Nor can there be a doubt that Sir Conyers Clifford and Sir John Harrington have hit the nail on the head; though it is passing strange, how British troops, the steadiest in the world, could become thus panic-stricken.

In their hurry to escape, the English made no effort to recover the body of their unfortunate commander, which the Irish, to their credit, treated with great respect. After separating the head from the trunk, by order of O'Rorke, who, it appears, was the first to recognise the Governor, Mac Dermot sent on the latter to the monastery of the Holy Trinity in the island of Loch Ce, of which place he was the owner, to be buried there, sending with it, to the Constable of Boyle, the following Latin

* Perierunt ex regiis cum Cliffordo præfecto, et Henrico Ratcliffo alio nobili Anglo, mille et quadringenti, qui fere Angli, et Midhienses Angloiberni erant; nam Connachti propter locorum peritiam facilius sunt elapsi. Ex Catholicis centum quadraginta fuerunt vulnerati et desiderati. Capta sunt regiorum omnia fere arma, signa, et tympana militaria, impedimenta, et multæ vestes, etc.—*Hist. Cathol. Iber. Compend.* Tom. 3, Lib. 5, cap. x.

letter, which Sir John Harrington, a most competent judge, pronounced to be "barbarous for the Latyn but cyvil for the sence":—

"Constabulario de Boyle salutem :

"Scias quod ego traduxi corpus Gubernatoris ad monasterium Sanctæ Trinitatis propter ejus dilectionem et alia de causa ; si velitis mihi redire captivos ex predicto corpore, quod paratus sum ad conferendum vobis ipsum, alias sepultus erit honeste in predicto Monasterio, et sic vale.

"Scriptum apud Gaywash (Garroo?), 15th August, 1599.

"Interim pone bonum linteamen ad prædictum corpus, et si velitis seplire omnes alios nobiles non impediam vos erga eos.

"MAC DERMOD."

"To the Constable of Boyle health :

"Be it known to you that I have sent the body of the Governor to the monastery of the Holy Trinity out of my regard for him, as well as for other reasons. If you are willing to exchange some of our people for the aforesaid body, I shall be glad to treat with you on the subject. In any case the body will be buried honourably in the aforesaid monastery ; and so farewell.

"Written at Gaywash, 15th August, 1599.

"Take care, however, to wrap the body in a good linen winding-sheet ; and should you wish to bury all the other nobles that have fallen, I will not prevent you from rendering them that service.

"MAC DERMOD."

Whoever succeeded the Governor in command allowed neither pause nor stay till he had the shattered remnant of Sir Conyers' army back again in Athlone ; the horse bringing up the rear and reassuring the fugitives, who thought of nothing in their demoralized state except getting beyond the reach of the victorious Irish—whom they imagined to be still in pursuit. After the Roman-like end of the Governor, the only other

redeeming feature in the English defeat was that magnificent charge of the horse over boulders and bog holes, and through pikes and bullets, which alone saved the cowed and demoralized infantry from utter annihilation.

The apologists of the defeat dwell on the invaluable service of the cavalry. In addition to what Sir John Harrington says of it in the letter to Sir Anthony Standen, he writes thus on the subject in a communication to Mr. Combe :*—"Some of our horse gave a desperate charge upon the hill, among rocks and bogs, where never horse was seen to charge before ; it is verily thought they had all been cut in pieces, at least lost all their colours ; so that, if reputation were to be challenged when so great loss accompanied it, we might take upon us to have won some honour ; having, as Sir Henry Davers did pleasantly write to Sir Griffin Markham, not Roman citizens but rascal soldiers . . . Beside the loss of two or three good horse, and better men, Sir Griffin Markham was shot through the arm with a musket, and though he bore the hurt admirably well, for a day or two, yet ever since he hath kept his bed of it ; and hath been in danger of his arm by the hurt, and of his life by an ague ; but now he is, I hope, out of danger of both, and safe in Dublin."

The result of the battle of the Curlews was a heavy blow to English authority and interests throughout the province of Connaught. Sir Conyers Clifford's head was now brought to Collooney Castle to convince Sir Donogh O'Connor of the English defeat, this being the object for which the head was severed from the body, and not, as some might think, that of offering an indignity to the remains. So far from bearing the Governor any ill-will, the Irish loved him and lamented his fate more than his own countrymen. "The death," says the Four Masters, "of the person here slain was much lamented. It was grievous that he came to this tragic end. The Irish of the province of Meave [Connaught] were not pleased at his death ; for he had been a bestower of jewels and riches upon them ; and he had never told them a falsehood."

* NUGÆ ANTIQUÆ. By Sir John Harrington ; Vol II., pp. 11-12.

On Sir Donogh O'Connor seeing the head of his friend, and learning from it that the Irish were victorious, he cast in his lot with O'Donnell and O'Rorke, and was followed by all under his jurisdiction in the district; while Collooney Castle, the only stronghold in the county that was open to the English, passed into the hands of their enemies; so that from the Curlews to the Erne they had not a single adherent either in the field or in garrison:

The fleet that had come to Sligo, under the command of Theobald na Long, with war material and provisions for the Governor's troops, sailed back again to Galway, while Theobald himself, who was brother-in-law of Sir Donogh O'Connor, hastened to join the party of his relative.

Elizabeth was struck by this sudden and grave alteration of affairs in the province of Connaught, and, judging that Sir Richard Bingham and his ways were what was wanted, she called on him again, created him Marshal of Ireland and General of Leinster, and directed him to reduce the country to subjection. It is just as likely that his methods would only aggravate the evils of the situation; but, whether or not, there was no time for the experiment, as he died in Dublin just after crossing the channel—leaving the pacification of the country to a comparatively moderate and still abler man, Lord Mountjoy. "*Verum statim atque appulit Dubliniæ diem obiit*," says Camden, in his account of Sir Richard, under the year 1598.

At the base of the Curlews, on the Sligo side, lies the hamlet of BALLINAFAD with its half a dozen habitations, its parish church, its presbytery, its National School, and the ruins of its old castle. Ballinafad—*recte*, Bel-an-atha-fada—means the mouth or entrance of the long ford,* though local linguists maintain that it signifies the "mouth of the ford of the whistle," from, according to some of them, a communication despatched, with the aid of that small wind instrument, in ancient times by a

* Four Masters, 1586; O'Donovan's note.

person crossing the ford to a friend on the top of the Curlews ; or, according to others, from a concerted signal executed on the same instrument during the famous battle of the Curlews.*

The author of the letter-press in Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, who was Dr. Ledwich (the notorious "Leadwig" of Dr. Lanigan), and others after him, state that the castle of Ballinafad was erected by the McDonoghs, but the structure has much too modern a look for that, and, as a matter of fact, it was built by Captain John Simbarbe, or St. Barbe,† who received repeated and extensive grants of land from James I. in Roscommon and Sligo (including the temporalities and spiritualities of the abbey of Boyle‡), and who, dying in 1628, in the castle, of which he was then constable, was buried in the neighbouring graveyard of Aghanagh.

In the constablenesship he was succeeded the same year by Henry Fletcher, who had ten warders under him for the guard of the castle. Ballinafad castle changed masters in the proceedings, which followed upon the Insurrection of 1641, being surrendered in 1642 to the Irish, for, it is said, want of water ; and it was in 1652 in the hands of Colonel William Taaffe, who, as was stipulated in the articles for the surrender of Drumrusk to the victorious Cromwellians, was "with his company to be admitted to the benefit of said articles on the surrender of Ballinafad."§

The castle, being a recent erection, continued habitable after the other old castles of the county—except that of Ballymote, which was in private hands—had fallen into ruins, so that all the county Sligo Chancery inquisitions of Charles I. were held either in this castle or in the abbey of Sligo, the number held in each of these places being about equal. We learn from the Cromwellian Census of 1659, that in that year Henry Hughes, gent., was the Titulado of Ballinafad, that the population of the

* Ordnance Survey Letter Book of county Sligo.

† John D'Alton ; and *Gazetteer of Ireland*, art. Ballinafad.

‡ Patent Roll of James I., p. 16.

§ Articles for the Surrender of Drumrusk, April 8th, 1652.

village was thirty-two (nine English, and twenty-three Irish), and that the number of soldiers and soldiers' wives in the castle was twenty-four (eleven English, and thirteen Irish).

Muintir Healy—the Hely or O'Hely family—possessed formerly the Curlews, Ballinafad, and the district lying along the western shore of Lough Arrow, their chief residence being in the present demesne of Hollybrook, which was then called Ballyhely. Though not reputed “chiefs” of Tirerrill, they held high rank in the territory, being styled by the Four Masters, “princely brughaidhs,”* so that they found themselves strong enough to engage in conflict with the MacDermots in 1344,† and with the O'Rorkes in 1389.‡ They maintained their status down to the 17th century, for we find Dermot O'Hely of Cashel Lough Dergan—Castledargan—serving with the leading gentry of the county as juror at an Exchequer inquisition in 1585, and Carbury O'Hely as proprietor in 1641, under a grant of James I., of Comyn near Sligo, which passed by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation to Anthony Ormsby, in whose family it still remains.

A notable fact in their history is that Duvesa O'Hely, who died in 1328, “daughter of O'Hely,” was the wife of Donnell O'Connor Sligo, and mother of the most distinguished and dashing chieftains which that great family ever produced. And it is well to add, that Right Rev. John Healy, the able, learned, and respected coadjutor bishop of Clonfert, is a scion of the famous *muintir* Healy of Ballyhely.

With its change of name, Ballyhely underwent a great change of condition. From being a wild, unfenced, uncultivated tract, producing nothing but grass, with here and there, a white-thorn, or one of those holly bushes, from which it got its modern name, it has become, as Hollybrook, a fine demesne extending about a mile along the high-road, stretching from the

* Four Masters, 1309.

† Four Masters, *sub anno*.

‡ *Idem*.

road to Lough Arrow, and yielding timber of all kinds, and of the best quality.

The region round Hollybrook is at once highly picturesque and historical. The smooth, still lake, with its sparkling islands of the freshest green; the rich cultivated tracts at each end of the sheet of water; and the range after range of mountains in the distance are scenic features, such as it would be next to impossible to find in any other county of Ireland; while the well informed student of Irish history will find an epitome of the ancient, the medieval, and the modern history of Ireland written on the tract—of the ancient history, in the sombre plain of Moytura with its weird monuments; of the medieval, in the ecclesiastical remains on the islands of the lake, at Ballindoon, at Killadoon, and at a score of other places; and of the modern history, in the demesne and court of Rockingham; in the demesne and house of Kingsborough; and in the demesne and house of Hollybrook itself, all three memorials of the extirpation of the Irish, and the settlement of the English in their stead. It is due to the humane and cultivated owner of Hollybrook, Colonel Folliott, the descendant of Sir Henry Folliott, who was created Baron Folliott, of Ballyshannon, in 1619, to record that the grounds, which command these views are open, up to the very walls of the beautiful mansion, to the general public, and that no one is hindered from even driving his vehicle in through one gate, traversing the whole length of the demesne, and issuing out by another gate on the high road.

The church of Aghanagh, or Echenach,* was one of the first erected in the county, being founded, according to the Annotations of Tirechan,† by Saint Patrick. Over it the saint placed Bishop Maneus and Gentene.‡ There is a tradition in the parish and neighbourhood, that while Bishop Maneus was

* *Equorum locus vel pastus.*—*Act. Sanct.*, p. 399.

† *Documenta ex libro Armachano*, p. 85.

‡ *Trias Thaum.*, p. 143. According to Colgan, Gentennus, Priest (presbyter), is honoured, on the 2nd September, at *Tirgaire.*—*Trias Thaum.*, p. 160.

building the church, under the superintendence of St. Patrick, the O'Rorke of the day, or the head of the family, which, later, took the name of O'Rorke, having heard of the work, was coming in a great rage to stop it,* when Maneus prayed that the angry chief would not be able to pass the ford himself, and that any one of his name or family that ever passed it, would meet soon with a sudden death. The tradition does not tell what befel O'Rorke on the occasion, but the story has such formidable force even still, that when persons of the name of O'Rorke attend a funeral, bound for Aghanagh, instead of crossing the Rubicon like Cæsar, on arriving at the ford, they invariably turn back to keep out of the way of the saint's curse.

There is a curious addition to the legend. It is handed down, that while the enraged chief was approaching, the bell of the place took of itself to ringing, in order to sound an alarm, but on the man in charge turning to it in anger, and telling it to cease its cackle lest its noise should spoil the whole business, and attract O'Rorke to the spot, it took the reproof in serious part, and became itself so frightened at the common danger, that it got immediately tongue-tied, and never after uttered another note. A striking proof of the long continued power of the O'Rorkes in this district may be found in the legend mentioned, when coupled with the historical fact, that Sir Richard Bingham, near the close of the sixteenth century, built his great fort between Lough Arrow and Lough Ce, to stop the irruptions of the O'Rorkes.†

The valley between the Curlews and Bricklieve mountains, lying partly in the parish of Aghanagh, and partly in the parish of Toomour, deserves more attention than it has hitherto

* "Eo tempore venit homo Dei ad oppidum regum terræ, ubi invenit senem Manen, qui a Patricio baptizatus est, conflictum contra Tuahalum regem terræ habentem, qui prohibuit eum ecclesiam ædificare in loco qui dicitur Each Enagh, hoc est, equorum locus vel pastus."—Colgan's *Act. Sanct.*, p. 396. This extract, no doubt, contains the nucleus of the legend, which received in due course such amplification.

† In 1590 "Sir Richard Bingham erected a great fort between Loch Ce and Loch Arbhach to check the O'Ruairkes."—*Celtic Society Miscellany*, p. 221.

received. It is four or five miles long, and about one mile wide at the bottom of its sloping sides, being bounded on the east by Lough Arrow, on the west by the hill of Keash, on the south by the mountain of the Curlews, and on the north by that of Bricklieve—a name, however, never applied by the people to the range when speaking of the south side of the mountain, though given to it commonly by them when talking of the north side. The south side of Bricklieve is green to the top, and resembles not a little a series of hills, standing out in considerable relief from the body of the range, with conical summits in some places, notably near the hill of Keash. On four or five of these summits are mounds or cairns, conspicuous enough from the north, but not visible from the south.

The valley is traversed longitudinally by two roads. One of these, the northern, which is called the Green-road, from its being grass grown, winds along the mountain, about half-way up the slope, and is hardly ever used, at present, even by footmen, being quite impassable for vehicles. The other to the south, a modern one, runs by the foot of the Curlews on to Keash through Ballinafad, Corradoo, and Toomour, the ground being rather uneven, lying low at Ballinafad, rising at Carradoo, and sinking again in the neighbourhood of Toomour. Excepting the part of Corradoo where Mr. Owen Phibbs' pleasant villa stands in the midst of young and thriving plantations, the whole of the road passes through rough, and in great part, boggy land. Though the valley deserves a visit for the view of its physical features, more especially the curiously outlined surface of the northern side, with its crest of shining green grassy cones, the place does not derive its chief interest from physical peculiarities, but from religious associations.

There is little known of the townland, or townlands, of Corradoo, though they seem to have an interesting history, which has been missed hitherto. Corradoo is pronounced by the inhabitants Corradoeey, and signifies the Hill of the mounds, which is an appropriate name, considering the mounds, or cairns, which exist still on the hills there, and which, very probably,

existed in still greater number in olden times. This may be taken to be the meaning of the name, unless it be maintained that the "doos" in question are the mountain cones themselves, and not the cairns built upon them—an interpretation on which the writer's comparative ignorance of Irish disqualifies him from forming an opinion.

Whatever may be the signification of the word, it is pretty certain that the place indicated is no other than the one referred to in the following passage of Tirechan's Annotations in the Book of Armagh:—"Patricius vero venit de fonte *Alofind* ad *Dumecham* nepotum Ailello, et fundavit in illo loco ecclesiam quæ sic vocatur *Senella cella dumiche* usque hunc diem. In quo reliquit viros sanctos *Macet* et *Cetgen* et Rodanum presbiterum;"* and in this corresponding passage of Colgan's Tripartite:—"Ailfinnia modo jam dicto provisa et disposita, venit Patricius ad regionem *Hua-Nolella*, ibique in loco, *Domhacha*, nominato, erexit Ecclesiam quæ *Sencheall Dumhaighe* vocatur."† (Patrick came from the fountain of Elphin to Dumecha of the grandsons of Ailell, and founded in that place a church, which is thus called to this day *Senella cella dumiche* [the old church of the mounds]. In this place he left the holy men *Macet*, and *Cetgen*, and *Rodanus* the priest.—Elphin being provided for and disposed of in the way already mentioned, Patrick came to the district of the grandsons of Ailell, and there in the place named *Domhacha*, erected the church which is called *Sencheall*, *Dumhaighe*, the old church of the mounds.)

The passage just quoted from the Annotations of Tirechan, is followed immediately by this paragraph:—"Et venit apud se filia felix in peregrinationem, nomine *Mathona*, soror *Benigni* successoris *Patricii*, quæ tenuit pallium apud *Patricium* et *Rodanum*, monacha fuit illis. Et exiit per montem filiorum Ailello, et plantavit ecclesiam liberam *hi Tamnuch*, et honorata fuerat a Deo et hominibus, et ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias

* Documenta de S. Patricio, Hibernorum Apostolo, ex Libro Armachano. By E. Hogan, S.J., p. 70.

† Colgan, *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 135.

Sancti Rodani, et successores illius epulabantur ad invicem.” (And there came with him on his rounds a happy daughter, by name Mathona, sister of Benignus the successor of Patrick, who received the veil from Patrick and Rodanus ; she was religious servitor to them. And she went out through the mountain of the sons of Ailell, and planted the free church of *hi Tamnuch*, and she was honoured by God and men, and she had “veneration for the reliques of Saint Rodanus” [Sir W. Betham’s translation], and his successors practised mutual festivities.)

The sequel, or continuation, of the extract from Colgan given above, is, “In qua (ecclesia) plures e discipulis reliquit ; ut Macetum Cetchenum nobilemque presbyterum Rodanum reliquit etiam ibi Matonam Benigni sororem a S. Patricio ante cooperante S. Rodano sacro velo donatam ; quam proinde Rodani curæ commisit.” (In which church he left several disciples : as Macet, Cetchen, and the noble priest Rodanus ; he left there too Matona, Benignus’ sister, who had received the sacred veil from Saint Patrick, assisted by Saint Rodanus ; it was for this reason he committed her to the care of Rodanus.)

Father Hogan, the learned editor of the *Documenta de S. Patricio*, takes the *Senella cella dumiche* to be the church of Shankill, near Elphin. The annotator of Hennessy’s Tripartite shares this view, and expresses himself thus in a note (p. 403) on the subject :—“*Senchell-Dumai ghe*.—This is the church of Shankill, barony and county of Roscommon, immediately south of Elphin. Colgan was wrong in his Index in placing the church in Kierrag-Arnensi, which was in the barony of Costello, county Mayo, instead of Ciarraidhe-Aei, which was in the west of Roscommon, having in it the parish of Kilkeevan, near Castlerea.” Here the writer of the note quotes the Book of Rights (page 101), and proceeds :—“What probably led him (Colgan) astray, is that Machet, whom St. Patrick placed here, being grandson of Ailell [Ui Ailella], he took it for Tir-Ailell, confounding the descendants with their country.”

There is more than one error in this note ; but it is enough to state here, that the writer is himself “wrong” in what he reports

of Colgan, who, in the place referred to, or any other place, holds no such opinion as that ascribed to him, but on the contrary, states expressly in the very words of the Index, on which the author of the note relies, that the church in question was in Tirerrill, the words being, "Sencheal Ecclesia in Tirolella SS. Macetus, Cetchenus, Rodanus, et Matona V." These words are so clear, they could hardly be misinterpreted; and it seems certain, that the annotator, when commenting on Colgan, was not thinking of them, but of the immediately preceding entry of the Index, to which he allowed unconsciously his eye to stray, and which is thus worded, "Sencheal ecclesia in Kierragia Arnensi." This entry is followed immediately by the other, "Sencheal ecclesia in Tirolella, etc."

It is clear then that Colgan locates the Sencheal Dumaighe in Tirerrill; but independently of his authority, which is so decisive on questions of Irish topography, the text of both the "Documenta" and the Vita Tripartita, leaves no room for doubt in the matter, as the "*Dumacha nepotum Ailello*" of the former, and the "*regionem Hua Nolella*" of the latter, admit of no other meaning. The Shankill then of Elphin being far away from the "*regionem Hua Nolella*," the territory of the sons of Ollioll, or Tirerrill, it follows that it is *not* the spot to which Saint Patrick proceeded from Elphin; and, on the other hand, as Corradoo, or Corradooey, is in Tirerrill, and the only place in Tirerrill which always retained, and still retains, in the syllable *doo*, traces of the *dumiche* of Tirechan, and the *dumacha* of the Tripartite, the consequence is patent, that it is the spot in question.

It may be objected that the house occupied by Macetus, Cetchenus, and Rodanus, should be called a monastery of monks rather than a nunnery, which is the name always given by the people to the religious house which existed in Corradoo, and of which some small fragments still remain in the townland, that goes now by the name of Carricknahorna. To this objection there are two answers—one, that the house may have been a mixed establishment, having, in different quarters, monks

and nuns, and, being so, might with propriety, in view of the nuns' quarter, be called a nunnery. And another answer is, that though a monastery of men in the beginning, it may, when the monks died out, or left it, have become a nunnery; but, however this point may be explained, the arguments which connect *Senella cella dumiche* with Corradoo, or Corradooey, remain unshaken.

Though the statements quoted from the Book of Armagh and the Tripartite establish sufficiently the writer's contention, it may be still further confirmed. An argument which makes conclusively against the Shankill of Elphin theory, and quite as strongly for the view here maintained, is the propinquity of Tawnagh to Corradoo, a propinquity clearly implied in the words of Tirechan, which tells us, that Mathona reached Tawnagh by passing over the mountain (Bricklieve), and that the religious of these two places shared in each other's festivities, and cultivated friendly relations mutually. This juxtaposition alone puts the Magh-Aei or Elphin church out of court; for the monks of Tawnagh must have had as little to do with the Roscommon Shankill, which was about thirty miles distant from them, as with the notorious Shankill of Belfast, or the score of other Shankills, scattered up and down the country; while the parish of Tawnagh and the parish of Aghanagh, to which Corradoo belongs, being adjoining parishes, one on the north and the other on the south of Bricklieve, the inmates of the two religious houses lived, as a matter of course, in frequent intercourse, and partook of each other's hospitalities, thus realizing to the letter the words of Tirechan, "*Ipsa fecit amicitiam ad reliquias sancti Rodani, et successores illius epulabantur ad invicem.*"

The western end of the valley, we are treating of, has a very interesting history of its own, for which the reader is referred to what is said elsewhere of the parish of Toomour, in the barony of Corran, and diocese of Achonry. Before quitting the parish of Aghanagh, one additional remark may be made. While the writer has no doubt that the valley between Lough Arrow and Keash is the *Dumacha nepotum Ailello*, of the Book of

Armagh, he is by no means equally satisfied as to the identification of Saint Rodan's church and the so-called Nunnery. That the valley and the Dumecha are one and the same place rests on what appears to be proof; but that the church and the ruin now called the Nunnery were the same building, is rather a matter of conjecture. The church may have stood in a different part of the valley—in the part that lies in the parish of Toomour. On this point the reader is referred to what is said on the subject under the head of the Union of Keash.

Owen Conmy, *alias* Knuohan, is entered on the List of Popish Priests of 1704 as the Parish Priest of Aghanagh; and it would appear that from that time down to the close of the last century the P.P. of Boyle was always the P.P. of Aghanagh also, Rev. Dr. Brannally being the last of these incumbents. After Dr. Brannally's death the parish was divided, Ballinafad and Cairgin Roe being detached from Boyle and given in charge to Rev. Terence Sweeny as Parish Priest. On Father Sweeny's removal in 1843 Father Egan followed as Parish Priest of Aghanagh, and was succeeded by Rev. Dominick Noone.

Father Egan is interred in Aghanagh graveyard. It was intended to bury him in the old thatched chapel of Ballinafad, and with that object a new grave was dug in it; but the grave, owing to the low lying situation of the chapel filling at once with the water, which drained into it from the higher ground around, it was resolved, at the last moment, to deposit the remains in Aghanagh churchyard. There being no time, in the hurry, for searching out a more suitable spot, the coffin was lowered into the grave of John St. Barbe, King James' and King Charles' Constable of the Castle of Ballinafad. It is said an opinion prevailed that this was the tomb of an ecclesiastic, and that the interment took place in consequence of the erroneous impression. Anyhow, the Parish Priest and the Constable lie since in the same grave.

In January 1851 Father Noone passed as P.P. to Geevagh, and Father Henry succeeded to the vacant place in Ballinafad.

Rev. Mr. Henry falling into ill health, Rev. Andrew Quinn was appointed Administrator of Aghanagh in 1860, where he remained till 1876, when he was transferred to Riverstown, on the demise of Father Owen Feeney. While in Aghanagh Father Quinn built the substantial and commodious church of Ballinafad, which cost about £1,600, and must have cost a good deal more only that the parishioners had provided, free of charge, stones, lime, and sand.

Before the erection of this church the place of public worship was the old thatched chapel, built in 1760 by Father Michael Reynolds of Ballindoon, as the following curious inscription on a slab which formed the altar stone of the chapel, and which still exists, informs us:—"This house was built in the year 1760 by Father Michael Reynolds of Ballindoon at his own expense, for his own abode, and shelter of the faithful." If not the first, this old building was one of the first, chapels put up in the county since the Penal days; and the words of the inscription, "for his own abode," would imply that the priest resided in it, which he did, no doubt, for the purpose of evading the persecuting laws still in force, on the old principle that "a man's house is his castle."

Father Quinn's successor in Ballinafad is Father Geraghty, who has erected the fine parochial house which stands near the church. It is a pity that a site a little further east was not selected, as the windows would thus command one of the best views in the county.

Under the Established Church the parish of Aghanagh belonged to the union of Boyle.

In pre-Reformation times the valley between Lough Arrow and Keash abounded in Church land, there being 934 acres in the parish of Aghanagh. In the Rental of 1692 the Archbishop of Tuam is entered as tenant of the four quarters of Aghanagh. The Church land of the parish is now owned by the Phibbs' family, who, succeeding the Kings of Boyle in its possession, became, under "that hideous blot upon the Statute Book of the

United Kingdom, that *Magna Charta* of Church spoliation for the benefit of Church tenants, Church architects, and Church builders—the 3 & 4 Wm. 4, c. 37,"* and other Acts, owners in fee of the property.

* The Irish Church: Its History and Statistics. By William Shee, Sergeant-at-Law. Page xix.

CHAPTER XXXII.

HALF PARISH OF KILLERRY.

THE parish, or, as it is locally called, the Half-parish of Killerry, lies to the north of Killross and Ballysummaghan, and, with Killenumery in the county Leitrim, with which we have nothing to do here, forms a parochial union, which belongs to the diocese of Ardagh, and is under the gentle rule of one of the most apostolic of modern bishops, Dr. Woodlock—as perfect a combination of “sweetness and light” in real life, as the late Mr. Matthew Arnold himself could conceive in his ideal model man.

Killerry is picturesquely situated, stretching along the brink of Lough Gill, and forming the most striking portion of the southern shore of that lake. The district was formerly a natural forest, as is still the portion of it called Slish Wood, with its hardy oaks, all of nature’s planting, rising from the water’s edge and clothing the precipitous northern side of *Slieve-da-En* mountain up to the crest of the range. Not only Slish, but most of the parish was covered, three hundred years ago, with timber, which, as we learn from the Survey of 1633, “was daily wasted by sale to Sligo,” just as the peat bogs of the place are now being exhausted by sales of turf in the same quarter.

The old church of Killerry, which was sixty-six feet long, and twenty-four wide, was very solidly built. The eastern gable and two sidewalls are still standing. At about thirty-six feet from the eastern gable, a wall runs from sidewall to sidewall; and it is clear that the western portion of the building, from this cross wall to the end, was used as a residence by the clergy of the church—an arrangement not unusual in other old

churches of the county. It must have been an establishment of some importance, as we find three of its *erenaghs* mentioned at different times by the Four Masters, one under the year 1333, another at 1363, and the third at 1416. The name in each case is MacOglaigh, so that it would appear that the office of *erenagh* had become hereditary in this family in the thirteenth century. The entry of the Annals, at the last mentioned date, which is complimentary to the individual mentioned, of whom it speaks so highly, and to the house to which he belonged, runs thus: "Thomas Mac-an-Oglaigh, Erenagh of Cill-Oiridh, and chief Professor of Law in Connaught, died after the victory of penance."

As not unfrequently happened to other churches, the church of Killerry was once the scene of a sacrilegious outrage. In a conflict which took place in 1346 between Ualgarg O'Rorke and Rory O'Connor, the former, having been worsted, fled for sanctuary to Killerry church, but his pursuers, the O'Connors and McDonoughs, set fire to the building, and slew him as he rushed out through the door to escape the fire. Unfortunately this was not an isolated sacrilege of the kind, for we read often in the Annals accounts of similar occurrences, the *modus agendi* being always the same: first, to fire the church, and then to slay the enemy when he tried to get away from the burning building.

To this church is attached a graveyard which is much used. It contains a good number of tombstones with inscriptions, the prevailing names commemorated being Kelly, Jackson, Gil-martin McGarry, Wynne, Donegan, McLoghlen, McTernan, Cross, and Harrison.

It may be well to refer to a practice connected with the cemetery of Killerry, which seems at first view to savour somewhat of superstition. At about the centre of the burying-place there is laid on the ground a horizontal stone slab, three feet long, two feet wide, and about two inches thick, on which are placed seven rounded stones—apparently sea-shore stones—of a few inches diameter. Just outside the slab, but touching its edge,

a stone, fourteen or fifteen inches long, four inches wide, and two thick, is sunk endwise in the earth to within about four inches or so of the top, and to this exposed part is always attached a yard or two of thread or string. The thread goes by the name of "Straining Thread;" and it is so-called because plenty of people believe that, if removed in due form from the stone, it will cure of sprain, the injured member or part to which it is applied. The "due form," or ritual, to be observed by the messenger coming for the thread is, first, to say on the spot certain stated prayers in honour of God, the Blessed Virgin, and the saint of Killerry church;* second, to take the thread off the stone; and third, to leave another in its place for the next comer. The proceeding, no doubt, has a suspicious look, but those who know it best clear it of superstition, on the principle, that the people place all their hope of a cure in the prayers; and a still more convincing proof of its harmlessness is its toleration by the parish clergy, for it is certain that enlightened and zealous Parish priests, like Canon Thomas Cahill, the present incumbent of the parish, the late Canon Broder, and Father George Gearty, the Canon's immediate predecessor, would have denounced it and put a stop to it, if it were any way wrong.

In 1824 the body of a man clad in woollen garments was found in a bog of this parish, six feet under the surface of the peat. The remains were so well preserved, that a magistrate was called to hold an inquest. The clothes were in still better

* This saint is not identified, but it is very likely that he is the St. Aireid, Priest, whose feast, according to the Martyrology of Donegal, falls on the 26th August. The church goes, in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year 1333 and 1496, by the name Cill Oiridh, and at the year 1362 by that of Cill Airidh.

It is possible that the name has a different origin. Oorid signifies cold land, and Killerry—Cill Oirid—might mean the church of the cold, wet land.—See Joyce's Irish Names of Places; Second Series, p. 15.

This origin would correspond well with the quality of the surrounding land, which is cold and stiff.

preservation than the body, seeming little the worse for their time in the bog. In Sir William Wilde's Catalogue of the Royal Irish Academy Museum, may be seen a woodcut of them as they appeared on a person who put them on, that they might be the better photographed. They consisted of a mantle or cloak, an inner coat or tunic, and a tight fitting trowse, or trousers. There was a profusion of buttons, all made of the same material as the tunic. Sir William Wilde referred the interment to the fifteenth century. It may be added that the woodcut of the Catalogue is reproduced, manifestly from the same block, in the *Kilkenny Archæological Journal* (Vol. 6, p. 225), and in Miss Cusack's *History of Ireland* (p. 255).

In the month of May of the current year (1888), a human body was found in the bog of Annaghmore, in the parish of Kilvarnet, clad too in woollen garments of antique fashion; but it is matter of regret that the remains, the clothes, and a small wooden vessel, found alongside them, were all huddled into a box, removed to a disused graveyard in the neighbourhood, and re-interred, before any one qualified to give an intelligent opinion on the antiquarian aspects of the case could see the objects. Comparing what is told of the Kilvarnet find by those who saw it, with what is written by Sir William Wilde and others of that of Killerry, the material of the dress in both cases was similar, being "woollen cloth, with a diagonal twill or diaper." Of the coat Sir William writes, "In make it is a sort of frock or tunic. It is single-breasted, and has fourteen circular buttons ingeniously formed of the same material as the coat itself." "The sleeve," he adds, "consists of two portions joined at an angle across the elbow, below which it is open like that of the modern Greek or Albanian jacket, and has twelve small buttons extending along the outer flap." Those who saw the Annaghmore skeleton, state that this description applies to it as much as to that of Killerry.

It is at Cashelore in this parish we find one of the finest

examples of the cashel in Ireland. Of this structure Dr. Petrie, in a letter written from Rathcarrick, and dated August 16th, 1837, writes in the following high terms:—"I have also visited some remarkable cyclopean forts, particularly one called Cashel-Oir, or, the Golden Cashel, in the parish of Killerry, about five miles from Sligo; a finer specimen of cyclopean work I have never seen, of the earliest style, some of the stones twelve feet long. It is ascribed by tradition to the Firbolgs, or Belgæ, and there was a similar fort in each of the baronies of Sligo, of which I got a list with their names; these names should, I think, be inscribed on the map. The thickness of the wall in Cashel-Oir is ten feet, the interior diameter is seventy, and it is in some places nearly twelve feet high still, though its stones have been used to build a gentleman's house and offices, and a neighbouring village; I should suppose that the original height of the wall could not have been less than twenty feet." The fort is still in the state in which Dr. Petrie saw it, and standing, as it does, on an eminence, is a very commanding object. The Doctor is mistaken as to the meaning of Cashel-Oir, when he says it is "the Golden Cashel," though many inhabitants of Killerry share the mistake with him; but it is clear from the Four Masters, that there is no allusion to gold in the name, for they write it Caislan-an-Uabhair, which signifies the castle of pride—a name probably given to it for its exceptional magnitude, strength, and beauty.

BALLINTOGHER—the town of the causeway—lies in the parish of Killerry, and is, on the whole, about as historic a spot as any other in Tirerrill. Its situation near the gap of Slieve da En, which is the chief pass between Tirerrill and Carbury, gives it importance; and it was to guard this pass, that Cashaloer fort, in the remote past, and Ballintogher castle, or Rathmaree, in later times, were constructed. Ballintogher was one of the first places occupied by the English on their coming to Connaught, and was formed by them into a "borough," which seems to have been a "specially organized form of the township;" for

we learn from the Four Masters, under the year 1266, that the "borough of Bal an tachair was burned that year by Flann Roe O'Flynn, and many of the English of the town were slain by him." On the expulsion of the English in the fourteenth century, the O'Rorkes took possession of the place, and held it down to the time of Elizabeth, who, in a letter, dated 26th Jan. 1567, directed the Lords Justices of Ireland to examine the complaint made by Sir Donnell O'Connor against O'Wrarch (O'Rorke) for "deteyning from him the Castell of Bayleinto-chair." This letter produced no effect at the time, for it was ten years later, that is, in 1577, that O'Connor Sligo, with Sir Nicholas Malby and an army of both English and Irish took the place. Falling next into the hands of the MacDonoghs, it escheated soon to the Queen by their dying without heirs, general or special. In 1617 the town of Ballintogher with various adjoining lands was granted to Sir William Taaffe; and in a new patent, passed by that sagacious man in 1620, the lands conveyed by the grant were created the Manor of Ballintogher. About 1630 they were purchased by Sir Thomas Wenman; and the Survey of 1633 describes them as the "inheritance of Sir Thomas Wenman, Knight, lately purchased from the Lord Viscount Taaffe, whose father obtained letters patent from King James for the whole Lordship of Ballintogher, containing nineteen quarters, all which Sir Thomas Wenman had bought two years past. It pays the King £15 sterling per annum, and ten groats homage." The denominations of the quarters are Gortlaunan, Tobbernany, Altbellada, Crossbeoy, Drommore, Casheloer, Tirtooicke, Raghian, Levalley, Rathnaree, Drumconrie, Corney, Kiltcranen, Ravelvoine, Lishcrossan, Carrownadallar, Aghrish, Dromcalrey, and Carownagh.

As a part of the O'Connor Sligo estate this property was granted in 1687 by Charles II. to the Earl of Strafford and Sir Thomas Radcliffe, and passed, from their representatives, by purchase, to Rev. Doctor John Leslie, one of those bellicose ecclesiastics that we sometimes find coming to the front in

times of violence and change. Of Scotch descent, of temper resembling that of John Knox, and with as rabid a hatred of "Papistry," he threw himself body and soul, like that firebrand, into the contests of the day, the only difference between them being that Leslie wielded exclusively the arms of the flesh, while Knox flourished besides the sword of the Spirit.

With the income of a rich rectory which he held in the diocese of Derry, and the rent of a good estate, he raised a company of foot and a troop of horse, and fought at their head for the Prince of Orange. At the battle of Aughrim, while the father kept garrison at Ballintogher, his son commanded this force, and lost his life in the battle. The Doctor set enormous value on these services and losses, and at the close of the war pressed energetically for compensation and reward. The Government showed themselves as liberal as he was exacting, and decreed him, in the counties of Sligo, Leitrim, and Donegal, 16,077 acres "in consideration of his early services in the war of Ireland, his great expense in raising and arming considerable numbers of men, and fighting at the head of them in several engagements." The concluding words of the royal grant are, "The lands in the county of Sligo together with the lands of Drumdeffry are erected into the manor of Ballintogher, with a power to appoint seneschalls; with a jurisdiction in all actions for debt, trespass, and covenant to the extent of 48s.; with all privileges in as large and as ample a manner as were enjoyed by Sir William Taaffe by virtue of Letters Patent dated 18th of James the First."

This fighting parson has left no descendants in the county. His daughter, after abduction by Mitcheburne Knox of Sligo, was married to that worthy, but the marriage proved unfortunate, and both died in great poverty.

It would appear that the parishes of Killenumery and Killerry, which are now united, were separate in 1704, when the Parish Priests of Ireland were registered, for while Rev. Laurence Kion (Keon, or Kean) was pastor of Killenumery that

year, the record tells, that Teige McQuin was P.P. of Killerry, that he resided at Ballintogher, that he was then seventy-seven years of age, and that he had been ordained in 1650 by Doctor Cullinane, Titular Bishop of Raphoe. The names of Father McQuin's sureties are, Henry McCarrick, Sligo, and William Bourke, Doonamurray.

Coming down to the present century, Rev. Charles Brady was Parish Priest of the united parishes of Killenumery and Killerry in 1800, and died on the 4th September, 1813.

Father Brady was succeeded in 1813 by Rev. Edward Reynolds, who died in 1816. After Father Reynolds came Rev. Charles Gilchrist, who was removed to another parish in 1826; Reverend Peter McGovern, who was Father Gilchrist's successor, died on the 26th December, 1837, and is buried in Creevalea abbey. This good priest had such a reputation for sanctity through life, that the country people take away clay from his grave, and employ it in some way as a cure for the diseases of men and cattle, thinking there must be some special virtue in the relics of so holy a man.

Reverend Daniel Magill was the next Parish Priest; he died, after an incumbency of eleven years, in 1848.

Father Magill's successor was Reverend George Gearty, transferred from the parish of Annaduff to the union of Killenumery and Killerry. Father George, as he was called by everybody, was as fine a specimen of humanity, in face and figure, as one could find, being six feet three or four inches high, formed in proportion, and a model of manly grace and vigour in all his movements. He was so successful as a church builder, that somebody, in speaking of him on his appointment to Killerry, said playfully, that his new churches along the coach road, in the neighbourhood of Annaduff, were as numerous as the milestones.

It was Father George who built the fine church of Ballinagar; and an incident, that occurred soon after the foundation was laid, throws so much light on his character, that it would be a pity to omit it.

The parishioners were frightened at the magnitude of the

undertaking, and tried to get him to put up one of the old-fashioned, barn-like chapels, common in the country, instead of the Gothic structure he designed. Even after the foundation was laid, and the work was in progress, they did what they could to make him desist, so that a large deputation, led on by two intermeddling, worthless, busybodies, who were at the bottom of all the mischief, waited on him, while superintending the work, as was his wont, to remonstrate with him on the undertaking. Having reasoned quietly with these people, and having failed to make any impression on them, owing chiefly to the clap-trap of the two leaders referred to, Father George stepped over to the pair and, putting one of them under each arm, dropped both into a little river that flowed hard by. The crowd enjoyed the proceeding, and the two spouters were so sobered by their ducking, that they gave no further trouble, nor did any one else.

Father George died in 1872, and is buried in Ballinagar Church, where Canon Cahill has erected over his remains a handsome limestone monument, with the inscription :—

“ O Lord have mercy on the soul
of the late

REV. GEORGE GEARTY,
who erected this Church.”

After Father Gearty came Very Rev. Canon Broder, who died in 1881, and was succeeded by the actual pastor, Very Rev. Canon Cahill.

As to the succession of incumbents of the late Established Church, it is said that more than one Vicar of the name of Dodd held the living in the last century,—and in or about the year 1799, Rev. Christopher Robinson became Vicar of Killenumery and Killerry.

Mr. Robinson was succeeded in 1817 by Rev. Michael Boland, whose incumbency lasted for near half a century.

To Mr. Boland succeeded, in 1861, Rev. Edward Lucas, who died in 1885, and is buried in the family vault at Kille-numery.*

After Mr. Lucas came in succession Reverend Messrs. Moore, Hamilton, and Rigg, the last named being the present incumbent.

As is said above, it was Father George Gearty that built the parish church of Ballinagar. Though a large house, it was too small for the immense congregation that flocked to it; and to meet the requirements of the case, Canon Cahill has erected a fine chapel of ease up the mountain, which, along with putting a stop to the inconvenient crowding in the parish church, is a great accommodation to the inhabitants of the mountain district, by saving them the long journey to Ballinagar. The zealous Canon has also erected two fine parochial houses, one at Ballinagar and the other at Ballintogher,—Father Hourican

* We read on the front of the vault this inscription :—

The Family Vault of
OF

The Rev. EDMUND A. LUCAS,
54 years a minister of the Gospel,
And 22 years Rector of this Parish,
Who died 22nd April, 1885,
Aged 78 years.

This Vault also contains
The remains of his daughter,
FRANCES LUCAS,
Who died 5th January, 1864,
Aged 9 years.

And of his sons,
EDMUND A. LUCAS, M.D.,
Royal Navy,
Who died 20th July, 1863,
Aged 34 years ;
And THOMAS H. LUCAS,
Who died 30th August, 1885,
Aged 42 years.

giving him very effective co-operation in the erection of the latter.

Father T. Boylan, the actual C.C., Ballintogher, has greatly improved the Curate's residence.

The Protestant church of Killenumery was built in 1818, and, according to Sergeant Shee's book on the Irish Church, the ascertained cost of the building in 1848 was £923, and the number of persons for whom accommodation was provided is 200. The ascertained cost in 1836 of glebe house, erected in 1812, was £738. The Sergeant was unable to give any information as to the cost of the Killerry or Ballintogher Protestant church—which provides accommodation for 90 persons.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PARISH OF BALLYSadARE.

FEW spots in the county have so varied and interesting a history as BALLYSadARE. While the place comes early into notice, it has since continued to be the scene of considerable civil, ecclesiastical, commercial, and social events, having generally more than an average share in the vicissitudes through which the country has passed; but as the different phases of its course have been described elsewhere* in detail, it is not necessary, nor in keeping with the scope of this narrative, to go over them again. It will then be enough for the present to supplement a little the information already given.

The present parish of Ballysadare comprehends two old parishes—the parish of Enagh and that of Ballysadare proper. The district of Enagh lies in Tirerrill, and belonged at one time, like nearly all the rest of that barony, to the diocese of Elphin.

One of the most remarkable events that have occurred in Ballysadare was the great meeting which took place in the year 585, and which was attended by many of the “saints of Ireland,” who had come from all parts of the country to pay their duty to Columbkille, as he was returning from the famous convention of Drumceat. In narrating this occurrence in the History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet the names of the saints present on the occasion were not given; and as a reviewer, who has a right to speak with authority, noticed and regretted the omission, it is supplied here, as likely to prove of interest to many readers.

* History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, pp. 1-44.

The names, as they are given in Colgan, are, "Saint Moninnia, of Mount Culin, or Slieve Culin; two sons of Conall, of Killchora; Manius, bishop of Tirerrill; Muredach, of Killala, in Tirawley; Ronius, bishop of Kilronius; Caimin, of Inisceltra; Regulus, of Mucinis, in the country of the Dalgeis; Senanus of Iniscathy; Senanus, of Larabrine, near Maynooth; Erminus, of Cluain-reilgeach, in Meath; the seven bishops of Cluain Hemain; Libana and Fortchern, of Odhba Keara, in Partry; Grellan, of Creeve, to the eastern side of Moylurg; Skyria, of Kil-Skyria; Corcaria Keann and Corcaria Caoin, two daughters of Eoghan, and a daughter of Cathald of Kill-Comlach, of Moylurg; Loman, of Lough Gill, between Carbury and Breffny; Mifrisius, son of Fachtna, of Sligeach; Inella, a devout virgin; Osnata, of Glendallan, in Carbury, and Geghia, of Inis Geghe; Derbilias, of Irrus; the seven nuns of Tireragh Aidne; Mugania, of Rath Aradh and Brochlacha, in Carbury."

This is not the place or time to attempt the identification of these holy persons. The curious in the matter may consult Colgan (*Vita S. Farannani*) and Father O'Hanlon (*Life of Saint Farannan*, February 15), who have undertaken the task.

There have been oatmeal mills at Ballysadare from time immemorial. It is pretty certain that St. Fechin had a water mill here long before he constructed the famous one at Fore, of which Giraldus Cambrensis, Colgan, and all the saint's biographers make special mention. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the earlier years of the nineteenth, many Ballysadare people made a living by making and selling meal, and a very good living they made of it. About the year 1816 Mr. M'Donald came from Dublin, where he had been in business, to Ballysadare, put up a bleach mill, and worked it vigorously till he died, in the year 1832, of the cholera, which raged, that year, with exceptional violence in the little town,* where, no doubt, he contracted the disease, though he died, while flying from it, in Ballinamore, county Leitrim.

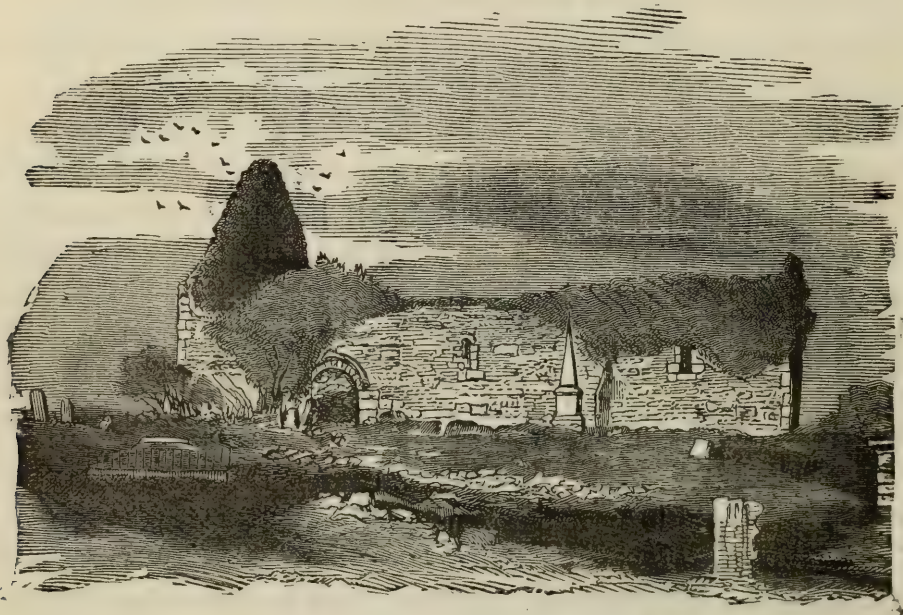
* History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, p. 37.

It was in the year 1833 Mr. Robert Culbertson erected, on the right bank of the river, the great oatmeal mill which threw everything that preceded it into the shade, and is still at work, though on a greatly reduced scale. Later he put up, on the left bank of the river, the famous flour mill which, though now wholly idle, supplied for several years after its erection all the shopkeepers and bakers of the county, as well as many in the counties of Mayo, Roscommon, and Leitrim. Unfortunately a fearful and fatal explosion occurred here in 1856 which shot away the roof of the structure, destroyed vast stores of flour and wheat, injured much of the machinery, maimed several of the workmen, and either killed on the spot, or inflicted a lingering death, on nine others.

One of the most deplorable results of the calamity was that the shock of the occurrence ruined the health of Mr. Culbertson; for though he lived for some time after, it was noticed that he was constantly sinking, so that when he died, everyone laid his death on the disastrous explosion. And it is due to the memory of this large-hearted and tender-hearted man to state that those who knew him well, the writer of these lines among the number, were aware that it was not so much his own losses and troubles that preyed upon his mind and ruined his health, as the loss of life or limb, that had befallen so many of his neighbours.

The Messrs. Middleton and Pollexfen, who succeeded Mr. Culbertson in Ballysadare, worked these extensive concerns energetically and successfully for many years; and while the great wheels of their mills were at work, the wheel of fortune, as if it were part of the machinery, moved prosperously for Ballysadare and the neighbourhood. Owing to the great contraction, almost the stoppage, of the business in recent years, there are scarce half a dozen men employed where there were formerly sometimes five or six score; and as the yards of Mr. Joseph Clarence and Mr. James M'Donogh, the well known builders, are proportionally slack in work, the village of Ballysadare has become deserted, most of its tradesmen and labourers having gone to America or across the Channel.

Though Ballysadare, considering its situation and the fine rapid river that flows through it, should be a healthy spot, it has suffered more than most other places from epidemic disease. No place, large or small, in the kingdom lost more of its inhabitants, in proportion to population, by the cholera visitation of 1832. The mortality was so frightful, that the living hardly sufficed to bury the dead; but to the honour of the place it must be mentioned, that, even then, volunteers were not wanting for this dangerous and repulsive office; and, to say nothing here



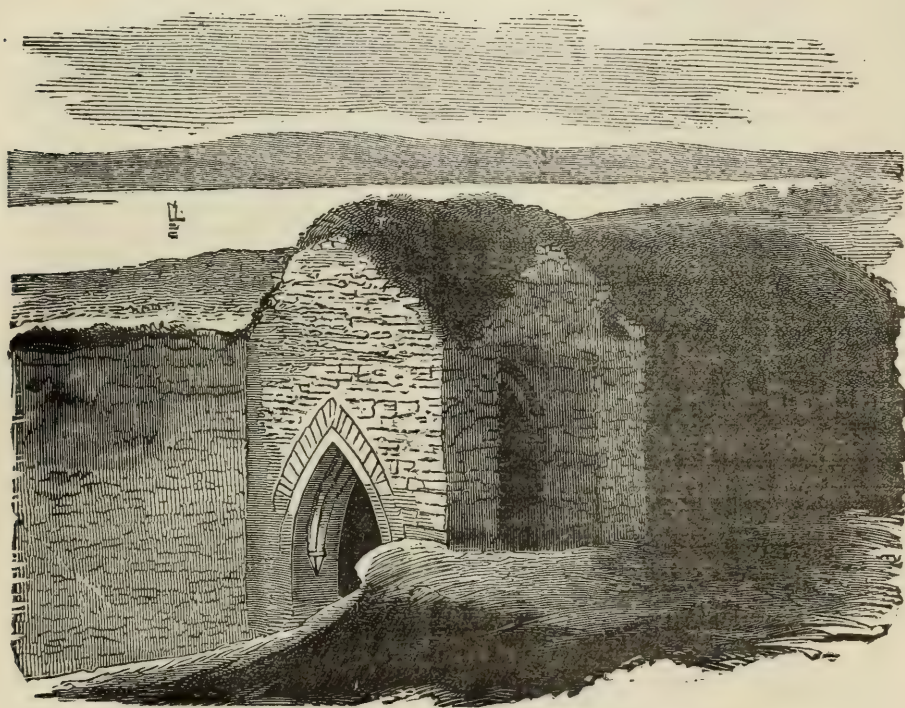
OLD CHURCH OF BALLYSADARE.*

of others, it is due to William McDonald, still living, and after all his risks, enjoying good health in his 94th year, to state, as an instance of his heroism, that on one day he buried eight cholera corpses with his own hands, and rose from his bed at night to bury the ninth, which was laid at his door by persons who were themselves panic stricken, in expectation of this courageous service at his hands.

Fever, too, has been always exceptionally fatal at Ballysadare,

* Drawn on the wood by W. F. Wakeman, F.R.H.A., A.I., from a Photograph.

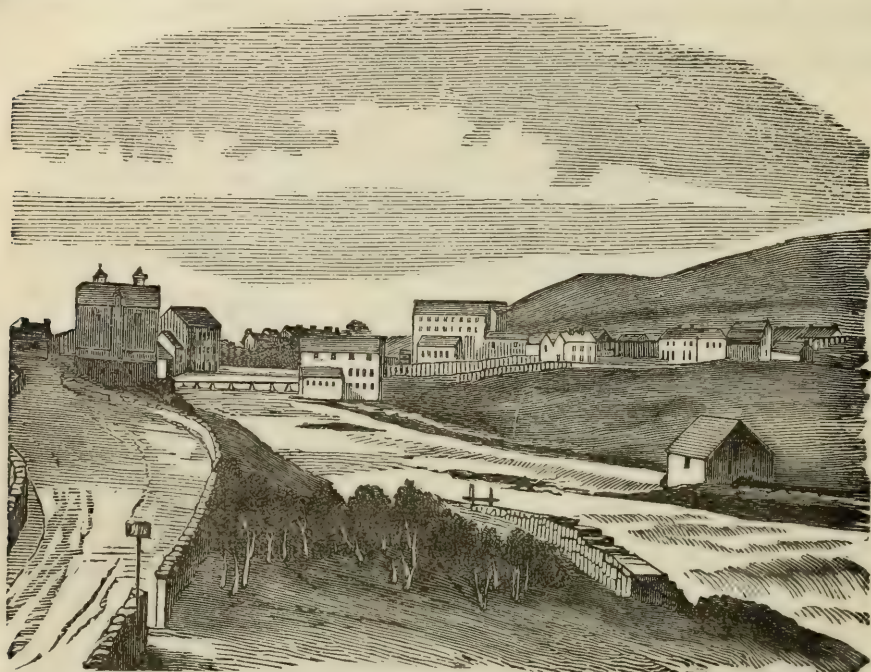
as well as the cholera. On a couple of occasions, within recent years, when it showed itself as an epidemic in the neighbourhood, it struck down more victims in the village, than in any other place of equal population. Various theories have been started to account for the insalubrity, the most probable being, that it comes from the pestiferous exhalations which the overcrowded and festering graveyard sends into the little town. The graveyard is now being enlarged and re-arranged, and it is hoped that the change will have a most beneficial effect on the health of Ballysadare.



TOWER OF ABBEY OF BALLYSadARE.

Tourists would find it worth their while to give part of a day to this historic spot, with its far famed mills—corn mills, flour mills, shood mills; its silver and lead mine; its interesting churches—one a thirteenth or fourteenth century abbey church, and another, which was first a monastic church, and next a parish church, and which is still the solidest piece of old masonry in the county, though most of it a ninth or tenth century work—its wonderful water power, abundant enough to work

all the machinery in Ireland; its singularly picturesque surroundings, which have elicited the warm admiration of all visitors of taste, including Arthur Young and Lady Morgan; its noble cataract, which the Down Survey marks as "A Great Fall;" and the incomparable rapid, of a thousand yards or so, which leads to the fall, and which Mr. Frazer, in his *Handbook of Ireland*, styles "decidedly the finest rapid in the kingdom." Page 445.



BALLYSADARE RIVER AND MILLS.*

The writer should, perhaps, apologise for reproducing here his own imperfect description of this, the most beautiful scenic feature of Ballysadare:—"After all, the gem of the collection of objects before you, is the Owenmore from the bridge to the bay. You have not here, to be sure, the volume of water which the Shannon rolls from Athlone to the sea, nor the wooded banks that impart such ornament to the Blackwater, between Cappoquin and Youghal; but, notwithstanding those advantages in

* Drawn on the wood by W. F. Wakeman, Esq., F.R.H.A., A.I., from a Photograph by Mr. Slater.

their favour, you will look in vain to either of these rivers for as many beauties, in the same length, as this part of the Owenmore discloses. A score of cascades, rising in nearly measured gradation to the topmost; the diversified movements of the waters, now floating smoothly on the horizontal plane of some spacious ledge, and anon, whirling playfully in the numerous eddies of the current; here rushing noisily and precipitately through gaps in the rocks, and there falling softly over sloping and smoothened laminæ, like a covering of lace; the ascending vapour glittering in the sun, and reflecting all the tints of the rainbow; the thousand sounds, proceeding from the varied action of the waters, combining with the great bass of the waterfall, and making a natural symphony; all those sights and sounds together form a picture and a scene which are eminently "a thing of beauty" and "a joy for ever."

The mention of the rapid reminds one of a singular and thrilling occurrence which happened in it four or five years ago. Joseph McDonogh, a fine child, three years old, standing by himself on the bank of the river, not far from the bridge, dropped into the current unseen by any one, and having been swept along under the water for several hundred yards—through the gaps, over the ledges, round the eddies, down the cascades—was already nearing closely the "Great Fall," when somebody observing, from the road, the bulky object rolling along, and not knowing what to make of it, waded courageously through the surging waters, and found what he thought, at the moment, to be the lifeless body of a child. Carrying it to the bank, efforts were made to restore animation, though all present deemed the endeavour utterly hopeless; but after a time, signs of life showed themselves, which were soon followed by consciousness, and ultimately, by a perfect recovery, leaving the fine boy nothing the worse, either in mind or body, for the frightful ordeal he had passed through. Being gifted with no common share of wit and humour, he often entertains his juvenile companions with his experiences and enjoyments while among the fishes.

The Ballysadare Salmon Fishery continues to thrive under the intelligent and energetic management of Mr. Scott and his son. The Messrs. Scott have been now about nine years in charge, and during all that time there has been no accident, or hitch, or trouble of any kind in connexion with the concern—a state of things, in times like the present, very creditable to the managers themselves, to the men working under them, and to the neighbourhood. And it appears from the following list of the fish taken since 1880, that the Fishery is becoming more productive with time, a greater number being captured in 1888 than in any year, with one exception, of the last nine:—

Year.	Number of Salmon taken.	
1880	...	6,568
1881	...	6,296
1882	...	3,597
1883	...	9,212
1884	...	4,272
1885	...	7,665
1886	...	6,674
1887	...	7,400
1888	...	8,223

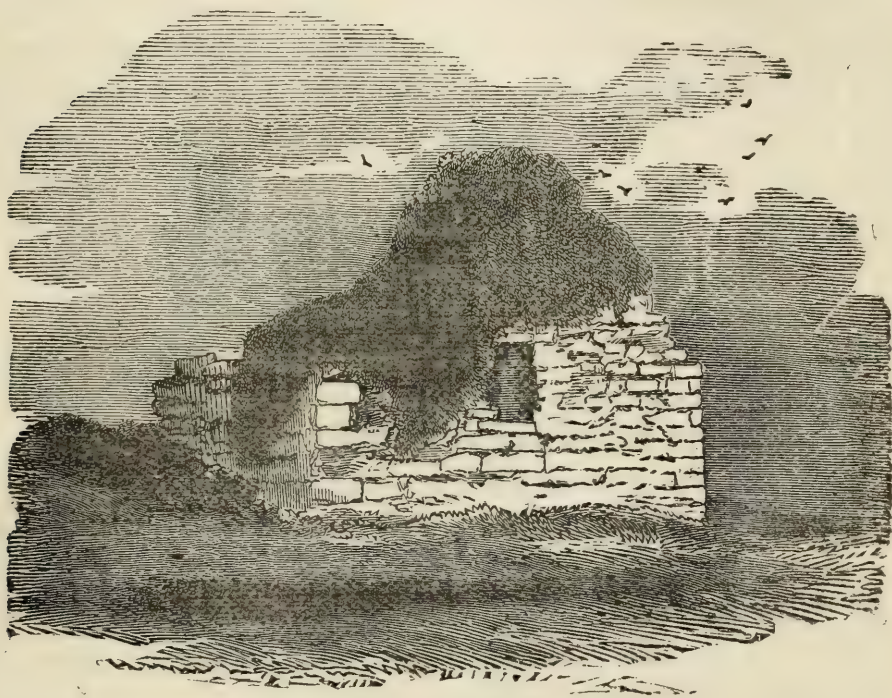
The draw-back on the value of this fishery is, that it is so late, for while they take salmon in Sligo river in January and February, when prices are high, there is little or nothing captured at Ballysadare before the close of April or the beginning of May. To remedy this defect efforts are being made, which must prove successful in the long run, unless there are insuperable natural obstacles in the way.

The largest salmon taken in the nine years quoted, weighed twenty-seven and a quarter lbs, and the greatest number at a single draught was 497.

In the History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet (p. 278), some conjectures were offered respecting the origin of the old church of Kildalough, in the townland of Streamstown, near Ballysadare. It was there stated that an old man of the place said, he had heard it called *Kil-easpuig-O'Daly*; but after examining the subject, it would appear that this name must be an error for

Kil-easpuig-Rodain, a church which has been hitherto unidentified. The grounds of this opinion are:—

First.—*Kil-easpuig Rodain* is said, in O'Clery's Calendar, to be in Muirisc, which is the sea-shore of Tireragh, stretching northward to Sligo, thus containing Killaspugbrone old church. In this stretch stands the ruin of Kildalough, which, consequently, is in the district known anciently as Muirisc.



KILDALOUGH.*

Second.—The country people always refer the origin of the two churches of Kildalough and Killaspugbrone to the same early period—an opinion they express by saying that Kildalough and Killaspugbrone are the two churches first prayed for in Rome.

Third.—It is not hard to understand how *Kil-easpuig-Rodain* came to be called *Kil-easpuig-O'Daly*.

Slurring over the R in *Rodain*, the name would sound *Kil-easpuig-Odain*, which countrymen, knowing nothing of the

* Drawn on the wood by Mr. Wakeman, from a Photograph.

name Rodain, and familiar with that of O'Daly, would soon confound with Kil-easpuig-O'Daly. To say nothing here of other arguments, the above reasons seem to prove that Kildalough is the long forgotten church, Kil-easpuig-Rodain, of which Bishop Rodain, St. Patrick's *armentarius*, or herd, is the Patron.

Poor old BALLYDREHID—*recte*, Beul-an-droiched, the mouth of the bridge—must not be passed over without a word or two of notice, though it has lost much of what made it interesting and important in the olden time. In the past it was a place of great strength from a military point of view, and contained a castle to guard the passage of the river which flows through it to Ballysadare bay. This fortress, environed by woods, by natural escarpments, and by an impassable morass, was deemed impregnable, so that the O'Connors Sligo retired occasionally to it as a place of greater security than the castle of Sligo.

Ballydrehid was the scene of many battles—some of as sanguinary a character as any that have taken place in the county. One of them was fought in the seventh century, and gave the place the name of *Drehid Martra*—the bridge of slaughter—an appellation by which it is often spoken of in old writings; and several formidable engagements took place here between the O'Connors Sligo and the O'Donnells, of one of which the Four Masters say at the year 1495:—"The Connacian army left great spoils of horses, arms, and armour to the Kinel-Connell on that occasion; and from the time that Hugh Roe, the son of Nial Garv, had gained the battle of Ceideach-droighneach over the Connacians, where many of them were slain, the Kinel-Connell had not given a defeat to the Connacians, which redounded more to their triumph, or by which they obtained more spoils, than this defeat of Bal-an-droichet." The Four Masters give the names of several Sligo chiefs that fell on this occasion.

Since that time Ballydrehid has undergone changes which have taken from it its formidable character. The castle is gone, and has not left a stone behind, though its site is still

known by the name of the Castle-field ; the woods have disappeared root and branch ; and it is pleasant to be able to report that the "impassable morass" of the Curragh is now traversed from end to end by one of the finest roads in the province.

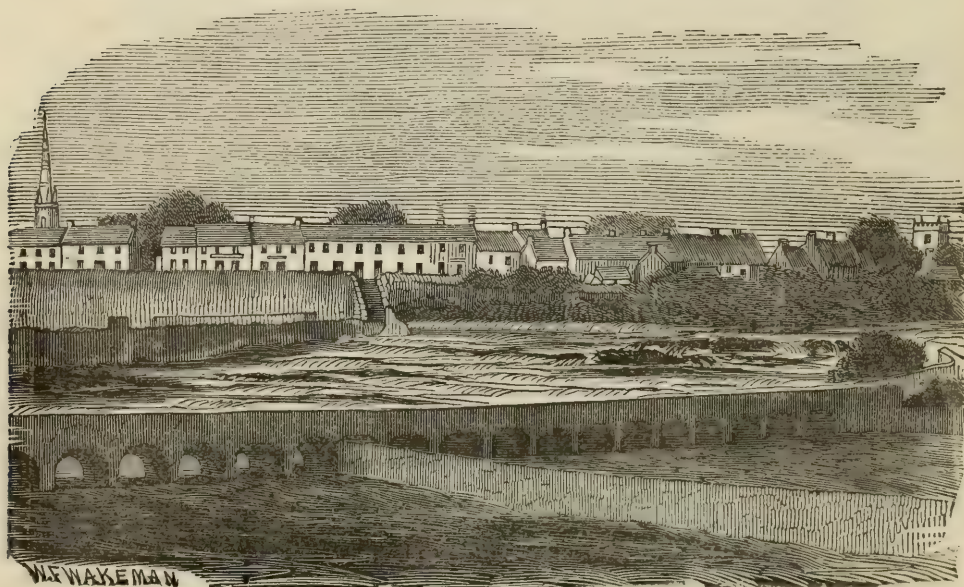
And another improvement, which time has brought with it, is the two railway bridges—one of stone, and of colossal dimensions, crossing the high-road to Sligo ; and the other of iron, spanning the Ballydrehid stream at a height of some fifty feet above the archaic stone bridge, which gave the place its name, and which still remains *in situ*, being probably the oldest bridge in the province.

The great blot on the village is found in some of its houses, if one can dignify with that name the hovels which strike the eye of the traveller by rail, and which are perhaps the sorriest makeshifts for human habitations that he will meet with on the whole length of the railway from Sligo to Dublin. These cabins are a relic of the middleman system of rural economy, in which the landlord used to let a tract of his estate to some favourite, who sublet it to occupying tenants, and who had only one thought in connexion with the transaction, that is, to extract from the land, and the serfs that laboured it, all the profit he could, while his tenure lasted. Such was the condition of Ballydrehid for near a century, but now that the property has come again into the hands of the landlord, the tumble-down shanties must disappear. Remove this eyesore, and the great natural advantages of the place will show themselves. With its cincture of pleasant little hills, with the sea waves breaking under its doorsteps and sweetening the air with their ozone, and with the finest views of Ballysadare bay and of the charming hill of Knocknarea always under the eye, Ballydrehid would compare favourably with many other districts of the county, both for salubriousness and for beauty.

The pretty village of COLLOONEY, as Mr. Inglis calls it, takes the form of a crescent, as it runs along the crest and down the slopes of the hill on which it stands, the Church of

the Assumption being the point of one horn of the crescent, and the Protestant Church that of the other. While forming itself an interesting feature in the landscape, it is surrounded on all sides by first-class scenery—mountains and hills, wood and water, rich tillage fields, the greenest of pasture lands, and the finest portions of the Owenmore, the most beautiful river of the county.

The village has been much improved of late years. The street leading from the bridge has been opened up; the market



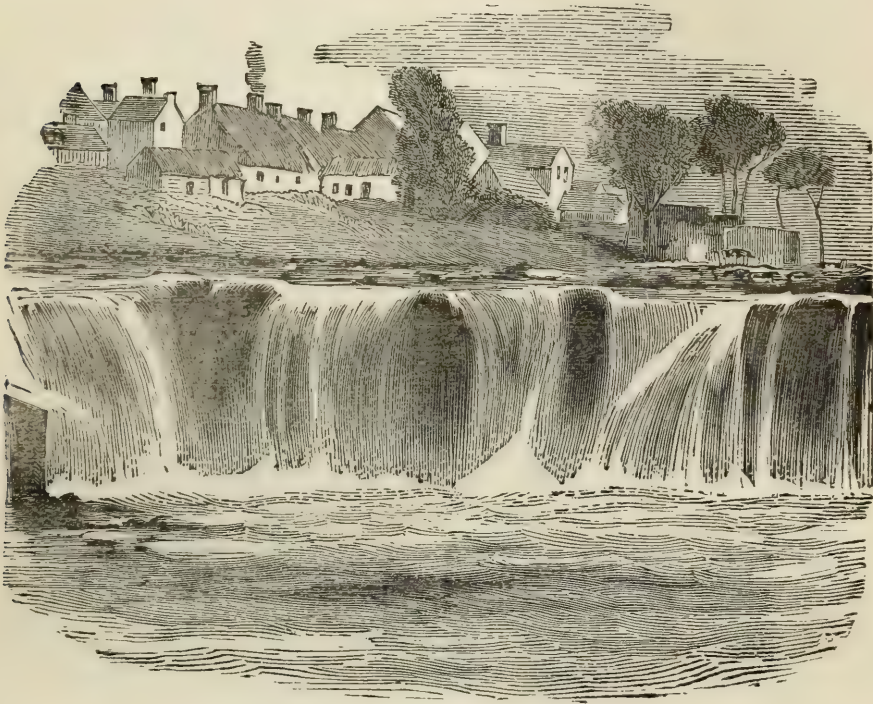
VILLAGE AND RAPIDS OF COLLOONEY.

house has been restored; a fine police barrack has been built; and a number of solid slated houses have been substituted in the room of shaky thatched structures.

The superior salubrity of the place is admitted by first-rate judges, including some of the most skilful doctors that have ever lived in the county. Even without such authority, this healthfulness would appear from the natural conditions of the spot—a high situation, a limestone subsoil, the absence of bogs and marshes, and the lively, rapid river constantly freshening and purifying the atmosphere. And experience proves the

efficaciousness of these conditions; for contagious disease cannot effect a lodgment in Collooney; and though cholera and typhus have more than once ravaged the neighbourhood on all sides, this clean and airy village has never been infected.

The history of Collooney is more than ordinarily interesting. It is the spot of Lower Connaught in which a stone and mortar



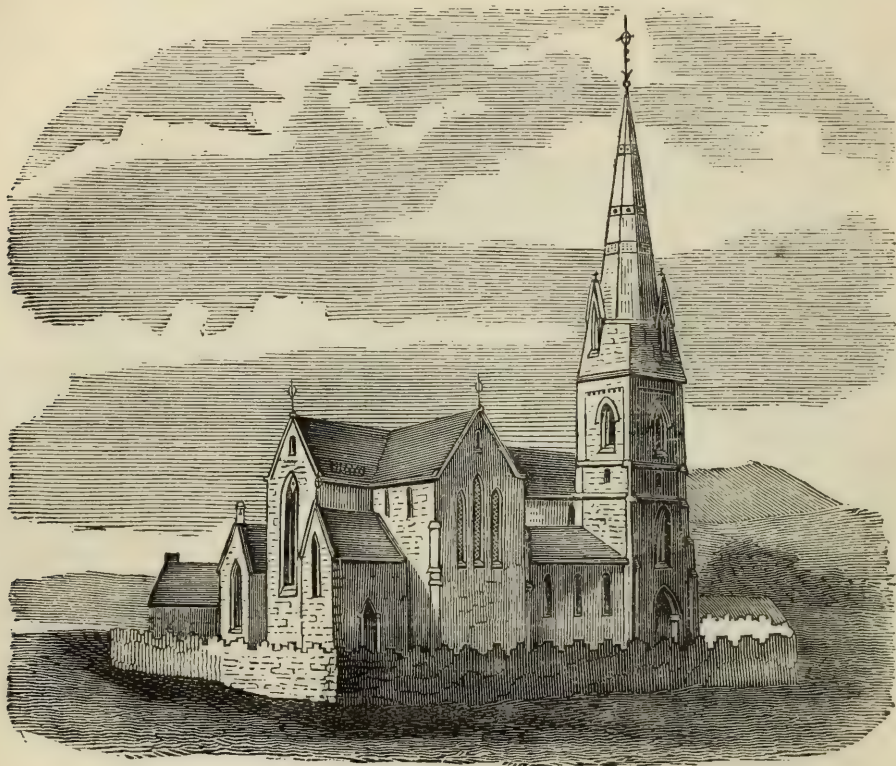
COLLOONEY WATERFALL.*

castle was first built; for the erection, according to the Four Masters, took place in 1225, more than forty years before the arrival of the English, who generally get the credit of being the first to put up those strong places in Ireland.

As might be expected from the position of Collooney, lying in the pass between Connaught and the North, it has been the scene

* Drawn on the wood by W. F. Wakeman, F.R.H.A., A.I., from a Photograph by Mr. Slater.

of several military movements, as well before as since the English invasion—in 1291 when a sanguinary engagement took place between Manus O'Connor, King of Connaught, and his rival, Cathal O'Connor; in 1584 when Sir Richard Bingham attacked 2,000 Scotch mercenaries with their Irish adherents; in 1599 when Sir Conyers Clifford lay in wait for the people of Red



CHURCH OF THE ASSUMPTION.

Hugh O'Donnell; in 1691 when troops from the garrison of Sligo, under the command of Colonel Edward Scott, put to the sword Sir Albert Conyngham with his famous dragoons; and in 1798 when Colonel Vereker encountered the French with a spirit and courage that gained him a peerage, though not the victory.—See *History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet*.

The MacDonoghs settled at Collooney in the fourteenth century, and the place was held by them down to 1643, when

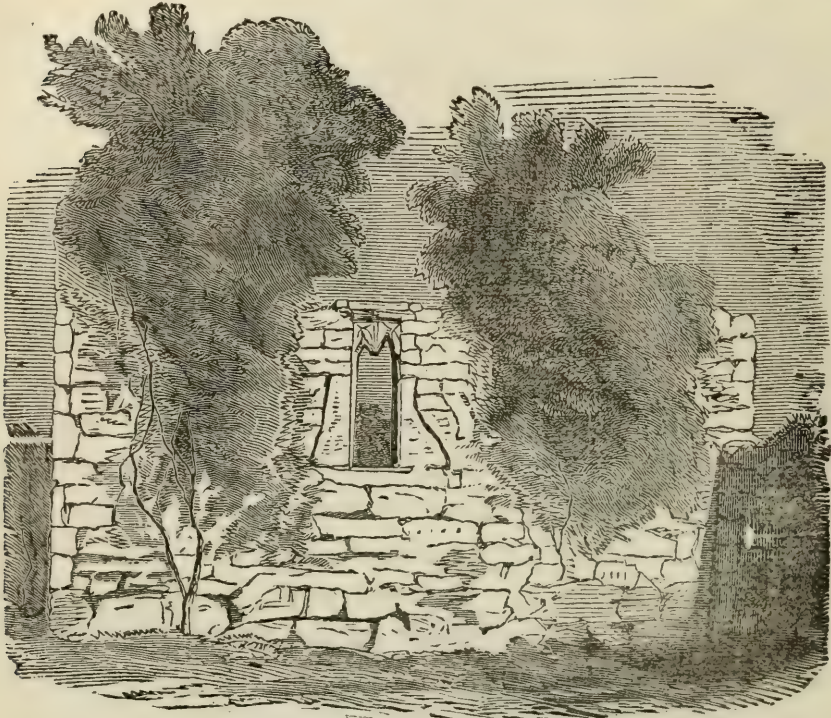
Brian M'Donogh, its last owner, was slain at Manorhamilton. From the MacDonoghs it passed to the Cootes; and Richard, the second son of old Sir Charles, took his title from it when raised to the peerage at the Restoration. In 1727 the Cootes sold Collooney with various other lands in the county to Joshua Cooper for £16,945, 5s. 6d., and it has remained since in the possession of the Markrea family.

Having traced a detailed account of Collooney in the History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, a few additional observations must suffice here. The Church of the Assumption is the finest parish church in the province of Connaught. The spire is admitted on all hands to be second to no spire in the kingdom for beauty of proportion and effectiveness. The great object of this crowning feature of a church is to raise the thoughts to heaven; and this the Collooney spire accomplishes as effectually as if it were an animated and intelligent preacher. Unlike, on the one side, those tower finials which drop down upon the tower like extinguishers, and smother the flame they ought to nourish; and unlike, on the other side, those nondescript, pyramidal excrescences which, without either grace of form or significance of symbol, resemble nothing in nature or art so much as an inverted teetotum, the spire of the Church of the Assumption, shooting up like a thing of life to the skies, acts on the spirit as a magnet acts on matter, and, by a sweet attraction, draws the mind with it in its heavenward direction.

In the remaining external features, the church, which is of the early English style, is of a piece in all its parts with the spire; while the interior of the building, with its lofty vaulted roof, its artistic groins, its symmetrical arches, its light, graceful columns, its rich high and side altars, its admirably designed pulpit, its beautiful stations and paintings, are in perfect keeping with the exterior in all the attributes that become the House of God. The result of all this is singularly impressive; and the effect is the more admirable as it is brought about by the juxtaposition and harmony of parts, and not, as sometimes happens, by tinsel

decorations more suited to a theatre or a drinking saloon than to the House of God.

The Collooney Catholic churches, which preceded in the order of time the Church of the Assumption, were, first, the church of Shrah Padruig, or Patrick's Pasture, which, after being long forgotten, the writer identified in the History of Ballysadare and



OLD CHURCH OF COLLOONEY.*

Kilvarnet (pp. 93-97) ; second, the church of Cloonmucduff, near the old castle, at the confluence of the Uncion and Owenmore ; and, third, the church in the burying-place at Mr. Sim's, which, in pre-Reformation times, served as a chapel of ease to the parish church of Ballysadare, and which, after the Reformation, the Protestants of the village and neighbourhood made use of for their place of worship.

* Drawn on the wood by Mr. Wakeman, from a sketch by Mrs. Moore.

The Protestant church of St. Paul's was built in 1720, and was a plain oblong structure, with a tower to the west end, till it was committed for restoration in 1837 to Sir John Benson, who added transepts, re-roofed the building, and furnished the interior with a tastefully designed groined ceiling. Saint Paul's contains a beautiful group of statuary, executed by Gibson, as a



PROTESTANT CHURCH OF COLLOONEY.*

memorial for the late Mr. Cooper's first wife; as also a fine stained glass window, erected by the Misses Cooper in honour and memory of their worthy parents, who are themselves buried in the cemetery of the little Protestant church at Ballysadare.

The Methodist chapel or meeting-house, which is a substantial structure forty-six feet long and twenty-six wide, was built in

* Drawn by Mr. Wakeman, from a Photograph by Mr. Slater.

1861, on a site purchased in 1858, from the State, by the late Alderman Williams of Sligo, for his co-religionists.

Within the last few years a small religious body, called The Plymouth Brethren, or, sometimes, simply, The Brethren, has arisen in Collooney, and the members have their meeting or service in a private house at Rathrippon, near Collooney.

Under the Cromwellian regime there was hardly a single Catholic in Collooney, judging by the names of the inhabitants which have come down to us; and as prelacy was about as great an abomination as popery to the authorities of the period, Episcopal Protestants were probably as few in the neighbourhood as Catholics. The Independents appear to have had the district entirely to themselves; and the supreme Council of the Commonwealth took so special an interest in Collooney, that we find it doing for the little town what it did for few other places in Ireland, that is, appointing to it a minister, and endowing him very liberally. The following is the Order in Council, as it was discovered by the writer in the Record Office, Dublin, among the manuscript minutes of the Council:—

“Upon reading the petition of the inhabitants of the parish of Coolony, in the County of Sligo, praying that Mr. John Thomson be settled minister of the Gospel to exercise his gifts among them for the improvement of their knowledge in the mysteries of salvation, to the comfort of their souls, having already had sufficient experience of his abilities, gifts, and fitness in the work of the ministry, as also of his pious life and exemplary conversation, in his upright walking suitable to his calling. And upon consideration had thereof, and of the report of Doctor Edward Worth and Mr. Stephen Channock thereupon, to whom amongst others it was referred, whereby it appears that the said Mr. Thomson is very well fitted for the work of the ministry, and may prove more than ordinary serviceable in that work—it is therefore ordered that the said Mr. John Thomson be and he is hereby appointed to preach the gospel to the

parishioners of Cooloony, and for his pains and care therein to receive the yearly salary of one hundred pounds, to commence from the 25th of March last, and to continue until further order. Whereof the Clerk of the Council is to take notice, and to insert his name in the civil list to the end that the same may be paid him quarterly in course. And for so doing this shall be a warrant. Dated at Dublin Castle, the 20th May, 1656.

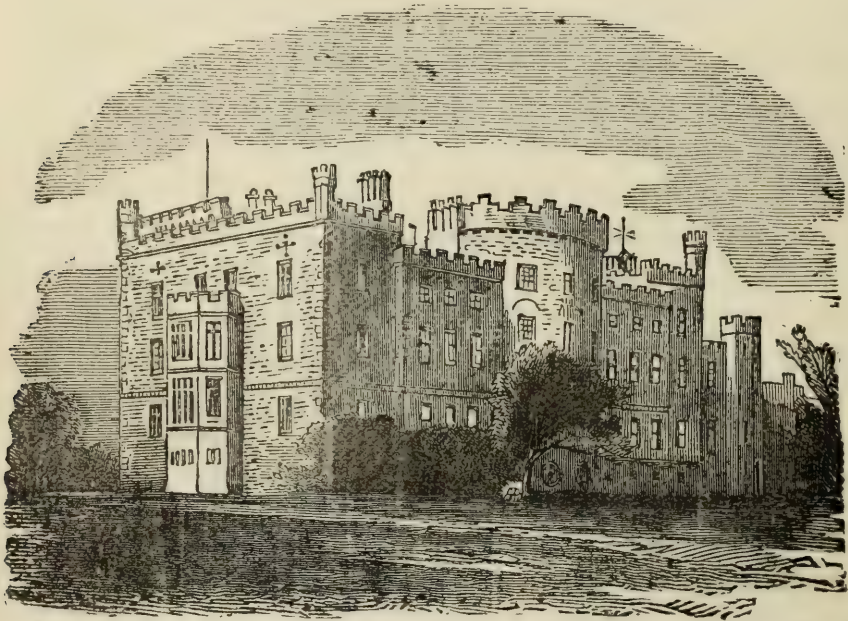
“THOMAS HERBERT,

“ *Clerk of the Council.*”

If there was nothing else to give interest and importance to Collooney, its magnificent mills, now in the possession of Madam Iccardi and her sister, Mrs. Sim, would alone suffice to do so. It is hardly going too far to say that there is nothing of the kind in Europe to surpass them in size, solidity, and excellence of machinery. A gentleman of great ability and exceptional experience in mills and factories of various kinds, having recently travelled through the countries of the Continent and examined their industrial and manufacturing establishments, declared, in passing through the county Sligo, that he had seen nothing in his travels which came up to the noble concerns of Collooney. The first of these structures was erected about 1838, by the late William Kelly, at a cost of £8000, and was then regarded as the largest and best mill in Ireland; and from this fact people will get an idea of the imposing character of the Collooney mills at present, when the mill in question is only one of a group of equally stately structures. So perfect and extensive is this establishment that it is capable of grinding as much meal and flour as would suffice for the consumption of several counties, and so spacious that it might serve, if need were, as a granary for the whole province of Connaught.

Recently Madam Iccardi and Mrs. Sim have leased the left bank of the river from Mr. Madden, and have erected there a woollen factory, which, it is hoped, will prove a financial success to the enterprising owners, and a centre of large employment to

the neighbourhood, which at present stands much in need of such a benefit. The concerns on both sides of the river are under the management of Mr. Alexander Sim,—which in itself is a pledge and guarantee of success; for this young gentleman has inherited all the energy, enterprise, and tact of his able uncle, and possesses in addition considerable engineering talents, which make him quite at home in the midst of machinery, and have enabled him already to introduce ingenious and valuable mechanical contrivances, of his own invention, for economizing manual labour.



MARKREA CASTLE.*

MARKREA demesne may be set down as the finest in the county. If we include Clonamucduff, the Deerpark, and Union, it must be three or four times as large as any of the others. The demesne proper, which is all rich land with an undulating surface, is well sheltered by a rim of high ground which

* Drawn on the wood by Mr. Wakeman, from a Photograph by Mr. Slater.

encircles it, and well watered by the Uncion river, which flows through it, and contributes not a little to its appearance and fertility.

The tract is well timbered; a deep belt of trees running all round it; groves and clumps scattered through it; and oaks, ashes, beeches, limes, elms, chestnuts, sycamores, and some whitethorns of unusual size and beauty, dotting it here and there, more especially near the garden, where there is also an arboretum well stocked with a collection of rare trees and shrubs. Colonel Cooper exhibits great taste and judgment as well as energy in planting. Within the last three years his forester has been planting at the rate of one hundred and seventy-five thousand trees a year; and in the ten previous years or so, he put down a million and a half in his various estates.

Markrea castle lends as much ornament to the demesne as it borrows from it. It is the oldest inhabited castle, or, indeed, residence of any kind in the county, having been founded by Cornet Cooper, in the middle of the seventeenth century, so that it appears as a castle on the Down Survey maps. While the other mansions of that period have disappeared altogether, or are a mere heap of ruins, Markrea castle, after undergoing a dozen additions, restorations, and transformations, is to-day incomparably more stately and commodious than it was when it first came from the builder's hands.

And as if it renewed its youth like the eagle, it looks fresher and more ornate than ever it did before, throwing all the new houses of the province into the shade, and well able to hold its own in comparison with any structure in the other provinces. Though the site was manifestly selected at first for strategic reasons, it commands some good prospects, more especially on the north side, where the views, from the upper windows, of the valley of the Uncion, of Union Rock, of Knocknarea and the more distant mountains are particularly striking.

The occupants of the castle, the Cooper family, like the castle itself, give one the idea of dignity and repose. Except Joshua Cooper, who incurred much odium by ordering a

Catholic soldier to be flogged for refusing to attend Protestant service, after the soldier had received orders to do so, the heads of the family managed generally to pass through life without running counter to popular sentiments or ideas. While they were, all through, Conservatives in politics, they exhibited little or no aggressiveness towards those who held different views. Hardly ever extremists, moderation and regard for the feelings and opinions of others, seem to have been the guiding principle of their public conduct ; and whoever sets himself to study the sectarian movements of the earlier years of the present century, and the later years of the preceding one, will find the Coopers "conspicuous by their absence" from such movements.

The greatest favourite with the poor, especially the poor Catholics of the neighbourhood, that the family has produced, was Edward Synge Cooper, the grandfather of the present owner of Markrea. Without, perhaps, the wealth of some other members of the family, or the talents of his own distinguished son, the late Edward Joshua Cooper, he touched the hearts of the people more than any other man of the county that bore the name of Cooper, or indeed any other name. This is not the less true, though he never inspired the general public with the interest and admiration felt for Edward Joshua, of whom a short, and, it is hoped, an appreciative memoir, may be found in the History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet (pp. 167-180), and of whom something more will be said when we come to speak of the "worthies" that the county has produced.

Several other members of the Anglo Irish gentry of the county, as well as of the Cooper family, have borne themselves in a way to gain the goodwill of their neighbours, but it may be doubted whether any one of them all ever secured the heart-felt love and confidence of the people, among whom he lived, to the same extent as the gentleman we speak of ; and while others may have owed much of such popularity as they enjoyed to winning manners and soft words, it was not Mr. Edward Synge Cooper's manners or words, but his solid benevolent acts

that drew all hearts to him. His predominant passion was to do good to all *without distinction of sect or party*.

Under the impulse of this noble feeling, he set his face against those sectarian societies, whether secret or open, which more, perhaps, than anything else, have served to estrange Irishmen from one another; and while others of his class often use two weights and two measures in their conduct, censuring such societies, if formed by those who differ from themselves, but excusing and patronising them if organised by their friends, this honest man condemned all secret confederacies alike, and held in the same abhorrence the Orangeman and the Ribbonman. In small things, as well as in great, his benevolence showed itself—in the sixpences and shillings he was in the habit of distributing, with his own hand, a couple of times a week, to scores of poor pensioners of his in Collooney, Tubberscanavin, and Ballysadare, as well as in the erection, at his exclusive, or nearly exclusive, cost (Vol. I., p. 402,)* of the Fever Hospital of Sligo, which is a more honourable memorial of him, than would be a mausoleum as gorgeous as that of the King of Caria.

While he relieved ordinary distress with his small pieces of silver, rendered always doubly valuable by the smile and kind word that accompanied the gift, he was ready to make any and every pecuniary sacrifice a crisis might call for; and in the terrible famine of 1822, when people were perishing on all sides of starvation and fever, he expended £150 a week on employment, remitted £200 in cash to the Sligo Relief Committee, paid out £100 in the purchase of seed potatoes, and distributed a weekly sum, which must have been considerable, in the parish of Ballysadare. (Vol. I., p. 404.)

More than half a century before the cathedral and town-hall clocks were erected, he had a magnificent town clock manufactured for Sligo; and it was only when the local authorities failed to agree among themselves, as to the place in which it should be put up, and got embroiled in contention over the

* See on this subject, Vol. I., pp. 402, 403, 404.

matter, he changed its destination, and had it set up in the tower of St. Paul's church, Collooney, where it has been since beneficially employed in regulating the daily duties of two generations of labourers and mechanics in that great business centre.

We must not omit to mention, in illustration of his principle of the "even keel" in dealing with Catholics and Protestants, that upon the vestry of Collooney having some repairs done in the Protestant church of the place, which, as was customary at the time, were effected largely at the expense of Catholics, Mr. Cooper, at his own cost, put up an expensive entrance gate before the Catholic chapel; and when the vestry on another occasion decided on paying the sexton of the Protestant church a substantial annual salary, he engaged to pay, and did pay while he lived, to the clerk or sexton of the Catholic chapel an annuity of like amount out of his own pocket. Such acts account for the place which Mr. Edward Synge Cooper has always held in the hearts of his Catholic neighbours.

The Markrea Observatory, founded by the late Mr. Edward Cooper in 1832, and described in the History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet (pages 170-1-2), is still in active and successful operation, under the liberal patronage of Colonel Cooper, its owner. To the distinguished astronomers formerly in charge—first, Mr. Graham, now Assistant Astronomer in the Observatory of Cambridge University, and, next, Dr. Doberck, Director at present of the great Government Observatory of Hong-Kong—has succeeded Mr. Albert Marth, F.R.A.S., an astronomer and meteorologist of the highest character, who, like his predecessors, is indefatigable in observing, calculating, recording, and interchanging communications with the leading scientific institutions of the world. Mr. Marth's papers hold a place second to none in the publications of the Royal Astronomical Society.

Great attention is paid to the meteorological department of the Markrea Observatory, which is worked in accordance with Government and international regulations. Observations are regularly forwarded to the Meteorological Office, London, and

to the Registrar-General, Dublin. It is pleasant to find Markrea Observatory thus maintaining the high character it bore in the past, when Sir William Wilde quoted it constantly as one of his chief authorities in his invaluable Table of Cosmical Phenomena, Epizootics, and Pestilences in Ireland, published in the Census of Ireland for the year 1851.

As he proceeds in the work, he gives under each separate year the rainfall of Sligo as recorded by the Markrea Observatory. He begins the record of 1833 with the remark, "The only rain registry we possess for the year 1833 is obtained from Mr. Cooper's Observatory at Markrea;" and between 1833 and 1851 he gives under the successive years the information brought together in the following list:—

Years.	Inches.	Number of days that it rained in the Year.	
1833	44·50	243	(exclusive of January, not recorded)
1834	36·50	241	
1835	37·40	268	
1836	41·39	283	
1837	40·29	265	
1838	30·99	250	
1839	35·93	261	
1840	30·77	242	
1841	35·54	235	
1842	33·24	235	
1843	35·96		
1844	33·63	232	
1845	40·37	246	
1846	37·55	263	
1847	37·17	278	
1848	41·22	287	
1849	37·63	289	
1850	37·12	274	
1851	40·25	289	

Under this year of 1851 Sir William thus describes a phenomenal shower that fell at Markrea:—"A very remarkable thunder shower was observed at Markrea Castle, county of Sligo, on the 30th of June this year. After the first flash of lightning a strong breeze arose, followed almost immediately

and instantaneously by a most extraordinary shower of rain with hail. In five minutes the road was a sheet of water. The quantity was so great that it penetrated through the ceilings of two stories of the house.

The shower lasted for fifteen minutes, and during this time there fell one and a half inch depth of rain!! This singular phenomenon moved in a direction nearly at right angles to the magnetic meridian from south-west towards north-east. This sudden fall of rain was at the rate of twelve feet per diem! "I think that this shower," observes Mr. Cooper, "may have enabled us to form some idea of the deluge, for had it lasted 40 days and nights! the depth of water would have been 480 feet! without the breaking up of the waters of the great deep!

"The heaviest fall of rain ever observed by Dr. Robinson in Armagh—a part of Ireland almost in the same latitude as Markrea—was eight-tenths of an inch in forty-five minutes. The observatory of Mr. Cooper was situated in the rainiest part of Ireland, which received currents from the Atlantic charged with moisture, and was surrounded with hills. The annual average fall of rain at Markrea was 42 inches, while at Armagh, a distance of seventy miles eastward, it was only 23 inches. The ranges of mountains intervening between these places accounted for the difference."

The following Table shows in inches the average monthly rainfall at Markrea—1833 to 1852:—

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total Year.
3·37	3·22	2·18	2·43	1·89	2·97	3·28	3·51	3·22	4·06	4·01	3·42	37·56

The average mean monthly Temperature at Markrea from 1842 to 1855 was as follows:—

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total Year.
39·0	39·6	41·9	46·6	51·4	56·8	54·9	57·9	54·2	47·6	42·4	40·6	47·8

The mean Temperature for each month of the year 1851 was:—

Jan.	Feb.	Mar.	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total Year.
39·4	41·2	42·3	45·3	50·1	55·7	56·6	58·7	55·1	49·8	41·8	42·2	48·2

It is gratifying to be able to credit the county Sligo with the distinction of possessing another astronomer of high promise, and, indeed, of high performance. This is Mr. E. Gore, M.R.I.A., F.R.A.S., Honorary Associate and Vice-President of the Liverpool Astronomical Society. While cultivating diligently the other departments of Astronomy, Mr. Gore devotes special attention to the Variable Stars, of which he has published two catalogues :—

1. A Catalogue of Suspected Variable Stars.

2. A Revised Catalogue of Variable Stars, with Notes and Observations.

Of those stars Mr. Gore has himself discovered a goodly number ; and his success is the more notable and creditable, his only instrument and appliance being, as he tells us, a binocular field glass.

The fertile district of CLOONAMAHON, as part of Tirerrill, was under the sway of the MacDonoghs down to the break-up of Celtic rule in the sixteenth century. Morish Caech McDonogh, who resided in Cloonamahon, was named chief of Tirerrill in 1595, by O'Donnell, and exercised authority as such till 1598, when he was slain at Ballinode, near Sligo, as he was carrying off a prey of cattle from Breffney O'Rorke, or Leitrim. With Cloonamahon, Morish Caech owned Markree, Ardcurly, Tubberscanavan, or Mullaghbrine Lisconny, Cartronreagh, Achulback (Coolbock), Knockroe, Knockenarrow, Kinaghan, and Rathgran, in Tirerrill, as well as some lands in Corran, all which were passed by royal grant, in the eighteenth year of James the First, to Francis Annesley, knight and baronet, being then in the gift of the King, as "parcel of the lands of Morish Keagh McDonogh McTeige Trowse, slain in rebellion."

O'Connor Sligo was absent, and in alliance with the English when O'Donnell, in 1595, took on himself to appoint chiefs through the county, but on Sir Donogh's return home, he gave the lands of Cloonamahon to a relative of Right Rev. Eugene O'Hart, the famous bishop of Achonry, in whose family they still remained in 1687, when they are recited, in the Partition

Deed of Lord William Strafford, Reverend John Leslie, and Thomas Wilson, as "the trine of Clonemaghanbeg and Clonemaghanmore, *alias* Clonemaghen, now, or late, in the possession of Charles Hart, paying thereout to His Majesty 10s. per annum." Charles Hart possessed at the same time the quarter of Cloonecurra in the same parish.

Of this property another Charles Hart and his brother, Right Reverend John Hart, Bishop of Achonry from 1735 to 1739, were deprived by a wretched man named Laurence Bettridge, whose iniquitous proceeding the reader will find detailed in *Ballysadare and Kilvarnet*. The bishop's memory is still kept alive and fresh in the minds of the people by a majestic ash tree, which he is said to have planted near his residence, and which was never more flourishing than at the present moment. Bettridge finding the neighbourhood too hot for him, on account of his robbery of the bishop and other unsavoury proceedings, sold the estate to Mr. Thomas Rutledge, who gave Cloonamahon, as a marriage portion, with his daughter, to Mr. Meredith, the ancestor of the actual owner.

Having recorded elsewhere the popular estimate of the Meredith family, and of their services to the neighbourhood of Cloonamahon, there is no occasion to enlarge on the subject here. It will be enough to observe, that while the members of this family have always performed with singular efficiency the duties of charity and humanity falling on them in an exceptionally poor neighbourhood, they, at the same time, invariably performed them with a friendliness of feeling and of proceeding peculiar to themselves. For this the people are duly grateful, so that at a time when, unfortunately, Irishmen in some other parts of Ireland are only too glad to be rid of their gentle-folk, and to speed their parting with a "*Bon voyage*," the good people in and round Cloonamahon, desire nothing so much as to see the Merediths back again, well and happy, in their beautiful Elizabethan mansion, which with all its beauties, has little attraction for the neighbours while its owners are away.

CARRICKBANAGHER, or CARRICKBANAGHAN—the rock of the peaks, or the rock of the O'Banaghans—is so-called either from the two peaks of Carane and Doonfin, prominent features in the townland, or from the family of the O'Banaghans who formerly occupied the tract. In Celtic times the place belonged to the McDonoghs. Under the Cromwellian regime, Morgan Farrell became its Titulado; and with the tenacity which formed the leading characteristic of the Usurpers, he held to it in spite of all the efforts made under Charles II. to dislodge him, and passed on his interest in it to his descendants. It was only in 1854 they parted with the property, selling it that year to the then Lord Mayor of Dublin, Fergus Farrell, one of the old Annaly or Longford stock like themselves, but of a different branch:

Under the fostering care of the Lord Mayor and his worthy son, Mr. Edward Farrell, B.L., Carrickbanagher and its inhabitants have greatly prospered. In 1878 the writer was able to praise, in *Ballysadare and Kilvarnet*, the landlord and tenants of Carrickbanaghan, as second in the performance of their respective duties to the landlord and tenants of no other estate in the county; and it is a striking fact, that the same praise is still due to one and the other, after the lapse of ten of the most eventful years through which the country has passed, more especially in regard to the owners and occupiers of land.

What is known of the Parish Priests and Protestant Rectors of this parish will be found, in considerable detail, in the History of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HALF BARONY OF COOLAVIN.

UNION OF GURTEEN.

COOLAVIN, though inferior in extent and value to the other baronial divisions of Sligo, enjoys the distinction of being the first spot in the county to which reference is made in the old annals of the country, as the Four Masters, under the year A.M. 2,532, among their earliest entries, record what they call the "eruption of Loch Techet," now Lough Gara, a lake that forms the most remarkable feature of the district. Coolavin, in ancient times, was called Greagraighe, though Greagraighe was more comprehensive, as it took in a considerable stretch of the county Roscommon.* Doctor Joyce† agrees with O'Donovan‡ in holding Coolavin—in Irish, Cuil O'bh Finn—to mean the angle, or corner, of the Finns, who were in the past, as they are at present, numerous and respectable in the locality.

When the O'Haras and O'Garas, who were originally one family, separated from one another, they divided between them their patrimony, which was co-extensive with the diocese of Achonry; the O'Haras taking the northern division, now known as the barony of Leyney, in Sligo, and the O'Garas the southern, which comprised the barony of Gallen and the lower half barony of Costello, in Mayo. The O'Garas were then

* Greagraighe, a territory comprising the present barony of Coolavin, in the county of Sligo, and a considerable portion of the north of the present county of Roscommon.—O'Donovan in Four Masters, under the year 811.

† Irish Names of Places; First Series, p. 118.

‡ Four Masters, under year 1436.

commonly styled Lords of Slieve Lugh,* as ruling over that mountainous territory, but being dispossessed by the Jordans, the Berminghams, the Cuisins, and more especially the Costellos, and driven into Coolavin, they became known, in later times, as Lords of Coolavin,† while the Costellos, who had themselves been ejected by the English authorities from Meath, where they were called De Nangle, usurped the O'Gara lands, and took, soon after, the name of MacCostello.

From 964, when Toichlech O'Gara was Lord of South Leyney, down to the middle of the last century, the family held a prominent place in Lower Connaught, its last leading members being, Most Reverend Brian O'Gara, who died Archbishop of Tuam in 1740, and most Reverend Michael O'Gara, who occupied the same see at his death in 1748. Omitting many other clerical members of the family, it may be well to mention Rev. Fergal O'Gara, who, in 1656, compiled in the Netherlands a collection of Irish poems, relating, for the most part, to subjects connected with Sligo. The collection still exists, and is in private hands in Dublin.‡

Irriel O'Gara, "chief of his name," is on the list of the inhabitants of Sligo, to whom James I. granted a "general pardon" in the first year of his reign. This Irriel's successor in Coolavin was his grandson Fergal O'Gara, to whose patronage of the Four Masters the world is indebted for their invaluable Annals. John O'Donovan is hard on the Four Masters for their praise of "the Trinity College educated Farrel O'Gara," but adduces nothing to justify his censure, except the Trinity College education for which O'Gara may have been little accountable, having been left without a guide, or guardian, by

* Four Masters, 1227, 1256, 1257.

† Four Masters, 1461, 1469, 1537.

‡ This collection still exists, and some Sligo man should have a copy made with, if possible, translations, and have it deposited in the Town Hall of Sligo. Among the poems are, "A genealogical poem on the O'Haras," by Teige Dal O'Higgins; another poem by the same author, consisting of 152 verses, and addressed to Cathal Oge O'Connor; and many more of local interest.

his grandfather's death, his father, Teige O'Gara, being previously dead. In these circumstances the King granted the wardship of the minor to Sir Theobald Dillon, who soon sent him to Trinity College, in which establishment all minors were brought up Protestants. Had Farrel O'Gara been himself to blame in this, or, if to blame, had he not redeemed his fault, the zealous lay brother Michael O'Clery, who was quite as good a Catholic as O'Donovan, would never have said to O'Gara, as he does in the Dedication of the Four Masters, "I, Michael O'Clery, was well acquainted with your *zeal for the glory of God.*" According to the Survey of 1633, etc., Farrel O'Gara in his day possessed all Coolavin except Coillemore, which belonged to Mr. Dodwell, and Knocknaskeagh, which was the "inheritance of O'Connor Sligo;" and if he did not pass on this fine estate to his descendants, it was precisely because, when the occasion called for it, he sacrificed all to his religion and country—a sacrifice which should have saved him from the sneer of O'Donovan.

The next O'Gara calling for notice is Colonel Oliver, who took an active and influential part on the side of King James in the conflict between that monarch and the Prince of Orange, and fought with great distinction at Sligo, at the Boyne, at Athlone, at Aughrim, and at Limerick. Story's History states that Colonel Oliver O'Gara fell at Athlone; but this is an error, for he not only survived the unfortunate affair of Athlone, but, after having been in the thick of all the subsequent transactions, diplomatic and military, of the campaign, he passed with his regiment when all was over in Ireland to France, where he lived and died universally respected. The year of his death is not known, but we find him in 1706 acting as military governor of Montesa in Spain.* Colonel O'Gara had four sons, all of whom were well provided for on the Continent, the fourth being born in France, and baptized at

* O'Callaghan's History of the Irish Brigades in the Service of France, page 242.

St. Germain's under the name of Charles, on which occasion James II. served as sponsor, and signed the baptismal registrar as "Jacques Roi."* This Charles died in 1776 full of riches and honours as well as of years, after having been, under the Emperor of Germany, Imperial Counsellor of State and Chamberlain, Grand Master of the Household to the Princess, the Emperor's sister, and Knight of the Golden Fleece.†

Under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation nearly all Coolavin was granted to John Lord Kingston and Bryan Magrath. Between the Restoration and the Revolution Colonel Irriel O'Farrel possessed large scopes of land in Coolavin as a lessee, apparently, of Magrath; but whatever interest the O'Farrells had was forfeited by the part Irriel took on the side of James II.‡

Though the distinguished family of the MacDermots have resided, for the most part, at Coolavin since the confiscation of their hereditary possessions in the seventeenth century, and had a small estate in fee there in 1616, as is stated in an inquisition taken that year at Rosslee, their history, as Connaught chiefs, belongs to the county Roscommon. From Dermot, who died in 1159, to Charles MacDermot, who died about the middle of the seventeenth century, they ruled in that county over a territory so extensive that the names of the townlands in the

* Ibid., p. 88.

† Ibid.

‡ To Lord Kingston was granted Clonecunny, Lumcloune, Tonemucklagh, Carrowreagh, Fallin, Monasteredan, Cappenagh, Annaghnarrow, Carrowlassan, Moygarrow, Liscornagh, or Killscornagh; Cloonesallagh, Coylestrackland, Clonehalasse *alias* Gortnegory; Molloroe, Clontecarne, Meaghana, and the woods of Cullaghbeg, Cullaghmore, Carrowbrackane, Skehane Rey, or Key; and Doneorerance. To Bryan Magrath were granted part of Monasteredan, part of Tonemucklagh, Rosmader, Cloonaleaghin, Knocknashamer, Knocknehow, Carrowhill, Annaghmore, Downe, Carrownetoler, Carrownea, Sheeroghin, or Sheephin.—Abstract of Grants under Acts of Settlement and Explanation in Public Records Reports.

O'Ferral possessed Annaghmore, Annaghbeg, Carrowkill, Carrowmore, Carrowtubber, Clunlucher, Dromakillfree, Knocknahow, Knockneshamer, Monasteredan, and Rathmadder.

patent of the re-grant by James I. in 1618 to Brian MacDermot covers, as John D'Alton states, sixteen skins of parchment;* while during all this time they occupied a position, as chiefs of Moylurg, second to none in the province—making often and unmaking kings of Connaught at their pleasure,† exercising always a powerful and, generally, a decisive influence on the deliberations and the acts of neighbouring chiefs, and furnishing the Church with so many bishops and priests that they have an incontestable right to be counted the leading ecclesiastical family of Connaught. Though they have courted privacy since they settled in Coolavin, such of them as came before the public have exhibited the high moral, intellectual, and patriotic qualities of their ancestors. Myles M'Dermott, who died in 1793, was respected throughout Ireland for his own sake and the sake of his family. Of him the *Anthologia Hibernica*, in its number for January, 1793, says:—“Died on the 7th January, at Coolavin, Co. Sligo, Myles MacDermott, Esq., commonly called the Prince of Coolavin, a gentleman whose extensive information, easy manners, and hospitable turn of mind proved his noble descent, and endeared him to a numerous and respectable acquaintance, who now sincerely deplore his loss.”

His son, Dr. Hugh M'Dermott, was universally respected, and was described by those who knew him best as an “inflexible patriot,” and “the source of liberality and knowledge.”‡ Much against his will he was mixed up in the controversy that took place between Rev. Dr. O'Connor and the historian, Mr. Francis Plowden; and in letters of his on this occasion written in 1801 and 1802, some from Coolavin and some from Booterstown, he proves himself a man of talent and culture as well as of conscience and honour. At the great Catholic Con-

* King James' Army List.

† Annals of the Four Masters.

‡ An Historical Letter to Rev. Charles O'Connor, D.D., from Francis Plowden, Esq., p. 10.

vention of 1792-1793, Dr. Hugh MacDermot was the first of the six delegates elected to represent the county Sligo, the others being J. Everard, Patrick Mullarky, John MacDonogh, Charles O'Connor, and James Aylward. John Dunn was delegate for the town of Sligo.

Dr. MacDermot's son, the late Mr. Charles MacDermot of Coolavin, confined himself in general to the quiet duties of a country gentleman, though possessing talents that fitted him for public life, more especially a natural eloquence which elicited more than once high eulogium from O'Connell. On the occasion of Lord Mulgrave's famous Tour in 1836, Mr. MacDermot took a prominent part in honouring his lordship, and composed some of the addresses presented to him in this neighbourhood; and in 1843 he occupied the chair at the complimentary dinner given to O'Connell by the inhabitants of the county, when he divided with the Liberator himself the admiration and respect of the people.

The present head of the family, The MacDermot, is, as every one knows, conspicuous among the foremost members of the bar for ability and integrity. Ex-Solicitor-General, and the first figure in the various *causes celebres* of the day, he has already passed through all the high positions hitherto open to him, and passed through them with equal advantage to the people and the State; and one need be no prophet to tell that he is sure, before long, to reach the highest place in his great profession, and, having reached it, to fill it with his accustomed exceptional efficiency and dignity.

Coolavin comprises the two parishes of Killfree and Killaraght, which now form the parochial union of Gurteen. Killfree is the head of the union, and in old official documents, is sometimes given with the *aliases* of Ardfrie and Coolavin, as, for instance, in the Patent Roll of James I. (page 564), where we read:—"Presentation of the Reverend Erasmus Matthews to the Rectory of Ardfrie, *alias* Killfree, *alias* Collevin, diocese of Ardconry, now vacant, and in the King's gift." In the Survey of 1633, the parish has the *alias* of Clonahiglish, while the spot

on which the church stands, is described as "Killfree, alias Carrowentemple, one quarter; where old church of Killfroy standeth, one hundred and thirty-nine acres, and a great part of greasable mount belonging to same, four hundred acres unprofitable, and one hundred and thirty-nine profitable." The church of Killfree is entered in the Taxation of 1307 as Kelnafrych, that is, the Church of the Heath, being so-called from the heathery site on which it was erected. Some remains of the church are still standing, and near them a well called *Tober-naneeve*—Well of the Saints—which is supposed to be the source of the Owenmore river. Round the ruin is a graveyard, which is much used, and contains the graves of the Costellos.

Knockmore, in the townland of Mount Irwin, contains the ruins of a church, which belonged to a Carmelite monastery, as appears from an inquisition held before Richard Boyle, at Ballymote, on the 12th January, 1793, where it is styled—"Cella dissoluta fratrum nigrorum vocat Carmelyte Fryars," a dissolved cell of the Black Brothers, called Carmelyte Friars. After a time it fell into the hands of Richard Boyle himself, who, even in official dealings, was notorious for minding number one, and who, by this means, blossomed in due time into the Great Earl of Cork, probably the wealthiest and most powerful man in Ireland in his day. In the Crown Rental of 1692, "Earl Corke" is entered as tenant of the "College, or Friars' House of Knockmore."

In the Survey of 1632, all the townlands of Killfree are given as the inheritance of Farrell O'Gara, the son of Thady, and the grandson of Irriell O'Gara, except Collemore, the inheritance of Rev. Mr. Dodwell; and Knocknaskeagh, the inheritance of O'Connor Sligo, and part of Lady Cressy's dowry. Under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, John, Lord Kingston, was granted, on the 9th of January, 1667, nearly all Coolavin, a good part of which was passed by him, soon after, to Dominick French, the ancestor of Lord de Freyne, as assignee.

The castle of Moygara, in which the head of the O'Gara family resided, was a spacious and strong structure of 185 feet

square, though not, perhaps, as solidly built as the neighbouring castle of Ballymote. The remains are still in fair preservation, and show six square battlemented towers, one at each angle of the square, with one in the centre of the west wall, twenty-five feet square, and forty feet high, and another in the centre of the east. The curtains, which are recessed eleven feet from the face of the towers, stand fifteen feet high, and four thick, and are loopholed all through for the use of fire-arms. It was, no doubt, through one of those opens the shot was fired which killed Nial Garve, the son of Manus O'Donnell, in 1538. Having taken the castle of Sligo, and ravaged Moylurg, Manus took the castle of Moygara as he was returning home, but the capture cost him dear, for, as his people were approaching the walls of the fortress, a ball from the interior laid his son dead at his feet. The occurrence exasperated his followers, who clamoured for the life of the man that had fired the fatal shot, but Manus, with a generosity quite in keeping with his chivalrous character, took this obnoxious person under his special protection, and saved him from the fate that threatened him.* In 1581 the castle was the scene of a still greater tragedy, for in that year a body of mercenary Scots, in the service and pay of Captain Malby, Governor of Connaught, burned the building, so that, to use the words of the Annals of Loch Ce, "Diarmaid Og, son of Cian O'Gara, was put to death there, and Teige, the son of Rory, *et alii multi*."†

This fine ruin is not cared as it should be, and is, consequently, crumbling away fast. Portions of the bold central tower of the west wall have been pulled down, obviously for stones to block up the chief entrance, and thus to secure the court-yard for cattle; and it is little to the credit of people, living on the spot, to find, in piles of rubbish, fragments of elaborately carved stones, which bore the arms and motto of the

* The person, however, who had done this act, was pardoned by O'Donnell, who sent him away under his protection.—Four Masters, A.D. 1358.

† Annals of Loch Ce, A.D. 1581.

O'Garas, but which were broken into pieces by the rough handling they received when hurled down on the ground from their place in the tower.

It may be mentioned, that in the south-eastern tower is a sycamore tree, which the country people tell, is the shoot of another on which the O'Garas used to hang malefactors. The north-western tower is popularly known in the neighbourhood as *Teach na calliagh dhu*—the house of the nun—probably from some *religieuse* of the family inhabiting it when her convent elsewhere was broken up.

The saint from whom the parish of KILLARAGHT has its name, is generally called ATTRACTA, though she sometimes appears as Taracta in foreign martyrologies.

Except the Annotations of Tirechan, and Colgan's Vita Tripartita of Saint Patrick, which inform us, that our national Apostle erected a church for the saint, and gave her the veil, the only authority we have on her life and acts, is Augustine Magraidin, an Augustinian canon of the Island of Saints in the river Shannon, who wrote the imperfect life which Colgan publishes in the *Acta Sanctorum*, under the 9th of February. Magraidin died as late as the year 1405, so that the saint's biography must date from the opening years of the fifteenth century, or the closing years of the fourteenth, and cannot, therefore, be accepted as perfectly trustworthy on the subject. Living so long after the time of the saint, he had to rely on the stories that were current about him at the time, some of which were probably "pious opinions," others exaggerations or distortions of actual facts, and not a few, it is to be feared, inventions pure and simple. Any historian, confined to such sources of information, would fall into mistakes, but Augustine Magraidin was particularly liable to blunder, being one of the most uncritical and credulous of writers. One of his statements Colgan characterises in the margin as "*insulsa narratio*"—an absurd story—and one could hardly be called uncharitable for applying the same description to various other passages of his writings.

Few Irish saints have left after them such vivid traditions, and so many lasting memorials as *Attracta*; for to this day her life forms much of the folk-lore of the people of *Coolavin*; while the names of places, and other objects, such as *Killaraght* (the church of *Attracta*) in *Coolavin*; *Kiilaraght* in the parish of *Kilmacteige*; * *Killaraght*, near *Bal*, in the diocese of *Tuam*; † *Toberaraght* (the well of *Attracta*), in the parish of *Killaraght*; *Toberaraght*, in the parish of *Kilturra*; *Toberaraght*, near *Tubbercurry*, in the parish of *Achonry*; *Toberaraght*, in the parish of *Drumrat*; *Toberaraght*, in the parish of *Kilbeagh*; *Cloghan Araght*, in *Lough Gara*; and the Christian name of *Attracta*, or *Atty*, so prevalent throughout the diocese of *Achonry*, are memorials which will transmit the name to future times, as they have preserved it undimmed up to the present.

With her mark thus clearly and extensively impressed on the face of the country, it is not a little disappointing that we know not for certain the exact time at which she lived, nor the family or part of the country to which she belonged originally. If we could put faith in a statement of the old life given by *Colgan*,‡ we should find little difficulty in fixing the date, as the author of that composition asserts, that she was a contemporary of *Saint Patrick*,§ and that she received the veil of religion from his hands; but as the same writer makes her contemporary with *Saint Nathy*, who lived in the sixth century, and with *Keannfaelaid*, King of *Connaught*, who reigned in the seventh century; it is clear we cannot trust, on a point of chronology, an author who falls into such errors and contradictions in the dates of important events. In the absence of other

* *In quo loco Virginis honore fabricata est ecclesia.*—*Acta Sanctorum*, page 279.

† *Est quædam capella hujus nuncupationis in parochia de Balla diocesis Tuamensis.*—*Idem*, page 281.

‡ *Colgan* himself has little faith in the author of this life, whom he describes as "*Nec stylo nec fide in rebus gestis sincere referendis multum commendandus.*"—*Idem*.

§ *Acta Sanct.*, page 279.

proof, some would incline to the opinion of the learned Dr. Lanigan, that the saint lived late in the sixth, and during some part of the seventh century.*

A passage, however, in the Annotations of Tirechan, in the Book of Armagh, supplies a strong, if not a conclusive, proof in support of the earlier date, which is also sanctioned by the proper lessons of her office. Dr. Lanigan and those who think with him, never saw the passage of Tirechan. It is not found in the extracts from the Book of Armagh, published by Usher in the *De Brittanicarum Ecclesiarum Primordiis*, or in Sir James Ware's *Opuscula S. Patricio adscripta*, or in Sir William Betham's *Irish Antiquarian Researches*, or in any other publication that had seen the light in the Doctor's day. The two folios of the Book of Armagh to which the passage belong are so faded and blurred, that no one could make anything of them, till they were taken in hand by our Irish Bollandist, Father Hogan, S.J., who, by dint of labour and superior skill, has succeeded in deciphering most of their contents, the following lines, which concern Saint Attracta, being satisfactorily made out:—

“ Et perrexit ad tractum *Gregirgi*, et fundavit aeclesiam in *Drum-[m]ae*, et fontem fodivit in eo [loco et aqua non] exflu[it] in se et de se, [sed] plenus semper et perennis est. Et aeclessiam posuit in cella *Adrochtae* [filiae Tal]ain, et ipsa accepit pallium de manu Patricii.”—*Documenta de S. Patricio*, p. 76.

This passage is clear as to *Adrochta*, or *Attracta*, receiving the veil from St Patrick; and bearing in mind that the Book of Armagh contains the oldest account of Saint Patrick that we possess, and that, according to Dr. Petrie and other weighty authorities, the seven Lives of Colgan are, substantially, only so many expansions and variations of that account, we are bound to admit, as literal fact, those relations of Saint Patrick with

* Ecclesiastical History of Ireland; Vol. III., page 39.

Saint Attracta, which the Book of Armagh unequivocally reports.

There is a similar uncertainty as to her family and birth-place, the more common opinion being, that she was of Ulster birth and parentage, and of the line of Ir, though statements on this head are so contradictory, as to be worth nothing. Those who hold this opinion give out that, when grown up, she fled from Ulster to Connaught, in order to devote herself to the religious life, which she could not do, had she remained in her own country, as her parents were bent on giving her away in marriage. If we are to rely on the account contained in the life already referred to, she made this journey in the company of two attendants, a maid named Mitain, and a man-servant called Mochain,* but circumstantial as this statement is, it does not appear to rest on any old authority, so that it need not hinder one from having a doubt of her Ulster origin; and the doubt becomes the more reasonable, when we learn from McFirbis's Hy Fiachrach,† that Mochain, her alleged companion from the north, belonged to a Tireragh, and not to an Ulster family. This fact would point to the diocese of Killala, or the part of Achonry that adjoins it, as her birth-place; and a phrase in Colgan's Life—"de Boreis partibus"—relied on as a proof of her northern origin, would still have a good meaning, as Tireragh and the adjoining tract of Achonry are considerably to the north of Killaraght, and are included in what was formerly known as North Connaught,‡ and sometimes simply as the North. And this conjecture, as to the place of her birth, derives some strength from the fact, that she always evinced exceptional interest in the affairs and the inhabitants of Leyney

* Fines advenit Connaciæ, duorum tantum comitatu, ancillæ videlicet nomine Mitain, et serventis videlicet Mochain.—Acta Sanct., page 278.

† "From Cuboirne, son of Eochy Breac, are descended Muinter Mochain or Cill Atharacht, *i.e.*, the Keepers of the Cross of Cill Atteracht."—Tribes of Hy-Fiachrach, p. 41.

‡ In the Annals of Lecan, under the year 983, Aodh O'Dowda is mentioned as King of North Connaught.—Ibid., p. 301.

and Killala, and presided on one occasion at a meeting which had for object to perpetuate friendship and alliance between the descendants of Awley—the people of Tireragh, and the descendants of Kien—the people of Leyney.*

Whatever room for doubt there may be with regard to her parentage and native place there can be none as to her characteristic virtue. It was that love of the neighbour which is the fulfilment of the law; and the moment she reached a place of safety, and was free to act, she devoted herself to the practice of this beneficent virtue. Soon after her arrival in the neighbourhood of Boyle, she desired to fix herself near Drumconnel—now commonly called Drum—where, it is said, her uterine brother, Conal, had a church; but Conal regarding this intended settlement as a kind of encroachment on his own religious house, got St. Dachonna, of Eas Dachonna, now Assylin, to dissuade Attracta from the project, which that saint succeeded in doing, but not before she told him that his church and that of Conal would soon suffer great loss of revenue from the erection of a new monastery between them. Colgan erroneously places those churches of Dachonna and Conal, as well as the new monastery, in the county Galway, and tries hard to make good his contention; but had he better knowledge of the county Roscommon he would have seen that St. Conal's church was the church of Drumconnel, to the south of Boyle; St. Dachonna's church, that of the place now called Assylin, to the north of Boyle, anciently called Eas Dachonna; and the new monastery, the Cistercian abbey of Boyle, whose site lies exactly between these two churches.

It was after this, Attracta chose for her abode Greagraighe, for so Coolavin was then called, the name still surviving somewhat in the denominations of Greggans and Gregaduf. The spot which she selected was a great thoroughfare at the time, and she selected it precisely because it afforded most scope for her comprehensive charity.† In the times she lived, travel-

* *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 753 in *Vita S. Cormaci*.

† This, the author of her *Life* expresses, by saying she would not place her establishment anywhere except where seven roads met.

ling was dangerous and painful beyond anything we can now conceive. There being no roads in the present sense of the word, no inns or other places of entertainment, no way in general of moving from one point to another except on foot, and that through places often beset by robbers and rabid wild boars and wolves, the greatest boon that could be conferred on such society as existed, was to provide retreats in which the weary and hungry traveller might have lodging and refreshment, both, too, given without charge, and purely from the love of God. Such hospitality, or *philoxenia*, as the Greeks called it, has been always and everywhere held in the highest honour, and is inculcated almost as strongly in Homer* as in St. Paul.†

In the interests of this work of mercy the Catholic Church has organized hundreds of religious Orders, such as the *Freres Hospitaliers* and the *Sœurs Hospitalieres*; and it is greatly to the honour of St. Attracta that she seems to have been the first in this country, and one of the first in the universal Church,‡ to organize an institution for the practice of this great religious and social virtue; for such was the nature of the so-called Hospital which she established at Killaraght, and which existed, apparently, in operation down to the Reformation, when it was suppressed, and its possessions granted to Sir John King, whose descendant, Lord Kingston, is entered in the Quit and Crown Rents Book of 1692, as "Tenant of the Hospital, or Religious House called Termon Killeraght."

Without going into detail it will be well to notice some occurrences, or alleged occurrences, in the life of Saint Attracta, while dwelling at Killaraght. At the time her fame first spread abroad, it happened that the portion of Leyney adjoining The Gap, in the parish of Kilmacteige, was preyed on by a wild beast, the circumstance creating a panic among the inhabitants. To tran-

* *Pros gar Dios eisin apantes xeinon te ptokoi te.*—*Odyssey*, xiv., 57-58.

† "And hospitality do not forget, for by this some, being not aware of it, have entertained angels."—*Hebrews* xiii. 2.

‡ St. Jerome and St. Paula, about the beginning of the 5th century, established a similar hospital in Bethlehem for pilgrims to the Holy Land.

quillize his people, the chief of Leyney, who was, probably, as ignorant and as full of fear as themselves, requested the help of the saint, who, if we are to trust the Life in Colgan, repaired to the spot, and killed the beast with her own hand—the truth, perhaps, being that she re-assured the panic-stricken, and inspired them with courage to attack and destroy their mysterious enemy, which, instead of being the nondescript monster, half dragon and half bear, which their imagination pictured, was only one or more of the wild boars or wolves that then infested the country.

If we find it hard to understand how the writer of the Life, who seems to have been Augustine Magraidin, of the Island of All Saints in Loughree, could believe in the existence of such a monster, we should call to mind that Cæsar, the most cool-headed of men, tells us* that there was, in the Hercynian forest, a stag with a single horn in its front, which after a time branches out like a palm tree; and that Pliny, in his Natural History,† edifies us with accounts of dragons, basilisks, and the serpent's egg.

They must have had an idea in England that those *bestiæ* were rather common in Ireland; for we find Geoffry of Monmouth, in his *Historia Britonum*, narrating that one of them, appearing on the British coasts, swallowed up a number of Britons, including *Morvidus* their king:—"Advenerat namque ex partibus Hibernici maris inauditæ feritatis bellua, quæ incolas maritimos sine intermissione devorabat. Cumque fama aures regis Morvidi attigisset, accessit ipse ad illam, et solus cum sola congressus est. At cum omnia tela sua in illam in vanum consumpsisset acceleravit monstrum illud, et apertis faucibus ipsum velut pisciculum devoravit."—*Hist. Brit.*, pag. 51.

Soon after this she conferred a still greater benefit on her

* Commentaries—De Bell. Gall., vi. 16.

† Nat. Hist., xvi. 95.

beloved Leyney. The King of Connaught, in one of the raids common at the time, carried away hostages from this territory, and lodged them in one of his strong places. To rescue them the Chief of Leyney despatched some forces, who broke open the prison and liberated their friends; but the King of Connaught, assembling suddenly his troops, and coming up with the Leyney men at Killaraght, surrounded them on the land side, so that there was no room for escape except by the lake, which seemed impassable. In this extremity they had recourse to Saint Attracta, who lived on the margin of the lake; and the saint extricated them from their dangerous situation by opening for them—as some think—a passage through the waters of Lough Gara, like that opened by Moses for the Israelites through the Red Sea, but, more probably, by pointing out some shallow or ford, with which her local knowledge made her acquainted, and over which they made their way to the northern side of this great sheet of water.*

The writer in Colgan mentions another remarkable transaction in which she was engaged, and which throws light on her times, or rather on the time in which the Life was written. Desiring to outshine contemporary chiefs, Keanfaelaid, the Prince of the territory, engaged in the erection of a sumptuous palace, and ordered his subjects, both lay and religious, to bring in their quota of timber for the work. To this unjust order Attracta demurred, claiming exemption in virtue of the principle of ecclesiastical immunity; but the savage chief, caring little for immunities or rights, insisted on compliance with his order. There being no alternative the saint repaired to the neighbouring forest in company, the Life says, with St. Nathy, of Achonry, and had the timber felled; but at a time when there were no carts or similar conveyances, it was one thing to cut down the timber, and quite another to remove it from the forest to where it was wanted; and so formidable did this part of the

* Between the upper and lower portions of the lake there is a neck of land over which they may have passed.

task laid on her appear to her biographer, that, deeming it too difficult to be effected by human means, he represents the saint as recurring to miracles, and most extraordinary miracles too, for its accomplishment.*

This constant recourse to miracle deprives the Life of much of its historical value. Instead of relating the facts of the saint's career; instead of setting her before us as she lived and laboured, the writer at every turn introduces prodigies, so that miracles are the beginning, the middle, and the end of what he tells us about her. But this extravagance should not alter our estimate of the saint, or affect that admiration of, and reverence for, her character, which everybody must feel that ponders on her life of self-sacrifice and single-minded devotion to the welfare, temporal and spiritual, of the neighbour. It was this life that sanctified her, long before Augustine Magraidin put pen to paper, and sanctified her not only in the eyes of the people of Achonry, but of the rest of the country as well. Of the respect in which she was held in places distant from her hospital, we have a proof in the Life of St. Berach. We are there told that this saint had a dispute with a "magus" about a piece of land—generally at the bottom of all Irish disputes—and that the dispute, after having been left to the decision of a King of Scotland, was referred by him to the arbitration of two Irish chiefs, Hugh, Chief of Breffny, and Hugh, Chief of Annaly, in Longford; but the arbitrators, knowing that the case to be decided had already stirred up wide-spread ill-feeling, refused to pronounce their decision till it had received the concurrence of St. Attracta, feeling that her approval would justify it in the eyes of every one, as in the event it did.

It will not be out of place here to mention that a relic, called the Cross of St. Attracta, was formerly well known in the diocese of Achrony. Its legendary origin is given in Colgan;†

* Acta Sanct., p. 280, cap. xiii.

† Acta Sanct., p. 279.

and we learn from M'Firbis's Hy-Fiachrach* that the O'Mochains were its keepers. It is likely that this object was carried by members of that family, on set occasions, to certain centres of devotion to the saint, such as her well at Clogher, and her well at Glenawo, near the Gap; and the writer cannot help thinking that the place called Cross in the townland of Clogher, and the place in the parish of Kilmacteige called Cross, with the prefix in modern times of Mullany's, making the full name now Mullany's-Cross, derive those names which have hitherto puzzled inquirers into their origin, not, as some think, from the cross-roads that lie at present near these spots, but from association with the Cross of St. Attracta.

Owing to the calamities of the times, the festival of Saint Attracta was uncelebrated from the Reformation down to the year 1864, when the Pope, after satisfying himself of her claims to a place in the calendar of saints, authorised, by an Indult of the 28th July of that year, her Mass and Office to be again celebrated in Ireland. For this renewal of ecclesiastical honours to the saint, religion is chiefly indebted to the late Right Rev. Dr. Durcan and the late Very Rev. Daniel Jones, who introduced and pressed the case at Rome—both those saintly men having grown up in sentiments of the tenderest devotion to Attracta, being, one and the other, inhabitants of Kilmacteige, where wells and ruins, and half the traditions of the parish are associated with her name and history. And Father Jones had, besides, a weighty reason of his own for his zealous intervention, for he ascribed to the prayers of the saint the conversion, some generations back, of an ancestor, and, through that ancestor, of the Jones family to Catholicity under, to say the least, very extraordinary circumstances.†

* From Cuboirne are descended Muintir Mochain, of Cill Athracht, *i.e.*, the Keepers of the Cross of St. Athracht.—Page 41. O'Donovan adds in a note that “he has not been able to determine whether Attracta's Cross is still in existence.”

† They are detailed in the admirable Life of Mary Aikenhead by T. A. Page 417.

The ancestor, referred to, hearing that the priest of the parish intended to denounce on a certain Sunday a scandal-giver who lived on the Banada estate, threatened publicly to attend the chapel on the day in question, and to horsewhip the priest on the altar in case the denunciation occurred. Nothing daunted by the presence of the owner of Banada, who, in accomplishment of his threat, came to the chapel and took up a conspicuous position near the altar, the priest warned his flock solemnly against the evil example, and the evil doer, in their midst; and next moment Mr. Jones, white with rage, rushed up to the altar, and, amid the cries of the excited congregation to St. Attracta for help, had already raised his arm to strike, when suddenly the whip dropped from his hand, and the hand itself fell paralysed down his side. The whole transaction, but more especially the startling paralysis of Mr. Jones, filled those present with awe, and above all Mr. Jones himself, who, regarding the protection of the priest and his own affliction as the work of God, and as a witness in favour of the Catholic religion, became, after some days' fervent preparation for the change, a member of the Catholic Church.*

If Father Daniel Jones felt grateful to St. Attracta for the part he believed her to have had in bringing about this important result, the good father, with the gratitude which is a characteristic virtue of every member of his family, never rested till he had requited the favour by his zealous and effective co-operation in restoring to her the honours of the Liturgy. And

* One would think that Longfellow had this occurrence before his mind when he described in his *Miracle Play*, and its *Stage Directions*, the words and acts of the Rabbi Ben Israel, who would strike the Infant Redeemer in the village school:—

“Come hither, boy, to me.
As surely as the letter Jod
Once cried aloud, and spake to God,
So surely shalt thou feel this rod
And punished shalt thou be !

“Here Rabbi Ben Israel shall lift up his rod to strike Jesus, and his right arm shall be paralysed.”

there were few things in his career which afforded him so much gratification in after life as the share he had in this good work. It was the same with Dr. Durcan ; for full as was his episcopate of great and holy undertakings happily accomplished, there was none of them all he loved so much to think on as the re-establishment of the feast of St. Attracta.*

* The following are the Prayer and proper Lessons of the Office for the feast of Saint Attracta. They were drawn up by Cardinal Moran ; and Achonry men will feel the greater interest in his Eminence for his part in honouring an Achonry saint :—

PRAYER.

Deus humilium fortitudo, qui ad promovendam inter Paganos fidem, beatam Attractam Virginem tuam verbis et miraculis potentem effecisti, præsta ut cujus patrocinio juvamus in terris, ejus societatem consequamur in cœlis. Per Dominum, etc.

FIRST LESSON OF SECOND NOCTURN.

Hibernia, Sanctorum insula divina virtute fecundata, vix orto fidei sole, innumera germina sanctitatis protulit. Imprimis vero castitatis liliis exornata est, unde et illustre Apostoli sui elogium promeruit. Quomodo, inquit, tota insula plebs Domini effecta est, et filii ejus et filiæ Monachi et virgines Christi esse videntur, et jam recenseri vix potest eorum numerus, quæ impropria parentum ac persecutiones hilari animo sustinentes totas se religioni et Christo voverunt. Inter quas Patritii alumnae se Virginum choro adjunxit Sancta Attracta, quæ in Ultonia nobili genere nata est sed a prima ætate pompas ac divitias respuens sæculo renuntiavit, et vanitates hujus mundi nihil esse duxit ut Christi sponsa esse mereretur.

SECOND LESSON OF SECOND NOCTURN.

Nondum adulta nobile certamen adversus Satanam ejusque illecebras inivit et votum castitatis emisit. Ut autem divinis rebus liberius vacaret natale solum deserens fines Connaciæ petiit, ibique orationibus et jejuniis vacans tota in pietatis exercitia et virtutis studium incubuit. Hospitalitatis quoque gratia enituit et seipsum suasque opes in sublevandis indigentium miseriis alacriter impendit. Pauperes et agrotos undequaque accedentes Christi charitate amplexa est et eosdem tum terrena ope sublevavit tum veræ fidei thesauris divites effecit. Plures quoque ab iniquitatis semitis ad justitiæ legem convertit, et a servitute idolorum adduxit ad colendum Dominum ac Deum Jesum Christum. Immo, miraculorum gloria illustris ejus sanctitatis fama longe lateque per totam insulam pervulgata est.

THIRD LESSON OF SECOND NOCTURN.

Inter innumera vero, quæ a Sancta Attracta mira patrata narrantur, insigne imprimis miraculum est quo territorium Lugniæ in provincia Connaciæ ab horrendo monstro liberavit. Tota siquidem illa regio belluæ hujus feritate

There is a tradition in the neighbourhood that *Attracta* was remarkable for her faculty of curing the sick. It is told, for instance, that she restored to health a woman who had tried in vain every other means of cure. Hearing of this person, the saint visited her, and learning from her that all the doctors, or such as passed for doctors in those days, had given her up, she undertook and effected her recovery. It does not appear from the tradition whether this faculty of the saint was counted a supernatural gift or a natural talent, for some of the country people believe that the cure was brought about by means of certain herbs, of which the saint alone knew the efficacy; but this view plainly savours of modern times, and is, no doubt, an addition to the primitive conviction that the saint's proceedings were miraculous. However this may be, it is true to-day, as it has been continuously for the last twelve hundred years, that every man, woman, and child of Coolavin and the adjoining districts regards and reveres *Attracta* as one of the most favoured and privileged of all the saints and servants of God.

With respect to the succession of Parish Priests:—In the Register of 1704 David Henery is given as Parish Priest; and it is there stated that he was then fifty years of age, that he was ordained at Cregan, county Galway, in 1697, by Teige Keohy, Bishop of Clonfert, and that he had for sureties of his good behaviour, as required by the Registration Act, Doctor Francis McLea, Kilteenane, and Phelim Gara, of the same place.

Owing to the absence of records, a century elapses before we fall in with the name of any of his successors, when, in 1804, we

devastata est, et incolæ adeo terrore perculsi sunt, ut a terribili ejus aspectu ad montes et cavernas confugerent. Attractam tandem supplices rogarunt ut in tanta afflictione opem sibi et auxilium ferre dignaretur. Respondit inclÿta Virgo: potens est Deus, qui mundum ex nihilo creavit, et hominem de limo terræ ad suam imaginem plasmavit, etiam regionem istam de tanta peste omnino liberare. Tunc genua flectens omni fiducia Deum precabatur: Antequam vero suis precibus finem opposuit, jam exauditæ sunt apud Dominum, et sæva bellua rugitus emittens et torvo collo in ipsam Sanctam irruens divina virtute interiit.

meet with that of Father Frank Cunnane, who resided in the townland of Kilfree.

Father Roger McDermot, of the Coolavin family, was Parish Priest in 1825, but it is not known whether he was the immediate successor of Rev. Frank Cunnane or not.

The latest two Parish Priests were the two brothers, Very Rev. Canon Peter Brennan and Very Rev. Canon Roger Brennan, the latter of whom died on the 3rd of December, 1880.

The joint incumbencies of the two in the union covered something more than half a century; and, as might be expected in the case of such men, under such circumstances, they are held in loving remembrance, not only by the people of the parish whom they ministered to, for so many years, but also by the priests of the diocese, with whom they associated so long and so fraternally.

Both were persons of sterling worth and virtue. Canon Peter, the elder of the two, was a sound thinker, an effective speaker, and a skilful organizer, and being besides a man of insight and discretion, his fellow priests, if a question of taking part in a public movement arose, which seldom happened in their time, were much inclined to be guided by his example or advice. Father Peter lived respected and died regretted by both priests and people.

Canon Roger Brennan had little desire of figuring in public, and was always more inclined to efface, than to assert, himself, as if his principle of action was that of Des Cartes' motto, *Bene vixit qui bene latuit*. Content and happy in the sanctuary, he must have often said to himself, *Hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam*. For the rest, he was an accomplished ecclesiastic, being an instructive preacher, a solid rather than a showy theologian, and a proficient in all the branches of ecclesiastical science.

In dispositions, behaviour, and manners, he was all meekness, gentleness, and humility, and it was these virtues more especially which led those, who knew him best, to always think of him, and speak of him, as the model priest of the diocese.

To this good Canon the parish of Kilfree is indebted for its

beautiful Gothic church, the foundation stone of which was laid on Monday, the 21st May, 1866, by Right Reverend Doctor Durcan, in presence of many of the clergy, and great numbers of the laity, of the county. In this church the two brothers lie together in the same grave, and in memory of them stand two beautiful *terra cotta* statues, one of the Redeemer, and the other of the Blessed Virgin—the former on the Gospel side, and the latter on the Epistle side, of the high altar, bearing respectively the inscriptions:—

In Memory of Very Rev.
PETER CANON BRENNAN, P.P.
May he rest in peace.
Amen.

In Memory of Very Rev.
ROGER CANON BRENNAN, P.P.
May he rest in peace.
Amen.

The Very Rev. Canon O'Donoghue succeeded Canon Roger Brennan as Parish Priest of the Gurteen union in 1881, and is the present Parish Priest.

The townland of MONASTEREDAN has its name from a religious house founded by St. Aedhan or Aidan. There are twenty-two saints of this name in the martyrology of Tallaght, and twenty-three in O'Clery's, or, the martyrology of Donegal, so that one must think a little before fixing on the Aidan to whom we are indebted for the Coolavin establishment. Some take him to be the Aedhan, otherwise Mogue, of Ferns; but this saint is not the founder, for though he was a native of the neighbouring district of Breffney, he passed early to Leinster, and seems to have never returned to Connaught except on one occasion, when he came no further north than Kilmacduagh.

The founder of Monasteredan is, in the opinion of the writer, he of whom the Four Masters thus record the death under the year 557, "Saint Aedhan O'Fiachrach died." The Annals of Ulster have his obit in 569 in these words: "Aedan Ua Fiachrach obiit; and, Dr. Lanigan* says of him, "To the year 558 is affixed the death of St. Aidan, of Hua Fiachra, of whom I

* Ecclesiastical History, Vol II., p. 104.

cannot discover any further account." Saint Aidan is said to be of Hy Fiachrach (Tireragh), as being a native of that district.

When grown up Aidan settled in the diocese of Achonry. In the Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach * he is described as "of Cloonoghill in Corran," and in Colgan's Life of St. Cormac,† we find him remonstrating‡ somewhat authoritatively with that saint for coming at all into the diocese. It is clearly then to this Aidan, thus connected with Achonry, that the diocese is indebted for Monasteredan, which is within a few miles of Cloonoghill; for Killedan, which is in the county Mayo, but in the diocese of Achonry; and, no doubt, for the first church of Cloonoghill, which may, in the beginning, have been called after him, though losing the name through time, in consequence of the saint removing from the place.

Within a few yards of Monasteredan new church, took place, on the 22nd March, 1880, the tragedy in which two countrymen, named Corcoran and Flannery, on the one side, and Sergeant Armstrong, on the other, lost their lives in mutual conflict. Corcoran and Flannery were shot dead, by the police party, in the fields on the edge of the roadway, where two cairns, six or seven feet high, and eight feet from one another, mark now the fatal spot. Constable Hayes, one of the police under the command of the sergeant, was saved partly by his own presence of mind, and partly by the heroism of a country girl named Mary Bermingham.

After he had fallen, grievously wounded, to the earth, and the enraged countrymen had already the stones lifted to despatch

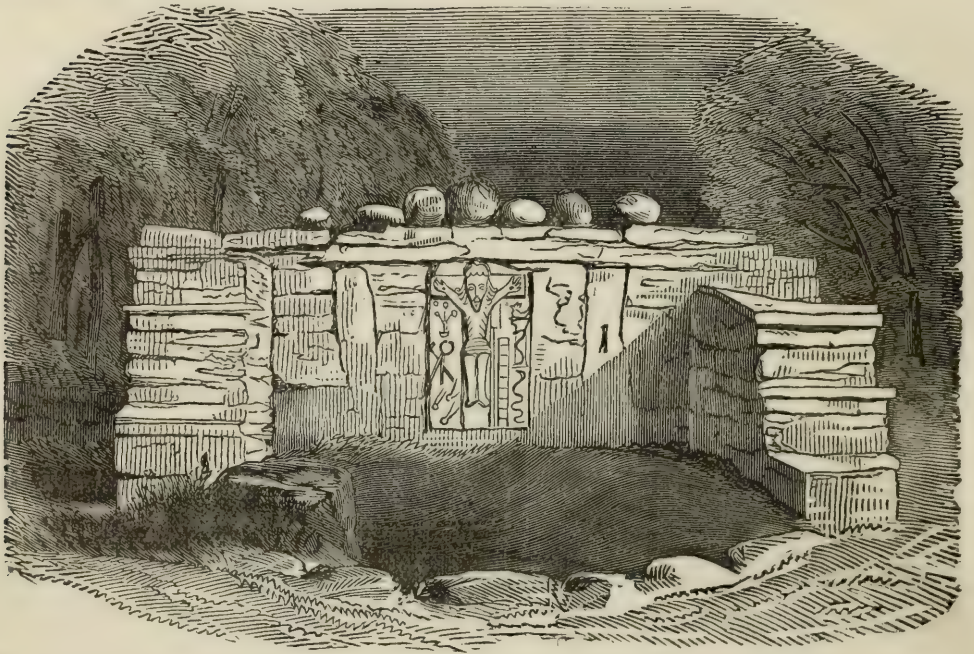
* The Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy Fiachrach; with a translation and notes, by John O'Donovan, p. 37.

† Acta Sanct., 26 Martii.

‡ Acta Sanctorum—Vita S. Corbmaci, Abbatis—26 Martii, p. 751. Colgan refers us to the Life of St. Fidmaine for further information regarding Aidan, but Fidmaine's life has not been published.

We learn from the Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach (p. 37), that Fidmaine was the son of Fiodhbhadach, and that Fearamhla was his mother. "She was also," says this authority, "the mother of Aodhan of Cluain Eochaille, in Corann,"—so that Fidmaine and Aedan were brothers.

him, he cried out, showing his scapular, "Kill me if you will, but bring me the priest first." The sight of the scapular arrested for a moment the uplifted arms, and moved the pious and heroic girl so strongly, that she threw herself on Hayes as he lay helpless on the ground, and covering, with her person, his head and chest, protested, "that they should have to kill her before they could harm him." Such devotedness, combined with the sight of the scapular, touched all hearts, and the life of the poor constable was saved. The reader will not be sorry to learn, that Hayes, on recovering from the illness resulting from his wounds, offered Mary Bermingham his hand, and that she is now his wife.



WELL OF ST. ATTRACTA.*

In the townland of Clogher, in this parish, is one of the most famous of the many wells dedicated to Saint Attracta. It is enclosed on three sides by walls, in the centre one of which is sculptured, on a limestone flag, the figure of Christ as he hung

* Drawn on the wood by W. F. Wakeman, F.R.H.A., A.I., from a Sketch by Mr. Coleman, Ballaghaderreen.

on the cross, with the instruments of the Passion carved on either side of him—a piece of work which does honour to some local artist of the sixteenth, or the earlier years, of the seventeenth century. On the top of this wall is a row of those mysterious rounded stones, which one meets with in so many other places of the county, as Toomour, Inismurray, and Killerry. Till within the last few years great crowds gathered here on the Saint's festival, the 11th August; and it is said, that things passed off at this well more decorously than in several other places, where serious abuses not unfrequently occurred. Even still a score or two of pious people may be seen on the 11th August, going through the exercises of the station.

In the same townland, and within the MacDermot's demesne, stands a fine example of the cashel, which may be the Rath-Clochair mentioned by the Four Masters, A.M. 4328. It has a diameter of ninety feet interior measurement, is constructed of the stone of the district—sandstone for the most part—and contains in the thickness of the wall a spacious cave, which runs a good way round, if not the whole way. At present the structure is much dilapidated, but one may judge from some parts of it, that the original height was about twelve feet. The planting, in and round this interesting piece of antiquity, mars not a little its appearance and effect.

Monasteredan new church is one of the prettiest and best finished in the county. It consists of a nave and chancel, with a handsome sacristy and beautiful belfry. The high altar is a presentation of the late Mr. Thomas MacDermot. The church was erected by Very Reverend Denis O'Hara, and will rest a memorial of his taste and zeal. Mr. James MacDonogh of Ballysadare, who was the contractor and builder, executed his office in a way that does him the highest credit.

Within a few yards of the church is the remains of Saint Aidan's monastery. Like other primitive ecclesiastical establishments it stood within a rath, or fort, which, as generally happens in such structures, contains a cave—the *souterrain*, if country gossip could be relied on, extending forty yards, which, however,

must in the circumstances, be an exaggeration. The covering stones are still *in situ*, and are large, one exposed to view measuring five feet six in length, two feet in width, and one foot in thickness. The place is now a neat burying ground, being surrounded by a good wall, with a fine gate, over which extends a cut stone lintel, surmounted by an Irish cross. On the lintel is the inscription :—

“1883.

IT IS A HOLY

AND

WHOLESOME THOUGHT

TO PRAY FOR THE DEAD.

2 *Mach.* xii., 46.

MAY THEY REST IN PEACE. AMEN.”

Clogher contains a Presbyterian manse, church, and school. The manse was erected in 1850, and the church in 1851, the school coming somewhat later. Reverend Mr. Smith is the minister.

CHAPTER XXXV.

BARONY OF TIRERAGH.

UNION OF SKREEN AND DROMARD.

TIRERAGH, of which the limits have been already described, belonged to the sept of the O'Dowdas, or O'Dowds, so long as the Irish bore rule in the territory. If the power of this family began to wane earlier than that of neighbouring chiefs, it is not so remarkable, as the O'Dowds came to the front in Lower Connaught sooner than others. Long before the O'Conors left the regions of Roscommon; several centuries before the Mac Donoghs took that name, the O'Dowds were rulers of Lower Connaught, that is, of the district extending, at first, from the Curlews to the Erne, and later, from the Curlews to Drum-cliff.

The family descends from Eochy Moyvane through his son Fiachra Foltsnathach, or, Fiachra of the flowing hair; Dathi, son of this Fiachra; Fiachra Ealgach, son of Dathi; Maoldubh, son of Fiachra Ealgach; Tiobraide, son of Maoldubh; Donogh Muirise, son of Tiobraide, slain in 681; Ollioll, son of Donogh Muirisc; Cathal, son of Ollioll; Donogh, son of Cathal; Cosnamhach, father of Dubhda; and Dubhda, who died about 876, and who left his name to his descendants, as Ui Dubhda, or O'Dowdas, that is, descendants of Dubhda.

In the time of Dubhda's father, Cosnamhach, the government of Connaught passed from that branch of the Hy Fiachra: first, to the family of Guaire Aidhne, and, soon after, to the O'Conors, the descendants of Brian, the eldest son of Eochy Moyvane, and the ancestor of all the Hy Bruin tribes; but the family of Dubhda continued to rule Lower Connaught as O'Dowds, his grandson Hugh O'Dowd, who died, according to the Four

Masters, in 981, being styled, in the Annals of Lecan, "King of North Connaught," and his great-grandson, Mulrony O'Dowd, who died in 1005, having the style and title of "Lord of Hy Fiachra Muirisc," or Tireragh.

From the coming of the English into Connaught, about 1237, they kept possession of Tireragh for more than a century, the Berminghams being the chief English family of the district; after which time the O'Dowds dislodged them in great part, and divided the territory among themselves. Sen Brian, who died in 1354, recovered much of the country. He was succeeded in the chieftaincy by his son Donnell, who was a warlike man, and who, in 1371, drove the English out of his territory, and divided it among his kinsmen and followers. Donnell's son and successor was Rory O'Dowd, of whom McFiris gives this flattering obituary, "Roderick O'Dowd, a magnificent, wealthy, prudent, and brave man; he defended his territory against English and Irish; he demolished the walls and castles of his enemies, contributed liberally to the erection of churches and monasteries, and was a munificent benefactor of the clergy and literary men."

As might be expected, considering the extensive sea-board of Tireragh, the O'Dowds addicted themselves largely to a maritime life, having provided themselves with a considerable fleet of such vessels as were in use in their time. With this fleet Donnell Finn O'Dowd bore down on Tirconnell in 1126, and ravaged it, but was drowned while returning with his prey. Another O'Dowd, Donogh More, sailed, in 1213, with fifty-six ships to the Owles in Galway, and compelled Cathal Crovderg O'Connor to exempt from rent Tireragh, which had previously to pay tribute to the King of Connaught. A still greater naval exploit, was a victory which Cosnamach O'Dowd, at the head of the Irish navy, gained in 1154, near Inishowen, over the combined navies of Scotland, the Hebrides, and the Isle of Man, though this victory, like that of Nelson at Trafalgar, cost the victor his life. The battle is well described by the Four Masters.

Though Sen Brian and the other O'Dowds, who rescued

Tireragh from the English, divided it among themselves instead of restoring it to the descendants of the old occupiers, still the family does not seem to have ever again reached the position of power and dignity which they held before the English irruption into their territory. With the O'Connors Sligo on the one side, and the Burkes and Berminghams on the other, they were always on the defensive; for while the O'Connors Sligo exercised a chiefry over all Tireragh, and held Buninna and other places in their own hands, the Burkes and Berminghams laboured to drive the O'Dowds entirely out of the district.

It is clear from our old annals, that the O'Dowds were devoted to the interests of religion. It was while on a pilgrimage to the abbey of Boyle, in 1242, that Brian Dearth lost his life; Donnell, after expelling the English in 1380, occupied himself with the erection of churches and monasteries; Rory, who died in 1417, was not only a church builder, but remarkable for his works of charity and mercy; and Teige Riavach, Donnell's son, founded the abbey of Ardnarea, and was a great benefactor of the abbey of Boyle, as may be inferred from the lines addressed to him by Giolla Iosa More MacFirbis:—

“ Oft is carried from thy palace
In the company of poets and saints,
Cattle from the fort near Leamhach,
By the fraternity of arborous Buill.”

The struggle of the O'Dowds to possess the castle of Ardnarea in the sixteenth century, illustrates their falling, or fallen condition at the time. After Donnell took it from the English in 1371, his descendants retained possession for near two hundred years. The Burkes captured it about 1530, and the O'Dowds recovering it in 1532, the Burkes recaptured the place in 1533; and though the O'Dowds lived still in hope, and were always on the watch for an occasion to retake it, their prospects became soon so hopeless, that the phrase, *He'll get it when the O'Dowds get Ardnarea*, came to be applied as a proverb, in the neighbourhood to any one supposed to be on the look-out for the

impossible. Notwithstanding their many reverses, the O'Dowds continued to maintain a good social position ; and on the list of the inhabitants of the county Sligo, to whom James I. granted pardon in 1603, are the names of Donald O'Dowd of Kilglass, gent., and four other O'Dowds of the same ; of Donogh McBrian O'Dowd of Eskerowen (Iniscrone), gent., and five more of the same ; of Fariagh O'Dowd, of Castletown, gent., and seven more O'Dowds of the same ; of William Keogh O'Dowd, of Ballicaslane, gent. ; and of Rory O'Dowd, of Buninna, gent.

Two other Tireragh families, the MacSweenys and the MacDonnells, call for some notice. Spenser derives the MacSweenys from the De Veres of England ; others refer them to a Danish origin, Sweyne being a Christian name in Sweden and Denmark ; but it seems now to be the general opinion that they are a branch of the great Celtic family of O'Neil, and that they descend from Suibhne, son of Ronan, son of Flattely O'Neil, King of Oilech, who died in 1036.

Suibhne's descendants got the name of MacSuibhne, or MacSweeny, and, being of a martial character, took to the profession of arms, and served princes and chiefs as constables or leaders of galloglasses, much in the same way as the Swiss, till recently, took service in the armies of France and other countries. Their chief place of residence was Tyrconnell, or Donegal, where the sept branched out into the MacSweenys of Fanad, the MacSweenys of Banagh, and the MacSweenys of the Territories, or, Na d Tuadh ; but they soon spread to Leinster, Munster, and Connaught ; the Connaught MacSweenys being styled Clann-Sweeny of Upper and Lower Connaught.

The exact time at which they came to Lower Connaught is not stated, but it must have been in or before the fourteenth century, as Dowell MacSweeny was slain in 1356 by Donnell O'Connor ; as two MacSweenys were left among the dead on the Strand (Traigh Eothaile) in the battle between the same Donnell and his rival Manus O'Connor in 1357 ; and as MacSweeny, " High Constable of Connaught from the mountain downwards," or, as he is styled in Mageoghegan's translation of

the Annals of Clonmacnoise, "MacSwyney, head of the Gallow-glasses of Ighter Connacht," was slain in 1397 with his two brothers in the famous battle of Kinnitty (Cinn Eitigh). As it fared with members of the family in other places, so the Sligo MacSweenys, though connected by marriage with the royal family of Connaught, possessed, at first, no land in the province, living on bonaght, or military pay. This appears from the Topographical poem of Giolla Iosa More M'Firbis, which acquaints us with all the landowners of Tireragh when the poem was composed, but makes no mention throughout of the MacSweenys.

They became, however, rooted in the soil in the reign of Elizabeth, or perhaps earlier, as we find them in the beginning of James the First's reign, scattered over the district, having extensive possessions in Dunneil, Dunnycoffy, Ardnaglass, Longford, Altenelvick, Carrowcashel, and Tanrego, and occupying high social standing, being generally classed as gentlemen in the General Pardon of that monarch to the inhabitants of the county Sligo.

The MacDonnells, like the MacSweenys, were constables of galloglasses, and came from Scotland, where the family were Lords of the Hebrides. As they are not mentioned in the Topographical poem of Giolla Iosa More M'Firbis, or in Dudley M'Firbis's Genealogy of the Hy-Fiachrach, it is safe to infer that they had no lands in Tireragh up to the fifteenth century; but about that time they fixed themselves at Rathlee and Rosslee, in the parish of Easky, where they had castles and considerable landed possessions, and where we find their descendants in 1603 under the names of Albanagh and MacDonnell, described, in James the First's General Pardon, as Henry Albanagh, of Rathlee, Gent.; Edward Oge Albanagh, of the same, Knight; and Phillippo Albanagh, of the same, Knight; and Moelmory M'Donnell, of Rosslee, Gent.; Dowell M'Donnell, of the same, Knight; and Randal M'Donnell of the same, Knight. From a Chancery Inquisition taken at Sligo, 20th April, 1617, it appears that Hubert Albinagh and Allen

Albinagh, late of Rathlee, were slain in rebellion at the termon of Ballassadara," or Ballysadare.

The MacSweenys and the MacDonnells were, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the two chief families of Tireragh after the O'Dowds; but long before these centuries, as well as during them, some native families held high position in the district, more especially those of O'Flannelly, M'Kevaine (Cavanagh), M'Firbis, Conway, Conmee, O'Beolan (Boland), O'Finnegan, M'Nemy, M'Gillemartin, O'Dwdigan (Dowdican), O'Kelly, O'Downigan (Dunnigan), O'Meany, O'Cosgrave, O'Dunaghy, O'Muirghease, O'Higgin, O'Maely, and M'Gilliboy. Of twenty-six Irish names distributed through Tireragh at the taking of the Cromwellian Census of 1659, the highest in persons were Dowd, borne by 17 persons; Dowda, by 7; Burke, by 15; Kelly, by 15; Boelan, M'Donnell, and O'Gara, by 14 each, Connellan, by 13; and Ferbishy, by 10. It will be seen by this list that the Tireragh Irish had dropped the O and Mac when the Census was taken.

The year 1641, so fatal to the Irish, led to the ruin of the O'Dowds, the MacSweenys, the MacDonnells, and all the other old Irish who had estate or beneficial interest in the lands of Tireragh. With the exception of David O'Dowd, who was transplanted to a small estate in Coolcarny by a decree of the Loughrea Commissioners, dated 4th August, 1656, all the Irish of the district were deprived of their patrimonial possessions, and thrown houseless and penniless on the world—many of them having to beg for the means of subsistence from door to door over the lands which shortly before they owned or occupied. Their places were given by the Commonwealth authorities to Cromwell's soldiers and officers, several of whom were constituted local proprietors, or, to use the term of the time, Tituladoes.

These Tituladoes had scopes of land in each of the parishes into which Tireragh is divided. In the parish of Castleconor John Nicholls, Gent., had Castleconor and Newtown, and Lewis Wingfield, Scurmore; in the parish of Easky, William Ormsby,

Gent., had Rathlee, William Boswell, Gent, Finidy, James Ormsby, Gent., Rosslee, and George Ormsby, Gent., Killyn ; in Kilmacshalgan, John Bourke, Gent., had Dunneil, Robert Hillas, Gent., Dunmeakin, William Edwards, Gent., Carrowrush, and John Irwin, Gent., Carrowmalina ; in Killglasse, Thomas Wood, Gent., had Lacken M'Ferbisy, and John Moore, Pollicheeny ; in Templeboy, Christopher Armstrong, Gent., and Nicholas Rutledge, Gent., had Dunecohy ; in Skreen, Lewis Jones, and Jeremy Jones, Gent, had Ardnaglasse ; and in Dromard, Henry Craston (Crofton ?) had Longford, Drumard, Cloonagh, and Carrowmacarrick ; John Irwin, Tonregoe ; and Edward Irwin, Lugbane.

Notwithstanding the great change that took place at the Restoration, many of these Tituladoes, with the characteristic tenacity of Cromwellians, held to their debentures, and figure among the grantees of the Act of Settlement. Those who received grants under that act in Tireragh are the following:—Robert Choppyne, and Mary his wife, relict of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Gore, and Frances Gore, daughter of the Lieutenant-Colonel ; Sir Arthur Gore ; Captain Robert Morgan ; John Thornton ; Captain Charles Collis ; Captain William Ormsby, Cornet George Ormsby, Nicholas Rutledge, and James Ormsby ; Cornet Thomas Wood ; Lieutenant John Bourke ; John Nicholson ; Thomas Lovelace ; George Dodwell ; Jeremiah Jones ; Lord Collooney ; Sir Theophilus Jones ; John Vaughan ; Fitzgerald Aylmer ; Captain Lewis Wingfield, and a few others.

DROMARD.—High Ridge—which is the most eastern parish of the barony of Tireragh, and diocese of Killalla, has its name from the elevated situation of its old church on the slopes of the Ox Mountain, the remainder of its area being a lowland stretch along the left bank of the Ballysadare estuary. The land near the sea is rich, and the soil higher up, though light, is suited for tillage and sheep pasture. Tanregoe, the seat of Mr. Verschoyle, and Longford, the seat of Sir Malby Crofton, are well timbered and picturesquely situated, and have each interesting historical associations.

An old castle and bawn, in fair preservation, stand on the townland of Tanrego, or, as it used to be called, Tonrego, the latter being the more correct rendering of the Irish name. Whether it was the Irish or English that built the castle is not now known; but, whoever built it, the Mac Sweenys owned it in the sixteenth century; and a Chancery inquisition of James I., taken at Ballymote before Nicholas Brady, on the 6th July, 1610, finds that Bryan Mac Sweeny, who died in 1608, had eight quarters of land in and around Tanrego, and that Maelmurry Mac Sweeny was his son, and was of full age at the father's death. Lewis's Topographical Dictionary of Ireland, article, Dromard, states that "Cromwell took the place and burnt the old bawn of Tanrego," a statement without a particle of foundation, as Oliver never set foot in the county Sligo, or in any other county of Connaught.

Before the time of the Mac Sweenys the family of the O'h-Aodha, anglicised Hayes or Hughes, owned Tanrego; and after the Mac Sweenys lost it, the place was given to John Irwin as *Titulado* under the Cromwellian regime. Under the Acts of Settlement and Explanation the castle, bawn, and lands of Tanrego were granted to John Vaughan; but John Irwin, like so many of his brother Cromwellians, could not be dislodged, and he not only kept the place himself, but passed it on to his descendants, who held it down to about 1850, when it was sold to Captain Olpherts, relative of Wyby More Olpherts, whom O'Donovan represents as taking a very creditable interest in the local antiquities of his neighbourhood. The Captain in turn sold Tanrego and his other lands in Dromard to Mr. Verschoyle, the present owner.

Longford was one of the chief seats of the O'Dowds, and is often called in old documents, Longford O'Dowd. The word Longford—*Hibernice* Longphort—signifies a bawn, a castle, a fortress; and we learn from the Genealogical MS. of Duaid Mac Firbis that the English erected "all the bawn of Longford, except *Leaba an eich bhuidhe*," i.e., the Bed of the Yellow steed. Nothing certain is now known of this *Leaba*. Lady

Morgan, in her Patriotic Sketches, has some idle tittle-tattle about it; but the plain inference from the Irish words is that the structure was the stable or stall of some favourite horse of the O'Dowds.

The founder of the Crofton family in Ireland was John Crofton, not "Edward Crofton, Escheator-General," as Lady Morgan supposes. It is said by the same writer, and by a much weightier authority in such a matter, Sir Bernard Burke, that the first Crofton that settled in Ireland came over with Essex; but this, if possible, is very unlikely, as we find John Crofton already in office as Clerk of the Provincial Council of Connaught in 1572, the year previous to that in which Essex landed in this country on his ill-fated mission.* That John Crofton was not Escheator-

* The following letter from John Crofton to the Lord Deputy, written on the 16th July, 1572, is interesting in several respects:—"I cannot, my good Lord, without great grief of mind, write the lamentable and most miserable estate of this unhappy town (Athlone). To which this morning, about eight of the clock, approached on the east side, amongst the bog, to the number, as I judged them, of 800 Scotts, gallowglasses, and kynnes, who very boldly, notwithstanding the shot of the castle, entered the backside of the town and fired the same, to which the wind so served them, as that in a moment all the town was burnt, so as not any one house is standing. During the whole time of the fier they slipt amongst behind the town to the Abbey, and on the north side, out of the danger of the castle, with masons broke into the cloister, and so fired the loft where my malt lay, which, once set on fire, kindled the roof of the body of the church where the rest of my malt, biscuit, and beer was, and all my brewing and baking vessels, which are all consumed with fier, saving about a ton and a half of beer, which with much ado is saved; and as God would have it, the most part of the wheat, and the rest was laid in a loft which was shingled and stood on a vault, to which for fear of the steeple, the enemies durst not approach, is saved so as, God be thanked, I have yet unburnt, very near cc. pecks of wheat and meal; as for malt I have not past 30 pecks of beer malt, and 10 or 12 pecks of oat malt, whereof part was in the loft with the wheat, and part in my own tower where I dwell. The tun, &c., of beer, and xvi^c of biscuit, which by chance I brought home to my own house, two days past, for want of good stowage. This is the sum of those provisions I have left, both ready and unready, neither know I how to prepare any more, having neither place nor meet vessels to do it, with both the town and all the country abouts being utterly destroyed, whereupon your honour is there to provide for such soldiers as your honour mindeth to send hither which, would God had been here, or a 100 of them, for if they had been here, I am of opinion all this had not happened." This letter in the State Papers is headed "John Crofton to

General at his arrival in Ireland appears from a letter of Queen Elizabeth, addressed to Sir William Drury, Lord Justice, and dated February 22nd, 1579, directing the appointment of "John Crofton to the office of Escheator and Feodary, with a salary of £5 a year; to be held by himself or sufficient deputy during good behaviour."*

Edward Crofton, John's son, was as great a favourite with James I. as his father had been with Elizabeth, and accordingly we find the King, in the first year of his reign, writing to the Lord Lieutenant, and directing him to grant to Edward Crofton, son of John Crofton, of Connaught, in Ireland, for good services done to Queen Elizabeth and the Crown by him and his father, and for their great losses sustained in the late wars of Ireland, the reversion of all such lands as the said John Crofton holds of the King by any leases for years yet unexpired.

Though the O'Dowds continued to be chiefs of Longford, the McSweenys possessed it in the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth—1st, as sub-chiefs of the O'Dowds; and, 2nd, as grantees of the monarchs of England; and it was from them the place passed, it is not well known how, to the Croftons. In the conflict between James and William in 1689, Longford castle was on the side of James, the owner of that day being Henry Crofton, who was an ardent Catholic, as well as a loyal adherent of James. Under this gentleman the castle becoming a thorn in the side of the Williamites of Tireragh, Lord Kingston, who held Sligo for William at the head of a considerable force, despatched, under the command of Captains William Ormsby and Francis Gore, a large party of picked men, who, on their arrival, set fire to the castle, "smoked out the enemy," as

the Lord Deputy—1572—July 16;" and under the heading is the Memorandum: "A copy of John Crofton, his letter; he is Clerk of the Council there, and at my request took upon him to bake and brew for the garrison." On the margin of letter the words, "For the Lord Burghley."—*Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, Vol. V., p. 345.

* Morrin's Patent and Close Rolls of Elizabeth, p. 26.

Harris has it, and thus captured the place with large stores of arms and provisions.

The country is indebted to Longford for awakening the genius of Lady Morgan. It was to proclaim the admiration she felt for the place and its inhabitants that she ventured first into print. With that object she composed, in 1805, her first novel—*The Wild Irish Girl*—giving her heroine the very un-Irish name of Gloriana, but endowing her, *en revanche*, with all the characteristic Irish virtues and accomplishments. It was at Longford, too, she wrote her *Patriotic Sketches*, an appropriate title, as they breathe in every page the purest patriotism. With equal propriety might they be called Sympathetic Sketches, as the writer, all through, is in the most thorough sympathy with the persons and things which she describes. These sketches should be oftener in our hands, not merely for the sake of their patriotism, but still more for the graphic account they contain of the manners and habits which prevailed through the county Sligo at the close of the last century. It would be hardly going too far to say that, in this little work, Lady Morgan has done, in considerable measure for the west, what the Banims have done for the south, and Carleton has done for the north.

And it was in the same place she wrote her *Irish Melodies or Metrical Fragments*, published in 1807, under the title: “The Lay of an Ancient Irish Harp, or, Metrical Fragments, by Miss Owenson.” In almost every one of the Fragments, no matter what the subject, it is easy to detect the *genius loci*, while three of them are expressly connected with local persons or scenery.

Fragment V., entitled *The Drawing Room*, is addressed to Lady C-ft-n (Crofton), and consists of ten stanzas, of which the two following are interesting for their personal allusions:—

“Thou know’st me playful, sportive, wild,
Simple, ardent, tender, glowing;
A glance can chill my bosom’s spring,
A glance can set it warmly flowing.

“Thou’st seen me midst the charming group
That forms thine own domestic heaven,
By youthful spirits (wildly gay)
To many a childish folly driven.”

Fragment XVI. is inscribed “To Signor Alphonso Pilligrini, LL.D., Professor of Italian and Spanish, Trinity College, Dublin—(Written on the north-west coast of Connaught, at the seat of Sir M. C—n, [Crofton] Bart.).” It is occupied with a description of Longford and the neighbourhood, and contains XIII. stanzas, of which three or four may be quoted, not for their poetry, which is mediocre, but for their local references:—

“The castle lies low, whose towers frowned so high,
And the landscape is awful and bold;
The mountains around lift their heads to the sky,
And the woods many ages have told.

“And the world’s greatest *ocean* still dashes its wave
’Gainst the coast that is savagely wild:
’Midst the castle’s grey ruins there still yawns a cave
Where the sun’s cheering light never smil’d.

“And steep is the precipice, horrid to view,
That rears o’er the ocean its crest;
They say that no bird to its summit e’er flew,
And its base ’neath the wave seems to rest.

“And many a pilgrim has pillow’d his head
In that CELL that now moulders away,
And many a brave chief and warrior has bled
Near these walls that now fall to decay.”

Fragment XL., entitled The Tomb, Miss Owenson tells us, was “scribbled on a tablet amidst the sombre but interesting ruins of Sligo Abbey.” In this *impromptu* the poetess merely moralizes; and, as there is no personal or local allusion, there is no occasion to quote, particularly as her moralizings are far from novel.

The “castle” mentioned is the old castle of the O’Dowds; the “cave” is one of those *souterrains* commonly found in raths or

cashels; and the "precipice horrid to view" is Aughris Head, called in Irish Alt-Bo. In saying that "no bird to its summit e'er flew," she uses rather large poetic licence, as Alt-Bo is hardly two hundred feet high; but it must be admitted, that the dark, perpendicular face of the Alt, the loud-sounding breakers at its base, and the thousands of gulls and other sea fowl that are always whirling and screaming before it, invest it with a terror out of all proportion to its height.

The "CELL," Miss Owenson tells us, is "a small chapel, whose almost unimpaired walls are hung with a crucifix, and the richly carved heads of many of the saints." This cell was, no doubt, an oratory erected by some of the Catholic Croftons, probably by Henry, who owned the place in 1689.

The Croftons came to Ireland in pre-Cromwellian times, and, unlike some of their neighbours—the Joneses, the Woods, the Irwins, and others, who accompanied Oliver—they have been, as a rule, free from that hostility to Celts and Catholics, which forms the distinguishing attribute of the *genus Cromwellianum*. Sir James Crofton, who died in 1849, was a special favourite of the Catholics of the county in his day.

Buninna—*Hibernice* Bunfinne—that is, the mouth of the Finn stream, was formerly a place of some note. The English, soon after their arrival in Connaught, erected a castle there; and in 1308, Thomas McWalter, the constable of the castle, his brother, and many other English were slain on *Slieve-da-En* by the sons of Donnell O'Connor. Two years later the castle was burned and plundered by a party of the O'Connors.

After the expulsion of the English, the O'Connors took possession of the place, and in 1494, Donnell O'Connor, the son of Owen, was barbarously slain there by his cousins, in order to get the chieftainship for their own father, which they effected. That the castle of Buninna was a timber structure, we may infer from the burning mentioned, and from the absence of all trace of stone. Buninna is remarkable, too, as having been for some time the residence of the Cistercians, who were sent out, in the 12th century, from Mellifont, to establish a new abbey. Before

settling definitively at Boyle, they remained for some time at *Grellach-dinach* (perhaps Kinnigrelly in the parish of Ballysadare), for a time at Drumconaind (apparently Assylin, to the north-east of Boyle), and for two years and six months at Buninna, under the abbacy of Maurice O'Duffy, who, in 1161, removed his charge to Boyle, and fixed them on the spot where the ruins of their noble abbey still stand.

Saint Patrick passed through Dromard on his way from the Moy to Killaspugbrone, and there is some tradition that he established a church in the place. The well called Tuberpatrick, near the graveyard, goes to countenance this tradition. In the graveyard there is a small fragment of an old church, but whether it was dedicated to Saint Patrick or not, no one can tell. The cemetery is crowded, and contains the vault of the Croftons.

Archdall, quoting Bishop Pococke's Journal, is of opinion that there was an abbey at Ballinley, now Ballinleg, and adds, "We know nothing further of it." Nor does anybody else; unless, what is very likely, that it was at Ballinley, which is near Buninna, the Cistercians resided before passing to Boyle, and that they thus gave rise to the tradition of an abbey being once in the place. Father Walsh, however, is of opinion that the Ballinley, of Archdall, is the place now called Rosslea, in the parish of Easkey, but he gives no authority for the opinion, nor could he give any, the opinion being quite untenable.

Adjoining Dromard, on the west, is the parish of SKREEN, which stretches from the summit of the Ox Mountains—1778 feet high at this point—down to the sea. This parish enjoys the distinction of having in it the youngest lake in Ireland, that of Lough Achree, the lake on the side of Slieve Gamb, formed by an earthquake, which occurred so late as 1490. In a note on the entry of the Four Masters, O'Donovan locates this lake in Meemlough, in the parish of Killoran. He was led astray by supposing the Irish name of Meemlough to be *madm-loc*, erupted lake; whereas it is *Magh-imleach*, the marshy plain, and is so written by the Four Masters under the year 1535.

There is no lake or vestige of a lake at Meemlough. The tradition of the eruption of Lough Achree was vivid in Tireragh, eighty or ninety years ago, as Mr. Feenaghty, of Portavade, a good Irish scholar and antiquary, once informed the writer.

Skreen parish contains the old castle of Ardnaglass, which, judging by the ruins, and by what O'Donovan says of it, must have been an imposing structure. The townland of Ardnaglass,—the Height of the Fetters—is sometimes called Ardabrone, and sometimes written Ardglass. Near the old castle is the well known “stand-house,” the scene of many a carouse, not to say orgie, in the beginning of the present century, and through the most of the last. This was the case more especially in the summer months, when the *buckeens* of the county came here, professedly for sea-bathing, but in reality to glut themselves with oysters during the day, and to surfeit themselves with poteen whiskey at night, as Arthur Young informs us.

Under the Commonwealth, Lewis Jones and Jeremy Jones were Tituladoes of Ardnaglass, and resided in the castle; and at the Restoration, the place, with the greater part of the parish, was granted to the same persons. The Reverend Mr. Hill, the talented author of the *Plantation in Ulster*, talks of the “numerous and hungry swarm of adventurers, bearing the name of Jones, that invaded Ireland from Wales in the seventeenth century.” Leaving to Mr. Hill his responsibility for the adjective “hungry,” it is certain that immigrants of the name were particularly “numerous,” and that a goodly proportion of them were quartered in the county Sligo. To say nothing of Sir Roger Jones, who came to the county before the troubles of the seventeenth century began, large debentures were granted to Sir Theophilus Jones, brother of the bishop of Meath, the notorious scout-master general of Oliver Cromwell; to another brother, Oliver Jones; to Jeremy Jones; to his son, Lewis Jones; and to the troopers Corporal John Jones, Christopher Jones, and Richard Jones. Jeremy Jones and his son Lewis intermarried both with the Loftuses, Lewis being married to his

own first cousin, Anne Loftus, and their descendants occupied, till recently, the chief places in Tireragh.

The church of Skreen was founded in the seventh century by St. Adamnan, who died in 704, and got its name from the Latin word *Scrinium*, a shrine, because in it was deposited Adamnan's shrine. Two shrines of Adamnan are mentioned in old writings—one inclosing the bones of Adamnan himself, and the other containing various relics of saints collected by him, and deposited in this church of Skreen,* which seems to have been erected to receive and preserve them, as the *Sainte Chapelle* in Paris was erected by Saint Louis for the relics brought from the east.

The church was built on a site previously granted to Saint Columba. The Life of St. Farannan (Act. Sanctorum, p. 337,) relates that, when Columba visited Tireragh, after the convention of Drumceat, Tipraid, the chief of Tireragh, granted him three pleasant (*amæna*) places, one called, in later times, Killchuana, another Altfarannan, and the third *Cnoc-na-maoile*; the last name, after the erection of a church on the spot, being changed into *Scrin-Adamnan*, now Skreen.

Adamnan left his name to other objects of the neighbourhood besides the church. Over the Dunmoran stream there is a flag, nine feet long and nine inches broad, which is called *Droighed-Awnan*, the Bridge of Awnan or Adamnan, and which, no doubt, is the *Lec Adamnan* of the Book of Fenagh; and near the church, but on the north side of the road, is a well called Tubber Awnan, over which there is a stone monument, which

* Dr. Reeves, in his scholarly edition of Adamnan's Life of Saint Columba, writes:—"The contents of the shrine were various relics which Adamnan himself had collected. The record of the contents of the shrine is contained in a Brussels manuscript, which enumerates 26 articles consisting of manuscripts of the Gospels, hymns, and poems; articles of apparel belonging to the saints of Ireland; and a few relics of St. Paul and the Virgin Mary; the aggregate of which must have filled a large box, and been a rather heavy load to carry about."—Memoir of St. Adamnan, in Preface, page lxiii.

the Annals of Loch Ce call "a tomb of hewn stones," the curious entry regarding it occurring at the year 1599, and running thus: "Benmumhan Og Ni Duibhgennain, daughter of Maelechlainn, son of Dubhthach Og, son of Dubhtach Mor, erected the tomb of hewn stones which is over the edge of the great well of the Scrin, for the soul of her husband, *i.e.*, the Vicar Mac Domhnaill; and Eoghan Mac Domhnaill was his name."

The following additional facts regarding Skreen are recorded by the Four Masters:—

A.D. 1022. Maelcoba O'Gallagher, coarb of Scrin Adamnan, died.

1030. Donough, Lord of Carbury, was killed by the Hy Fiachrach Muirisce, in the doorway of the house of Scrin Adamnan.

1395. O'Flannelly, Vicar of Skreen Adamnan, died.

Thomas O'Connor, in the Ordnance Survey Letters of the county Sligo, reports: "Tradition says there were at Skreen 24 sacred edifices built by the O'Dowds;" but deeming, apparently, this statement extravagant, he adds: "It is said for truth there were seven churches in Skreen. The people can point out where five of the churches stood." However this may be, the Visitation Book of 1615 notices only one church, and observes that Henry Perse, Esq., was Rector of Skreen, and that "the church and chancel were thatched." Father Walsh, too, witnesses for seven churches at Skreen, and adds: "Of the seven churches of Skreene, only one has been spared by the devastators. The others, which were situated under the road, or present cemetery, have altogether disappeared, as they were unseemly spectacles before the windows of the modern glebe house. They have been demolished, and their ancient site is at present a lawn or playground for the sons and daughters of the reverend rector." It would be hard to reconcile this statement with the official account in the Visitation Book of 1615. It is matter of regret that Father Walsh rarely, if ever, goes to the sources for information.

The parishes of Skreen and Dromard have been sometimes united, and sometimes separate. At the Registration in 1704 they were united, the Parish Priest being Rev. Conor Conmy, who resided at Longford, was ordained at Oranmore, county Galway, in 1675, by Dr. James Lynch, Archbishop of Tuam, and had for sureties of good behaviour Edward Crofton, Longford, and John Malley, Sligo.

The succession, in more recent times, of pastors in Dromard is Rev. Hugh Deane, Rev. John Kelly, Rev. P. Dowdican, Right Rev. Dr. Conway, Rev. M. A. Conway, and Rev. Patrick M'Nulty, the present incumbent. Father Deane held the parish in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Father John Kelly succeeded him, and died in 1816. According to Father M'Nulty, who has the history of Tireragh, and, more especially, its ecclesiastical history, at his fingers' ends, this Father John Kelly is buried in the graveyard of Dromard, by the side of five other priests of his name and lineage—Fathers Bryan, Thadeus, John (2), and William—who had served in different missions of the diocese, but were all conveyed for interment to Dromard, the head-quarters of the Kelly family.

Rev. Peter Dowdican followed Father Kelly in 1816, and, after an incumbency of thirty-three years, died on the 21st June, 1848. To him the parish is indebted for the parish church, which he erected on a fine site granted by the Jones of Banada, and which was dedicated by Dr. MacHale in 1828.

Right Rev. Dr. Conway, the present respected and popular bishop of Killalla, became Parish Priest of Dromard in 1848, and, shortly after, of Skreen, which was then united with Dromard, and has remained so united since.

The incumbency of Rev. Michael A. Conway fell in difficult times, but he was well equal to the occasion.

Father Patrick M'Nulty is the present pastor of the union.

The Parish Priests of Skreen, before its recent union with Dromard, were, as far as they are known, Rev. William Kelly, who held the living for fifty years; Rev. Thomas Rowan, Very Rev. Dr. Costello, and Rev. John Hopkins.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PARISHES OF TEMPLEBOY, KILMACSHALGAN, AND EASKY.

TEMPLEBOY parish lies alongside that of Skreen, and stretches in the form of a triangle from the sea to the summit of the Ox Mountains, the base of the figure resting on the sea, and the apex on the mountain. The top region of the area is, for the most part, naked rock, and the central, wild upland, while the stretch along the shore is good land, equally fit for tillage or pasture. In the north-west angle of the parish is Donaghintraine, where there formerly stood a great *dun* or fortress, which in 1249 was the scene of some vigorous proceedings between Felim O'Connor and the Berminghams, in which Felim came off the victor. Donaghintraine—the present name of the place—is a corrupt form of Dun Contreathain, or Dun Cintreathain, the name being written both ways, and signifying, according to the former spelling, the Fort of the Hero of the Sea, and according to the latter, the Fort of the Head of the Sea.

In the townland of Grangemore there was a small stone castle, twenty-four feet square, considerable ruins of which still remain, showing, in one of the sides, a triangular-headed doorway and a triangular-headed window, and, in the interior, a spiral stone stairway leading to a floor resting on a stone vault. Though it is nowhere stated, there can be hardly any doubt that this building was the grange, which served both as a residence and a store-house to the religious who owned the place.*

* Father Walsh, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, page 649, writes, "Near the church of Grangemore many religious were slaughtered by the persecutors." It is to be regretted that he gives no authority for the statement, nor particulars.

In Grangebeg there is a kistraen, or "giant's grave," bounded by large stones, and measuring twenty-one feet by ten, interior measurement. There is no local tradition concerning the age or object of this structure. As often happens in similar megalithic remains, there is in one end of the enclosure a rude door formed by two large stones, set up as jambs on each side of an open about two feet wide. O'Donovan states, that in an old map in the State Paper Office a castle or large house is shown on this townland, the structure, no doubt, having the same destination as that in Grangemore. The remains of Grangebeg old church are said to have been greatly dilapidated by the late Captain King, who used the materials for fencing.

Near Donaghintraine are Ballykillcaish and Dunnycoffie, or Dunycoy, the former having its name from a family named MacGillichais, that once owned it; and Dunnycoffie, from old occupants named O'Coffey. In 1617 James I. granted to Owen M'James M'Sweeny, of Dunnycoffie, half of the "castle, town, and lands" of Dunnycoffie; half of the "town, lands, and quarter" of Ballymacgillicais; and half of the "castle, town, and lands" of Donaghintraine; and to three other MacSweenys the remaining halves of these various possessions.

Rathurlish, the well-known fort of the name, claims, in passing, a word of notice for its old as well as for its new associations. As to the past, it is connected in the *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach* with the kings of the territory, and as to its recent history, it has been, within the last few years, the theatre of two great political meetings, which were attended by the priests and people of Tireragh, and at which Mr. Sexton treated the assembled thousands to some choice *morceaux* of genuine eloquence.

Templeboy might signify the Yellow Church, but it is believed to have its name from a patron saint named Baithin. It is very likely that he is the Baithin who was one of the deputation of five sent to Iona to invite St. Columba to the convention of Drumceat, the other delegates being Saints Cuanus, Garvan, Colman, and Farannan; and the conjecture

is the more likely, as two other members of the deputation—Cuanus and Farannan—are honoured in the neighbourhood: Cuanus in the parish of Skreen, and Farannan in that of Easky.

The church was a good sized fabric, being sixty-two feet long, and twenty-four wide, exterior measurement. The interior is occasionally used as a place of burial. There are some tombstones with inscriptions, which are nearly illegible, the dates 1733, 1741, 1761, and 1765 being almost the only portions decipherable. A well dedicated to St. Molaisse is near the church.

The priory of Aughris, or Eachros, stood on the summit of the singularly bold headland or bluff of Aughris, where, however, there is now no trace of the structure. Harris, Allemande, and Father Walsh make St. Molaisse the founder, and in this are supported by the tradition of Tireragh, which is clear and positive on the point. O'Donovan, in a note to his *Four Masters*, under the year 1380, thinks it probable that Donnell O'Dowd, who died that year, was the founder of the priory; but there is no ground for this opinion, if there be question of the original foundation; though it may be true, and is likely enough, that Donnell repaired or re-edified the establishment. From Aughris St. Molaisse spread religion over the greater part of Tireragh, notably over the parishes of Templeboy, Killglasse, Kilmacshalgan, and Dromard; and from it, too, he carried the faith and ordinances of the Gospel to the island of Innismurray, and thence to the mainland on the coast of Carbury.*

Some affirm and some deny that there was a castle at Aughris; opinions which an Exchequer Inquisition of 1584, taken at Sligo before John Crofton, enables us to reconcile, as it states that the belfry of the church had a castellated finish,† which caused it to appear as a castle to an observer at a

* See Chapter—PARISH OF AHAMLISH.

† *Campanile in forma castri ædificatum.*

distance. Castellated churches were constructed in other parts of Ireland, a fact which goes to show the disturbed state of the times, when even the house of the Prince of Peace had sometimes to serve the purposes of war. In a very interesting article on "Some Peculiarities in Ancient and Mediæval Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture," which is published in Volume VIII. of the Kilkenny Archæological Journal, the writer, George Victor Du Noyer, mentions the castle-church of Clonmines, in the county Wexford, as a unique example of the fortified church "in Ireland, if not in Britain;" but were he aware of the architectural peculiarities of the old priory of Aughris, he would have admitted the existence of at least a second example of the fortified or castellated church in Ireland; nor is it unlikely that other instances might be discovered if a diligent search were made for them through the country.

The noted THADY CONNELLAN was born at Corkhill in this parish, and, though devoid of claim to notice in other respects, he may be mentioned as a somewhat characteristic product of the times in which he lived. With some talent, little or no principle, consummate cunning, and infinite ambition, he sought to raise himself in the world, no way scrupulous as to the means. To learn Greek and Latin, he and some companions journeyed to Clare, to a well-known pedagogue of the day, from whom they expected to get education gratis, as they expected to get board and lodging from the farmers of the place on the same terms. In the latter expectation they were disappointed; for flocks and herds having been substituted in the neighbourhood about that time for human beings, and large scopes of land having in consequence been thrown out of cultivation, there were few or no farmers left to entertain the Connaught boys. Thady, however, and his congenial companions would not have their journey for nothing; and seizing, *vi et armis*, on the teacher, they carried him with them, and never loosed hold till they set him down in a populous district on the Connaught side of the Shannon, where he opened school in a

chapel, and where Thady acquired that smattering of the Classics, for which in after life he cunningly posed as master of all the learning of Greece and Rome, "and was looked up to by his less intelligent neighbours," says Lady Morgan, "as a prodigy of learning, erudition, and genius."

Having returned to Tireragh, Thady opened what he called a "fine seminary"—the curious *boutique* which Lady Morgan visited, and describes in her *Patriotic Sketches*—a wretched thatched cabin, with a damp earthen floor; with no furniture but an old deal table, littered with scraps of paper and fragments of slate; and with bits of board laid on stones to serve for seats; the philomath himself standing up, encased in a *cota-more*, which was kept together on his squat, ungainly person by a skewer; while round him were ranged or, rather, huddled his disciples, who were big, grown-up, bare-footed boys or men, "clad in a drapery light and frugal as Philosophy herself could dictate," and so ill equipped with text books and books of reference, that a class of seven had to read together out of the one copy of Homer, which was all the Corkhill lyceum contained. The poor fellows themselves felt so much the want of class-books that, as Lady Morgan's party were driving away, one of the "pupils," "a tall, well-looking young man, with a satchel on his back," kept, for a considerable distance, running bare-footed and bareheaded alongside the vehicle, begging for an "old Cicero:" an incident which must remind *quondam* travellers by Bianconi's cars of the urchins that used to run for miles after the vehicles, clamouring for a copper from the passengers. But an apology is due to the "tall, well-looking young man with the satchel on his back" for this comparison, his object being so ennobling. "We asked him," says Lady Morgan, "what profession he was intended for; he said he had been studying for Apothecaries' Hall, but that of late he had taken to Philosophy!"

Nor did Thady confine his invaluable services to his interesting *garçons*. His philanthropy comprehended both the sexes; and we learn from a statement of his to Lady Morgan, that

he had organized a class of, no doubt, equally interesting *demoiselles*: "I have five female *eleves*," says he, "to whom I am teaching philosophy, the humanities, and mathematics, to give them a genteel idea of becoming tutoresses in gentlemen's families."

Notwithstanding its many advantages and attractions, the Corkhill seminary failed in a cardinal point—it did not pay. With all his philosophy Thady felt so sore on this head, that, turning his back on his *garçons* and *demoiselles*, he offered his services to Mr. Albert Blest of Coolany, the well-known Baptist proselytizer, who paid his *employes* well, as he bargained for the soul as well as the body. Blest was just the man for Thady, as he had the patronage of all the Hibernian Society's schools of the country, one of which the Tireragh sage desired to get charge of, while waiting for something better. Accordingly he was set over a school on the Green Road, near Coolany; but the new teacher, whatever his literary and philosophical abilities might be, must have been a bad or a careless disciplinarian, for it is handed down that half-burned and lighted turves were constantly flying about through the school house, and that, on the occasion of a religious inspection, the inspector had his jaw nearly broken by one of the missiles.

Thady's knowledge of Irish, however, stood him in good stead. At that time proselytizers got it into their heads that they had at last discovered the specific for the conversion of Irishmen, which they had been so long searching for in vain. They came to believe that a few verses of Scripture translated into Irish, and put into people's hands, would work the miracle, Seeing, in the new project, a fine opening for himself as an Irish scholar, Thady promoted it, in every way he could, invented the name of "Elementaries" for the translated Scripture passages, and kept constantly dinning into the ears of Blest and his other patrons that the "Elementaries would do the work"—as his phrase was. After having been employed for some time in preparing and floating the Elementaries, and after developing exceptional ability and zeal in the operation, he was sent to

England to solicit contributions for the undertaking, and was furnished with influential letters of introduction to people of means and station, including bishops, peers, and, it is said, George IV. himself.

The mission was a great pecuniary success. Thady received large sums for the work of the Elementaries, and got besides a considerable amount for emigration purposes. With the emigration fund he despatched several young fellows of Tireragh to America by Mr. O'Connor's vessel, the *Cadmus*; and it was suspected at the time that he was anxious to have them out of the country, as, perhaps, they knew more than he wished of his relations with the Thrashers, some years before, when, for lack of other employment, he used to hawk felt hats at fairs and markets. It was probably in sly allusion to the general suspicions that Mr. Michael Fenton, of Easky, who had the name of being himself no great friend of the "boys," meeting Thady in company with some neighbours, said to him: "So, Thady, you are transporting the boys?" "Yes, sir," rejoined the imperturbable Thady, "just to save you the trouble of hanging them."

Self-denial was not Connellan's characteristic virtue, if he had any such, and it is well known that he made a good thing of his connexion with the Hibernian Society; but, in an evil hour, he was tempted, by the prospect of high interest, to bank most of his savings with Mr. Baron Foster, who, about as pious a man as Thady himself, was in some respects more than a match for him, and closed on the money, with perhaps the less compunction, as he must have suspected that the ex-Romanist had got much of it together by false pretences. Somehow those who knew Thady gave him no credit for sincerity, but rather regarded him as a charlatan and a sham. Young as Lady Morgan was when she met "Mr. Thady O'Conolan," as she calls him, she guaged correctly his assurance, his cunning, his affected dignity, his rich brogue, "that beggared all description," his simulated learning, and paints him as a "finished character;" and John O'Donovan, who had special opportunities of studying

him, shows his estimate in a letter from Innismurray, where he met a schoolmaster for whom he had great contempt, and whom he thus describes:—"He resembles Thady Connellan in the rotundity of his body, and in that very agreeable tranquillity of disposition, and soft roundness of Connaught *blas*, which renders Thady so acceptable to the English Bullocks."

In 1704 the Parish Priest of Templeboy and Kilmacshalgan was John Hely, who was ordained in 1683 by Bishop Whelan of Ossory, and had for sureties Edward Braxton, Ballysadare, and Robert Hilloe (Hillas?), Dunehohy.

The latest Parish Priests of Templeboy are Rev. Dominick M'Namara, Rev. John Burns, Rev. Michael M'Dermot, and Rev. William Cosgrave. To Father Cosgrave the parish is indebted for its beautiful parish church.

The parish of KILMACSHALGAN lies between the parishes of Templeboy and Easky, and is of much larger area than either, though without a proportionate population, the respective areas of Kilmacshalgan, Templeboy, and Easky, being 25,984 acres, 9,112 acres, 13,285 acres; and their respective populations 2,873, 1,816, and 3,583 souls. Kilmacshalgan stretches from the summit of the Ox Mountains to the sea, its seaboard being a very short strip lying between the points of Lackavarna and Donagh. Like that of Templeboy, the area has a triangular shape, but with the difference, that the base rests on the mountain and the apex on the shore—the converse of Templeboy. Something more than four-sixths of the parish is mountain or wild upland, the remainder being fairly fertile land.

The castle of Dunneil, in this parish, like the other castles of Tireragh, belonged to the O'Dowds, and got its name from Niall, a chief of that family. Later, it was possessed by the McSweenys; and an inquisition of James I. relates that "James McSwyne, of Downeale, having the castle of Downeale and various lands, was deprived of all, *vi et armis, et main forte*, by Cahall Oge O'Connor, and himself imprisoned." The most interesting historical association connected with Dunneil

castle is, that it was within its walls Hugh Roe O'Donnell spent the last Christmas he passed in Ireland.

In the Cromwellian regime John Bourke, Robert Hillas, William Edwards, and John Irwin were Tituladoes in the parish; and, at the Restoration, the chief grantees were Lord Strafford, Thomas Radcliffe, John Bourke, and Lord Collooney, the lands of the last named being now owned by Colonel Cooper.

Dromore West, in this parish, is the head-quarters of one of the Poor Law unions of the county—the area of the union being 96,985 acres, the number of houses 3,129, and the population 17,349.

There is nothing recorded of MacShalgan, or the Son of Sealgan, after whom the parish is called; nor is it known whether he was the founder of the church, or the saint to whom it was dedicated. The old church, which was sixty-six feet long by twenty-eight wide—exterior measurement—is in good preservation, with sidewalls and gables still standing, and owes its comparative safety, first, to its having been “repaired” about 1615, and secondly, to its use as a place of Protestant worship down to 1812, when the present Protestant church was erected. A small graveyard surrounds the old building, and almost all the graves are marked with rough slabs of stone.

Kilmacshalgan must be an old foundation, as it is given in the Taxation of 1307, where it is joined to Corkagh, and spelled Kilmacshalhan.

It is not known whether there are at present in the parishes of Kilmacshalgan and Templeboy any descendants of the William Fenton who joined the Protestant Church in 1737, as we learn from the following certificate of the then Protestant bishop:—“Mordecai, by Divine Providence Lord Bishop of Killalla and Achonry, greeting—We do hereby certifie that William Fenton, now an inhabitant of the parish of Kilmacshalgan and Templeboy, hath renounced the errors of the church of Rome, and that he was by our order received into the communion of the church on Sunday, the 24th day of April last, and that the said William Fenton is a Protestant, and doth

conform to the Church of Ireland as by law established. In witness whereof we have hereunto affixed our manual seal this 4th day of May, 1737—MORDECAI, Killalla and Achonry." Nor is it known whether this William Fenton is the ancestor of the Fenton family of Easky.

EASKY has its name from the little river Iascach, which rises in Lough Esk, flows through the parishes of Kilmacshalgan and Easky, and falls into the sea a little to the north of Easky village. The parish has a long stretch of seaboard, from which the bays of Killalla and Sligo are equally accessible. The mouth of the river is a genial habitat for salmon; and the fishery, after passing from the O'Dowds, was granted in 1617 by the King to his famous Attorney-General, Sir John Davys, as "the entire fishings of the river Easkagh, and the rock within the mearings of Carricknemrontaine bog." At the Restoration one of the Ormsbys obtained the fishery with the adjoining land; and his representatives sold it, in 1756, to Henry King. This gentleman left it to his family, three daughters, who, after marrying in Sligo, sold their interest to the Fenton family, the present owners.

On the right bank of the river, as it enters the sea, stood the castle of Rosslee, occupied, in the first years of James I., by the McDonnells. As is said of several other places—Ballysadare, Moyne, &c.,—it is told of Rosslee castle, that it had a fishing contrivance in the river, so arranged, that a fish, on touching it, set bells agoing, and thus obligingly informed the cook that it was at her disposal. Whether the McDonnells continued to hold the castle in 1618 or not, the King, on the 2nd July of that year, granted to Daniel O'Dowd, with various other possessions, "two castles, a kitchen, and a bakehouse within the bawn of Rosslee." The remains of the castle, which are considerable, were drawn by Bigari in 1779, and a good engraving of the drawing may be seen in the first volume of Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*.

On the left bank of the Iascach is Castletown, formerly called Imleach Isell, where there are still some remains of a castle.

Castletown is now the residence of Mrs. Fenton. In the poem of Mac Firbis, Imleach Isell is given as the patrimony of O'Mailduin.

Rathlee lies on the western side of the parish, went in the past by the name of Ichter Rath, and, sometimes, of Mullach Rath, and was one of the chief seats of the O'Dowds. There are still in the place some small remains of a castle, which was occupied, in the early years of the seventeenth century, by the Albanaghs or McDonnells. At the Restoration, Rathlee was granted to Captain William Ormsby, and is now owned by his heirs or assigns. Besides Rosslee, Rathlee, and Castletown, Easky parish contained, at one time, three other castles, one in Carocloonegleragh, another at Carroinroda, and the third at Carrowinwallin, where there was also a church.

In the parish of Easky, at its junction with Templeboy, is the pool, *Dabhach Fharannain*,—the vat or keeve of Farannan—so called from Saint Farannan, who lived close to it, and is said to have used its waters in the administration of baptism, as well as for personal mortification. His cell is on the face of the high adjoining cliff, and would remind one of St. Kevin's Bed at Glendalough, Farannan's cell being also called, by some, Farannan's Bed.* Here the saint practised extraordinary mortifications, which are described in Colgan, and which include constant vigils, frequent standings in cold water while praying, and lying in his open cell on the hard, naked rock, with only a stone for his pillow.

The fame of Farannan's sanctity spread far and wide, and brought crowds of pilgrims from all sides. Judging by what is said of it in the Life published by Colgan, Altferannan was as famous a resort, in its day, as Knock is at present, and had, in comparison with Knock, the additional attraction, that beasts were believed to be cured at it as well as men and women. So sacred, we are told, did it become in the eyes of the people, and

* *Angustus sed aptus pœnitentiæ carcer, quem lecti S. Farannan nomine appellitant.*—Colgan's *Acta Sanct.*, page 337.

with such reverence was everything connected with it regarded, that it came to be counted a sort of sacrilege to injure even a twig in the wood which adjoined and sheltered it. This state of things lasted several hundred years; for Colgan, in the middle of the seventeenth century, writes of it: "Even at present, Altferannan is devoutly visited by crowds of people, on account of the numerous cures, both of men and beasts, effected there."

Altferannan is sometimes written Alternan, as in the grant of Boyle abbey and its possessions to King and Bingley, where it is given as "Altifeyrinan *alias* Alternan;" and in this way the mistake originated of naming the patron saint of the place Ernan, instead of Farannan. Father Walsh, from whom, as a native of Tireragh, one would expect better, confounds Farannan with Airendan and Aileran, though these three names designate three different saints with three different feast days; Farannan's day falling on the 15th February, Aileran's on 29th December, and Airendan's on 10th February. It is clear that Father Walsh never read Colgan's valuable Life of St. Farannan, which throws so much light on the history of the county, and more especially on the history of Tireragh.

The old parish church of Easky stood at Castletown, or Imleach Isell, and is called in the Taxation of 1307, the church of Imelachiskel. Under the year 1439, the Four Masters record the death, by the plague, of the Vicar of Imleach Iseal. In the Visitation Book of 1615, it is given as "Imlaghishell als Ieskeagh."

A somewhat notable occurrence took place in Easky in 1824. It was a controversial discussion between three Catholic clergymen and four Protestant ministers, which came about in this way. Father Devins, the Parish Priest of Easky, passing one day through the little town, and observing a knot of persons gathered around a gentleman who was addressing them vigorously, inquired what was the matter; and learning that the speaker was an "evangelical minister" come to Easky to expound, and, as far as he could, enforce his peculiar views of

religion, the Parish Priest invited him by message to a discussion on the moot points between them. The challenge was accepted; but, after some negotiations, the original arrangement was modified, and three priests—Fathers Devins, Lyons, and Hughes—agreed to meet four ministers—Messrs. Jordan, Murray, McKeague, and Urwick—the “question to be discussed being the propriety of the indiscriminate reading of the Bible, and the right of private judgment in its interpretation, and making it the sole rule of faith.”

The discussion was held in the Catholic chapel of Easky, on the 23rd and 24th November, under the chairmanship of Michael Fenton, Esq., of Castletown, and in the presence of more than six hundred persons; and the proceedings were conducted with great order, impartiality, and firmness by the chairman, and with conspicuous ability by the disputants, though probably with the result, not unusual in such cases, of doing more ill than good both to speakers and listeners.

It is creditable to the diocese of Killalla that the first three priests there met with were a match and, as many thought, more than a match, in the arena, for the picked and trained controversial athletes opposed to them, including Dr. William Urwick, who enjoyed the reputation in his day of being one of the most eloquent men in Ireland. As this gentleman's name has occurred here, and as he was long connected with Sligo, it may be well to add that he was ordained for the Sligo ministry, on the 19th June, 1816 that he was called by his co-religionists to York-street Chapel, Dublin, in 1826, that he died there on the 16th July, 1868, and that he is buried in Mount Jerome Cemetery.

With regard to the succession of Parish Priests in Easky: In 1704, the Parish Priest was Father Robert Scott, who was ordained in 1675 by the Archbishop of Tuam, and had for sureties of good behaviour Bryan Shesknane, Carrowross, and Roger McSwyne, Dunaltah. His successors are unknown till we come to Father Dan McNamara, who held the cure in the first quarter of this century, and was succeeded by Father Devins, who died in 1831. To Father Devins succeeded Rev.

Patrick Flannelly, as we learn from his own memorandum in the Parochial Register: "July 24, being the ninth Sunday after Pentecost, in the year of our Lord 1831, I have been inducted into the parish by the Rev. Mr. Gildea, who was my predecessor. Rev. Mr. Gildea was temporary administrator of the parish since the lamented death of the celebrated Divin, who departed this life on the 19th January, 1831."

Father Flannelly came on the mission after acquiring a reputation for great and brilliant talents in Maynooth College, where he took rank with the late Dr. O'Hanlon, Prefect of the Dunboyne Establishment, and the late Right Rev. Dr. Delany, Bishop of Cork, both giants in their day. Even on the mission, it was admitted, that he retained his great powers of mind, though he put them forth less frequently than he might.

Father Flannelly had a large part in the remarkable proceedings which took place in Killalla on the occasion of Dr. O'Finan's taking possession of that See in 1835. The bishop had hardly arrived, when regrettable differences arose between him and the majority of his priests, which soon filled the diocese with troubles. During the excitement, a letter over the signature of Aladensis, appeared in the *Castlebar Telegraph*, and gave such offence to Dr. O'Finan that, after failing to get the name of the writer from Mr. Cavendish, the proprietor and editor of the paper, he took an action against that gentleman, and gained a verdict with damages to the amount of £500.

The case was tried at the Sligo Assizes of March, 1837, and is memorable not only for the matter *sub judice*, but much more for the eminence of the counsel engaged, the rank of the witnesses examined, and not a few of the incidents that came up during the proceedings.

The Bishop cared nothing for the damages, and, the moment a proper apology was made him by Mr. Cavendish, remitted them, in a long letter written from Rome of which this opening sentence may be quoted:—"I hasten to assure you, Sir, that I cannot think for a moment, after the step which you have taken, certainly without any solicitation from me, and, I trust,

solely upon the conviction of what justice to your own feelings no less than to my character required of you, of receiving from you a single farthing of the damages awarded to me by the jury at Sligo, and by the Dublin Courts upon the appeal; and to this deliberate and unalterable intention, I beg to add the expression of my deep and sincere regret, that you should have been so long subjected to the restraint of remaining a prisoner in your own house for twelve months."

Rev. P. O'Keane succeeded Father Flannelly, and is the present Parish Priest of Easky.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PARISHES OF KILGLASS AND CASTLECONOR.

THE parish of KILGLASS, like most of the other districts of Tireragh, had its quota of castles, of which three are marked on the Ordnance Survey map—one at Iniscrone, one at Policheeny, and the third at Lecan. There are considerable remains of the first-named fortress in the townland of Iniscrone, the fashionable and salubrious seaside resort, so frequented by the traders and shopkeepers of Ballina, and the better-off people of upper Sligo. Iniscrone castle was the chief seat of Caomhain's descendants, who are called by old English writers O'Keevaines, by John O'Donovan O'Keevans, and by themselves, in recent times, Kavanaghs. From the descendants of Caomhain the castle was taken by the Burkes of Lower Connaught, from whom, after a spirited contest, which is well described in the *Four Masters*, at the year 1512, it was recovered by O'Donnell, who forthwith demolished it lest it should fall again into the hands of his enemies.

The castle of Policheeny has left after it very little remains. Of this place the Survey of 1633-6 says, "Policheeny hath an ould castle and good stone house upon it."

In this parish there are three townlands, into the names of which the word Lecan enters, namely, Lecancahill, Lecantlieve, and Lecan simply, sometimes called Lecan M'Firbis. Of the last-named the Survey of 1633-6 says, "There is a kind of ould castle upon it." From a statement of Duaid M'Firbis, given in O'Donovan's *Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach*, page 168, it would appear that the M'Firbises were the founders of this castle in the year 1560. If so, it must have been a very slight

structure, considering its state of ruin in 1633, that is, in less than a century after its supposed erection. Very likely it was a plain stone house, for such houses in those times were dignified with the name of castles—and the humble position of the Lecan M'Firbises in 1604, when, of the eight persons of the name who lived there, seven are described as "kerne," and one entered as "husbandman," would go far to confirm this conjecture.

There is doubt as to the meaning of the word Kilglass. It might signify the Church of the Stream, the Church of the Green Spot, or the Green Church, but it is extremely probable, if not certain, that it means the Church of St. Molaisse. In a letter written by Thomas O'Connor to Thomas A. Larcom, and given in the Ordnance Survey Letter Book of the county Sligo, the writer observes: "Kilglass is a corruption, the people say, of Kil Molaisse;" and what would show the people to have been right is, that in the Commonwealth Rental of Bishop Lands (April 14th, 1656), Kilglass appears with the *alias* of Kilmolasse. The church must have been a comparatively rich one in early times, for while Dromard, Skreen, Templeboy, and Easky are valued respectively in the Taxation of 1307, for 2 marks, 4 marks, 4½ marks, and 5 marks, the value of "Killo-glassa" is 100 shillings.

The parish of CASTLECONOR, which is divided from Kilglass by the Belawaddy river, stretches along the east side of the bay of Killalla, till it joins Kilmoremoy on the south. It has its name from the castle, sometimes called Caisleu mic Conor, and sometimes Dun mic Conor—the castle or the dun of the son of Conor; and it is important to recollect the meaning of the name, for want of attention to it led even O'Donovan and Hennessy to confound the Castleconor of Tireragh with the Castleconor of Carbury.*

Castleconor was always a chief seat of the O'Dowds, and was occupied either by the chief himself or by the tanist, as at the

* See *ante*, Vol. I., p. 506.

time of the Composition of Sir John Perrott with the Sligo chiefs, when Edmund O'Dowd of Kilglass was chief, and David O'Dowd of Castleconor, tanist or heir apparent. The English, who had occupied this and other castles of Tireragh for more than a century, were driven from it in 1371 by Donnell O'Dowd, who took it to himself, and disposed of its lands to his family and followers. Under the Cromwellian regime John Nicholson was Titulado of Castleconor and Newtown, and Lewis Wingfield of Scormore; and at the Restoration these Tituladoes, with Robert Morgan, Lord Collooney and Lewis Wingfield, received grants of most of the parish—Wingfield getting the castle of Castleconor, and Robert Morgan that of Ballicottle, which was built by Donnell O'Dowd, chief of his name, in the year 1417.

The original church was at Castleconor, and is entered in the Taxation of 1307 as Castroconor, and valued at eight marks, a higher valuation even than that of Kilglass. Killanley—called from a patron saint or founder named Ainle, or Fainle—is the site of another old church, and serves at present for a place of burial.

At Scormore there was formerly an Augustinian convent, which was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and of which we learn from the Annals of Dudley Firis the following interesting particulars: First, that it was originally built without the authorization of the Holy See, which was necessary on occasions of new religious foundations; second, that the heads of the establishment petitioned Pope Nicholas V. for absolution, in regard to this irregular proceeding, as also for leave to fish; and third, that the Pope granted the desired absolution, and also authorized the community to have a boat, and to fish the Moy, with additional powers to salt and store the fish, as well for sale as for the use of the religious.*

* “Scor-mor sub advocazione Sanctissimæ Trinitatis habetur in Registro Vaticano. Bulla Nicolai 5., data Romæ pridie Idus Decembris anno 8. Pontificatus atque adeo 1454, in qua Pontifex narrativam supplicationem præmisit. Hi erant fratres, frater Eugenius O'Cormyn, et frater Thadæus MacFerbisii, Eremitæ ordinis S. Augustini, qui terram quendam nuncupatam Scormore a

Rev. Thomas Valentine, who, after having been Sacrist in the diocese of Clonfert from 1707, became Vicar of the union of Castleconor and Kilglass in 1711, provided for the endowment of a school in that union by the following words of his will: "I give and bequeath the sum of £400 sterling towards the institution of a Protestant charity school, and for the putting out a few of the Protestant apprentices to trades; which school I order to be erected within the union of Frankfort."

This sum has increased, in some way not sufficiently explained, to £2,495, 0s. 10d., now in the hands of the Charitable Bequests Board, and produces a yearly income of £74, 17s. 0d.

The Kilglass school, under Mr. Minchin, receives at present half of this £74, 17s. 0d., and the other half goes to the parish of Castleconor—a school at Castleconor, and another at Skurmore, both under female teachers, getting out of it capitation allowances. The fund may be, and no doubt is, properly administered at present, but as much can hardly be said of it in the past; for whoever reads attentively the evidence given before the Endowed Schools, Ireland, Commission in 1855, by Rev. Samuel Stock, the then Vicar of the union, and Mr. Henry Campbell, the then schoolmaster of the Valentine school, cannot fail to be struck by the inefficient, slipshod way—to say no more—in which things were then managed.

The parish of Kilmoremoy joins that of Castleconor on the south. As the primitive church of Kilmoremoy stood in the county Mayo, the history of the parish belongs to that county, so that all that is allowable here is a few words regarding the

nobili viro Thadæo O'Dowda Domino Dicecesis Aladensis donatam ad erigendum conventum sub titulo Sanctissimæ Trinitatis absque licenciâ Apostolicæ sedis acceptaverunt; eos absolutionem reatus commisit, et confirmationem donationis petentes Nicolaus exaudivit, et præposito ecclesiæ Aladensis executionem remisit, in nomine Domini concedens fratribus, ut naviculam habere possent pro piscibus ex quodam flumine prope ipsum locum cursum faciente capiendis et salsandis per venditionem et ponendis ad usum et utilitatem fratrum eorumdem. Ita habetur in nostris annalibus (inquit frater Gualemus O'Meahayn)."—Note in O'Donovan's *Four Masters*, p. 992.

portion of it which stretches over the right bank of the Moy. This district covers an area of 7,992 acres, contains a population of 3,806 persons, and comprises the handsome residences of Belleek Abbey and Belleek Castle, the neat villages of Bunree and Crocketstown, as well as the whole of the Ardnaree division of the Ballina township, including the fine cathedral of the diocese.

Ardnaree, according to O'Donovan* and Dr. Joyce,† signifies the Hill of the Executions, the persons executed being said to be the murderers of Bishop Cellach. Both the distinguished writers cite M'Firbis as their authority; but, on examination, it will be found that M'Firbis does not speak absolutely, and that he brings forward the Execution theory only as an alternative explanation of the manner in which the murderers came by their death; for, his words, as translated by O'Donovan, are: "Cuchongelt Mac Eoghan was he *who slew the foster-brothers of Ceallach in revenge for their fratricide*; they were Maolcroin, Maolseanaigh, Maoldalua, and Mac (or Maol) Deoraidh. Or, *according to others*, these were hanged at *the river of Sal Srotha Derg*, which is called the Muaidh, and it was from them the hill over the Muaidh was called Ard na riogh; and Ard na Maol is the name of the hill on the other side of the stream, where they were interred."‡

When MacFirbis is so undecided, it can hardly be assumed as proven that Ardnaree has its name from the alleged executions; though, on the other hand, the unhesitating language of so sober, judicious, and learned a writer as Dr. Joyce, even apart from other authorities, gives the opinion no slight probability. One other observation must take the form of a query, to be answered by persons having more local knowledge than the writer pretends to: As the Glenree of the neighbourhood, and the Bunree, signify respectively the Glen of the Ree, and

* Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, p. 34.

† Names of Places. First Series, p. 96.

‡ Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, p. 34.

the Bun, or mouth of the Ree, may it not be that Ardnaree similarly means the Height of the Ree, or the Height over the Ree?

The castle of Ardnaree was built by the English,* and stood, no doubt, on the eminence now known as Castle Hill. O'Donovan states,† that Ardnaree abbey was founded in 1427, and cites De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana* and Archdall's *Monasticon Hibernicum* as his authorities. As to the *Hibernia Dominicana* it has not a word at all on Ardnaree; while Archdall refers to Allemande, who quotes Pere Torelli and Pere Lubin as basing the date on the registers of their order.‡ This looks rather conclusive, but still it will be found hard to reconcile the date of 1427 with this entry of both the Four Masters and the Annals of Lough Ce under the year 1402: "Murtough, the son of Donough O'Dowda, a man universally distinguished for his nobleness and hospitality, died, and was interred at Ardnaree."

In the first year of James I. the abbey of Ardnaree was granted to Sir Richard Boyle, in these terms:—"The site and house of the late friary of Ardnary, containing $\frac{1}{2}$ a., in which is a church, cloister, dormitory, and other buildings; 1 qr. of land, containing 60 acres with the tithes thereof, now in the Crown and waste."

The Parish Priest of Kilglass, at the Registration of the clergy in 1704, was Rev. Manus Beolan, or Boland; and the latest Parish Priests are Rev. Edward Lavelle and Rev. Patrick Irwin.

The Parish Priest of Castleconor, in 1704, was Rev. Daniel Culkin; the latest Parish Priests being Fathers Patrick Duffy, John Barins, and John M. O'Hara.

* Tribes and Customs of Hy Fiachrach, p. 125.

† Ibid., p. 359.

‡ Histoire Monastique d'Irlande, p. 327.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CONCLUSION.

It will not be amiss, before closing, to add a few pages which may serve partly as a recapitulation of what has been said, and partly as a supplement, and in which some topics of more than ordinary interest may be noticed or re-noticed. To begin with

RELIGION :

Though it may be fairly inferred from what is stated in Colgan's *Vita Tripartita* about the "stone altar and glass chalices,"* which might be found in the mountains of Tirerrill, that there were Christians in the county prior to the time of St. Patrick, still they would be, according to all, so few, that we are warranted in not taking them into account, and in dating the conversion of the district from the days of the Saint.

According to common opinion in the neighbourhood, the honour of being the part of the county, that first received the faith from St. Patrick, belongs to Tireragh, as it was there the Apostle began his labours after crossing the Moy from Tyrawley. Those who hold this opinion add, that the Saint moved next to Carbury, and erected there, on that occasion, the church of

* "In regione nepotum Olidæ; ubi cum deficerent necessaria ad divinum ministerium sacraque utensilia, sanctus Præsul divinitus instructus, indicavit presbytero, subtus terram altare in quodam specu lapideo esse mirandi operis in quatuor angulis habens quatuor calices vitreos."—Pars II. Cap. xxxii.

"And Patrick instructed Ailbhe regarding a stone altar in the mountain of Ui-Ailella underground, and four glass chalices at the four corners."—Hennessy's Translation of the *Vita Tripartita* in Miss Cusack's *Life of Saint Patrick*, page 401.

Killaspugbrone;* and that from Carbury he passed to Tirerrill, and founded the religious houses of Tawnagh,† Aghanach, Shancoe, and Cloonmucduff—all well-known places—as well as that of Cill-Angli, which has not been identified, but which, very probably, is the church of Killanly in the parish of Cloonoghil. Killaraght, in the half barony of Coolavin, is another of the Saint's foundations.

The reader will find, by referring back to the chapter on the Parish of Aghanagh, that the writer does not agree with this account of the order in which the Apostle's foundations succeeded one another, his opinion being that the house, which was established in the valley between Lough Arrow and Keash, preceded not only the other churches of the county Sligo, but also those of Tyrawley.

Saint Columba next made a journey through the district, and founded while on his way, or a little later, the churches of Emlaghfad in Corran, Drumcolumb in Tirerrill, and Drumcliff in Carbury.‡

Shortly after this the famous Saint Finian of Clonard visited Connaught, and, in conjunction with Saint Nathy, established the church and monastery of Achonry.§

While most of the present county was thus converted to Christianity, considerable tracts still continued heathen, and the religious houses now took up the missionary work. The monastery of Achonry achieved large results, not only in the immediate neighbourhood, but in distant places, through Saint Fechin, who was a member of that establishment, and who, after quitting it, founded first "the great church" of Ballysaddare, || and, later on, the churches of Billa, Kilnemonogh, and

* "Et fundavit ecclesiam juxta fossam Rigbairt."—Book of Armagh. Sir William Betham's Edition, p. xxxii.

† "Et exiit trans montem filiorum Ailello et fundavit ecclesiam ibi Tamnach et Ehenach, et Cell Angli et Cell Senchuæ."—Idem.

‡ O'Donnell's Life of Saint Columba in Trias Thaum., p. 406.

§ Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, p. 396.

|| Ibid., p. 134.

Killasser, in the same parish ; the church of Drumrat, in Corran ; the churches of Kilgarvan, of Cong, and of High-Island, in Mayo ; and the great house of Fore, in Westmeath.

Saint Molaise's monastery of Aughris was hardly less successful in extending the bounds of religion ; for, after evangelizing in Tireragh the present parishes of Templeboy, Kilmacshalgan, and Dromard, Molaise himself, or some of his community, founded the great establishment of Inismurray in the island of that name, and carried next the truths and ordinances of religion from the island to the parish of Ahamlish on the mainland.

It was the primitive saints and the religious houses, which they founded, that accomplished these results, but the work was taken up later by the new orders which established themselves in the neighbourhood: the Cistercians of Boyle, the Premonstratensians of Trinity Island, in Lough Ce, and the Canons Regular of Inchmacnerin, in the same lake. These religious, where they got footing, diffused or revived religion by establishing chapelries, and, in some instances, as at Knocknarea, nunneries, or, as at Killross, structures which were at once monasteries of men and parish churches. In requital for the services they rendered, landed possessions were bestowed upon them. The abbey of Boyle received in Corran two hundred and sixty acres, lying in the parish of Emlaghfad, as well as the trine of Cloncagh, in the parish of Toomour ; in Carbury two hundred and sixty acres, in the parish of Kilmacowen, and seventy in that of Ahamlish ; and in Tireragh, two hundred and twenty acres in Grangemore and Grangebeg, in the parish of Templeboy. These lands were all called Granges.*

Trinity Abbey obtained still larger possessions :—in Tirerrill, the four quarters of Bricklieve, locally called the Three Trynes

* "The Granges," says Mr. Collins, in the Preface to his translation of the *Lives and Legends of the Cistercian Fathers*, "were farms at some little distance from the Abbey. Only Convert Brothers were allowed to sleep there."

—Trynetemple, Trynemaddere, and Trynemoylegreghe;—Tullamoyle, now known as Tullabeg, in the parish of Killross; the church of Kilross, with its appendant island in Lough Gill, formerly named O'Gillegan's Island, but at present O'Gallagher's Island, or Cottage Island, and the churches of Killadoon and Shancoe; in Carbury, the tryne of Rosbirne, in Kilmacowen; and the rectories of the eight parishes of Emlaghfad, Kilmorgan, Cloonoghill, Toomour, Drumrat, Kilturra, Kilshalvey, and Enagh, all in Corran except Enagh, which is at present the Tirerrill portion of the parochial union of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, but which in the past was a separate parish.

The Canons Regular of Inchmacnerin obtained four quarters of land in Killerry, half a townland in Kilmacroy, and the rectories of Aghanagh, Kilmacallan, and Culea.

In this way religion was carried over all the districts comprised in the area of the present county, and churches were erected not only in the lowlands, but high up on the slopes of the mountains, as at Bricklieve, and in the islands of the three chief lakes—Lough Arrow, Lough Gara, and Lough Gill.

We must not omit to mention that the Mendicant Orders, after their introduction, co-operated zealously in this movement: their houses—those of the Dominicans at Sligo, Ballindoon, and Cloonymeaghan; of the Franciscans, at Ballymote and Court; of the Augustinians, at Banada; and of the Carmelites, at Knockmore, in Coolavin—serving constantly as so many centres of spiritual life in their respective localities.

This state of things continued till the Reformation; nor was there much practical change under Henry VIII.; while Elizabeth, in the early part of her reign, showed herself disposed to wink at the private practice of the Catholic religion, and accordingly allowed Sir Donnell O'Connor to maintain priests in the Abbey, provided only they were secular priests, a condition probably added, in this and some other cases,* merely to save appearances.

* The friary of Carrickfergus was granted under similar conditions to Hugh

Persecution, more or less severe, of Irish Catholics, existed in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Elizabeth, James I., Charles I., Charles II., but the evil culminated, first, under Cromwell, who boasted that the Mass would not be allowed wherever the authority of England extended; and, second, under Anne, who lent all her power "to prevent the growth of popery;" and it was more especially in these times that the Catholics of the county had to hide themselves from the public authorities, and, that they might be able to practise the ordinances of their religion, had to betake themselves to the mountains of Slieve Gamh, Braulieve, and Bricklieve, where, to this day, local tradition points out the spots in which Mass used to be celebrated.

Under the Commonwealth, floods of English and Scotch immigrants inundated the county, lying deep on the most valuable and desirable spots, and more especially in and around the town of Sligo, and the village of Collooney, in which place, judging by the names of the then inhabitants, the householders must have been Protestants almost to a man; and we shall leave it to others to solve the problem, how this population, owning all the land of the county, not merely protected, but nursed, by the government, reared like delicate exotics in the hothouse, while Catholics were driven into the "windy gap," monopolizing all offices, public and private, of trust, of emolument, and of power, and often recruited by large accessions of co-religionists from England, Scotland, and the north of Ireland, have been constantly losing ground and falling off in numbers, in wealth,

Mac Neil Oge by "Edward the Sixth, defender of the faith," according to the following State Paper:—"Whereas the said Hugh hath humbly submitted himself to the King's Majestie his clemencie begging pardon for all offences, promising to continue during life a faithful subject, he requests to have a leas of certain late monasteries with the landes thereunto belonging, and the late frier house in Knockfergus granted unto him, that therein he may erect two secular priests for ministration of divine service, alleging that his ancestors were buried there, and that in all his countrie, there is no place so meet a place for burial as that is." The petition was granted.—*Ulster Journal of Archæology*, Vol. VII., p. 4.

and in power—a decadence which still goes on, and in some places with constantly accelerating velocity.

As soon as the pressure of the Penal Laws was somewhat relaxed, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the county Sligo Catholics took to building places of worship, which at first were mud-wall, or rude stone-wall, thatched, cabins, but which improved as time went on, till they have developed into the handsome Gothic churches of Ballymote, Gurteen, Curry, Monasteredan, Mulnabreena, and Collooney, this last, though coming first in time, still continuing, and likely to continue long, first in beauty.

In recent years houses of a religious character have been erected through the county by the different denominations of Protestants:—by the members of the late Established Church the neat little Gothic church and parsonage of Strandhill, the chapels of ease of Ballysadare, Rosses Point, and Ballinafad; by the Methodists, the chapel, minister's residence, and schools of Sligo, and the chapel of Collooney; by the Presbyterians, the fine manse of Garden Hill, the manse and church of Drum near Ballymote, and the manse and church at Clogher; and by the Independents, the imposing church, minister's residence, and schools of Stephen-street.

An account of the means of support for themselves and the service of religion which Irish bishops and priests enjoyed in the past, would be an appropriate addition to the foregoing facts, but there is little known on the subject. Saint Patrick and his fellow-labourers were greatly helped by the grants of land which they received from or through their converts, some of whom, if not chiefs themselves, belonged to the families of chiefs—as Maneus, bishop of Tirerrill, who was great-great grandson of Ollioll, king of Tirerrill;* and Bronus, of Killaspugbrone, who was son of Icneus, chief of his territory. In receiving lands they also, no doubt, received the live stock that were on them;

* *Trias Thaum.*, pag. 176.—“Sanctus Maneus episcopus, filius Coechani, filii Erci, filii Rossii, filii Olildæ.”

and what shows that Saint Patrick's cattle were numerous, we find among his companions a bishop Rodanus, who is styled his *armentarius*, or herd, and whose special duty it was to tend the Saint's cattle. These cattle formed the chief possessions, and their milk the chief sustenance, of our primitive ecclesiastics. Kildalough, near Ballysadare, is a church of this Rodan.

Besides the cattle kept on their own lands, they had some on the lands of others, where they were depastured free, as in the instance of Assicus, patron and first bishop of Elphin, of whom it is said in the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick: "And the king of Rath Cunga, in Seirthe, gave to Assicus, and to his monks after his death, the pasture of one hundred cows with their calves, and twenty oxen, as a perpetual offering"*—an example, which may have given rise to an usage, formerly prevalent in the Roscommon portion of Elphin diocese, and, probably, not quite unknown there still, of priests sending out to the demesnes or farms of leading parishioners, calves or foals, which remained at grass till they returned to their owners, after the lapse of three or four years, full grown cows or horses.

This mode of supporting religion continued and increased with the increase of the church. Laymen of station not only contributed to the church of their neighbourhood, but sometimes sent contributions to a distance, out of devotion to a particular saint. Thus the head of the O'Hara family bound himself and his descendants after him, to make, every year, an offering of three cows to the successors of St. Cormac on the banks of the Moy.† Affiliated or appropriated churches, chapels, or cells, in the same way made annual offerings, or rather payments, to the parent house, which, as we learn from various sources, and notably from the Registry of Clonmacnoise, were, in early times, always paid in kind, in beeves and hogs for the

* "Rex Rethcungæ—consecravit Assico, ejusque jam mortui monachis, agros et paschua pro centum vaccis cum suis vitulis et viginti bobus pascendis."—*Trias Thaum.*, pag. 135. The Book of Armagh mentions the same fact.

† "Se et posteros divinctos reddidit, ad tres boves ipsi et successoribus quotannis solvendo."—Colgan's *Acta Sanct.*, pag. 753.

most part, which were either forwarded to the head establishment, or delivered to some steward sent to receive them. "Three beeves and three hogs at every St. Martin," for a leading church, and "two beeves and a hogg" for minor churches or chapels, seem to have been the "rents" usually paid to Clonmacnoise, and, no doubt, to other great establishments of the same age,* by their dependent churches, chapels, and cells. It was, for the most part, in the same kind of goods that bequests and funeral offerings to religious houses were made, as appears from the case of Donnell O'Connor already mentioned,† and that of Turlough O'Connor, who died in 1156,‡ "after the sixty-eighth year of his age, and was interred at Cluan-mic-Nois, beside the altar of Ciaran, after having made his will, and distributed gold and silver, cows and horses, among the clergy and churches of Ireland in general."

By degrees the great monasteries got hold of the majority of the county Sligo churches with their "dues and pertinents." To Clonmacnoise were appropriated Tawnagh, Kilmurihy (Kilmorgan), and Kilmacteige;§ to Boyle, the churches of Grange near Knocknarea, Grange in Ahamlish, Grange in Emlaghfad, Grangemore and Grangeley in Tireragh and Cloncagh in Corran; to Trinity Abbey, in Lough Ce, the churches of Killross, Tullamoybeg (now Tullabeg), Bricklieve, Killadoon, and Shancoe, with the rectories of Emlaghfad, Kilmorgan, Cloonoghill, Tumour, Drumrat, Kilturra, Kilshalvey, and Enagh; to the house of the Canons Regular of Inchmacnerin, Killerry, Kilmacroy, and the rectories of Aghanagh, Kilmacallan, and Coolea; and to the Priory of Saint John the Baptist, *extra novam portam*, Dublin, the rectory of St. John's, Sligo, commonly called in old documents the Rectory Between the Two Bridges, *Rectoria inter duos pontes*.

* *Kilkenny Archaeological Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 448.

† See Vol. I., p. 86.

‡ *Four Masters*, 1156.

§ *Kilkenny Journal*, *ubi supra*.

If some advantage resulted from the connexion of these churches and rectories with the great monasteries, it was accompanied with a weighty drawback, inasmuch as the monastic establishments took to themselves so much of the revenues, which should have been left for local purposes, that, when troubles came, the secular clergy were unable to cope with them. A similar state of things existed elsewhere, as in Scotland, and with a similar result. "In one reign, that of William the Lion," says Cosmo Innes,* "thirty-three parish churches were bestowed upon the new monastery of Arbroath. The consequences of such a system were little thought of, and yet might have been foreseen. The tithes and property which the Church had with much difficulty obtained for the support of a resident parochial clergy were in a great measure swallowed up by the monks. The monasteries became indeed, and continued for some ages, the centres and sources of religion and letters, the schools of civil life in a rough time, the teachers of industry and the arts of peace among men whose sloth used to be roused only by the sound of arms. But even the advantages conferred by them were of small account in contrast with the mischief of humbling the parish clergy. When the storm came, the secular clergy were degraded and powerless."

The lesson conveyed in these words may have its use even to-day, as it serves to show that everything tending to belittle the "resident parochial clergy," by lowering their status, by curtailing their rights and privileges, or by withdrawing from local objects too large a share of local resources, is likely in the long run, even amid the conditions of modern society, to produce the ill-consequences which Cosmo Innes describes and deplures.

The lands granted in early times for the erection and endowment of churches were generally of good extent. Those bestowed on Clonmacnoise in county Sligo, as well as in other parts of Ireland, were in almost all cases of "48 dayes," that is, says

* *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, pp. 18-19.

Dudley McFirbis,* “of 48 dayes plowing, or as much as might be plowed of land for 48 dayes;” the stretch from the bridge of Ballydrehid all round to Culleenamore, was given to St. Diarmit for the church of Kilmacowen;† the fertile and extensive region bounded to the east and west, respectively, by Ballysadare river and Drumard, and to the north and south by the sea and the Ox Mountain, was made over to St. Fechin for his church of Easdara or Ballysadare,‡ and formed, in later times, the Termon of that church; and still larger districts were granted in other places to the founders of churches. The holy men guarded jealously what they thus got, resisting firmly every encroachment, come from quarter it might. Saint Aidan, of Cloonoghill, as is stated in another page, addressed strong remonstrances and reproaches to St. Cormac, who, he thought, intended to settle too near him;§ and St. Conal, the uterine brother of St. Attracta, prevented her, much against her will, from erecting her monastery or hospital in his neighbourhood.||

Tillage on Church or other lands was very rare in the time of St. Patrick, and for some centuries after; though the instance of Bishop Etchen, who was engaged in ploughing when Saint Columba came to him for the purpose of receiving episcopal ordination, shows that tillage was practised to some extent even in those primitive times.

As soon as it became more general, offerings ceased to be given exclusively in animals, and began to be made in part from the produce of the tilled land, so that the ricks and baskets of corn mentioned in the Four Masters, under the year 1236, as stored up in churches and churchyards, were, no doubt, the outcome of those oblations. So late as the year 1516 the revenues of Tuam cathedral, and, consequently, other revenues of the province, “were paid in corn and barley.”

* *Kilkenny Archæological Journal*, Vol. IV., p. 451.

† *Acta Sanct.*, pag. 751.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 753.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 277.

From the infancy of the Irish Church there were, from time to time, gifts in gold and silver to supplement offerings in kind; and in modern times, when money contributions had come to form the greater part of clerical income, others in kind were added, so that, as a matter of fact, the clergy continued down to sixty or seventy years ago to receive a good portion of their dues in oats, barley, butter, or yarn. In the collapse of ecclesiastical organization caused by the penal laws, the clergy had no fixed places of abode, but their ever-faithful people searched them out in the mountain and morass, and supplied them with food and clothing, in defiance of the unholy laws which made such an act of humanity a capital crime.

About this time the people were plundered by the ministers of the State Church. To say nothing here of charges for marrying, for churching, and for other functions—functions which they never performed—they began to claim and exact, in addition to ordinary tithes, a “tithe milk,” as it was called, which was a species of tithe never before claimed or even heard of in Ireland, or in any other country of Christendom. So monstrous was this claim, and so outrageous the crime of enforcing it with the certain result of starving numbers of poor persons who had nothing but the milk of their cows to live on, that the Lord Deputy Chichester, anti-Irish and anti-Catholic as he was, set his face against the inhuman innovation, and justified his conduct to the Privy Council by assuring them that this “milk was the daily food and blood of the people.” The ministers, however, made a hard fight for their pound of flesh; “for one minister,” writes Chichester to the Council, “was pitifully murdered with forty-four wounds about him for that cause, and another lay person was slain in defence of a minister his master.”

Owing to the confusion that resulted from these ill-omened times, there was no longer any regular assured means of support for the clergy of the people; and to remedy this defect, a Provincial Synod, which met at Tuam in 1631, under the presidency of Most Rev. Malachy Queely, sanctioned a scale of

maintenance, which, however inadequate it might be, was all that the impoverished Catholics of the day could be asked to provide. According to this scale two shillings were to be given the Parish Priest on the occasion of marriage, one at baptism, and four "*testilia*" for yearly dues. It is not certain whether the "*testilia*" meant testoons or what were popularly called "testers." If the former, the *testilia* varied in value, as in Italy and Portugal—the countries on the Continent in which the coin circulated—being equal in the former country to about seventeen pence, and in the latter to seven pence. If *testilia* stood for testers, which is most likely, the four *testilia* would be equal at that time to four sixpences, or two shillings; but it should be remembered that shillings and sixpences were more valuable then than now.

In a Provincial Synod held in Tuam in 1817, under the Most Rev. Oliver Kelly, clerical income was fixed at one guinea (£1, 2s. 9d.) for marriage, two shillings for yearly dues, five shillings for a marriage certificate, and two shillings as *honorarium* for Mass. The Council makes no mention of a baptismal fee, and observes, regarding the scale laid down, that it is meant for the poorest class (*infima plebs*), and that better-off people (*locupletiores*) are bound to be more liberal.

According to Rev. James Nelligan, in his *Statistical Account* of Kilmacteige (p. 379), the fees in that parish were, in the year 1817—for marriage, £1, 2s. 9d.; baptism, 2s. 6d.; yearly dues, 2s. 2d.; mortuary, 8s. 0d.; marriage certificate, 5s.; Bishop's licence, 5s. 0d.; while servants and young persons were in the habit of giving sixpence each on occasion of their half-yearly confession. And, in addition, a collection was taken up on Christmas Day, and another on Easter Sunday. The parson observes that this list may, "with some variation, serve as a standard for all the other parishes of the diocese." He omits, however, to mention that, at this time, a stop was put, by the Provincial Synod of Tuam, to the offerings of young people and females on the occasion of confession:—"Oblationes vero quæ

die Confessionis fieri solebant a junioribus et fæminis, in posterum nullatenus sunt exigendæ.”

It should be mentioned that, in addition to the regular offerings, local custom sometimes sanctioned exceptional ones, as the “wedding-cake contributions” of some southern dioceses, and the “funeral offerings” still paid in the Carbury portion of the diocese of Elphin.

It will be seen by these instances that clerical income is usually dealt with in synods, provincial or diocesan, where those affected by any change are present in person, or are duly represented. This is only in keeping with the constant practice of the Church, which takes special care that, on such occasions, everything be done without prejudice to incumbents or others interested—a principle so consonant to natural justice, that it is carefully observed in civil as well as ecclesiastical transactions. In this country the income of bishops and priests is regulated in great part by custom, and ecclesiastical authority seldom interferes except to stop abuses.

Whatever some people outside the Church may say of the arbitrariness of churchmen, no individual prelate would take on himself to make a radical change in the clerical income of his diocese without at least consultation with his priests, and rarely, if at all, without their concurrence or consent. If nothing else, the practice of the Church would prevent such autocracy. To hear certain outsiders speak, one would be led to imagine that there was nothing to hinder a Catholic bishop from revolutionizing his diocese in this respect at any moment he liked, so that his diocesans might all go to bed at night under one system of maintenance, and might find themselves placed, on rising in the morning, under quite a different system without action or acquiescence on their part; as if a bishop, without alleging text of Scripture, canon of council, ordinance of Pope or congregation, or any of the other reasons which underlie and justify ecclesiastical action, might, by a stroke of his pen, sweep away vested rights, pious customs (“*laudabiles consuetudines*”), and

a time-out-of-mind state of things, and act as if people lived *in partibus infidelium*, where everything is a *tabula rasa* ready to receive any impressions communicated.

The persons who hold such views know little either of the divine constitution of the Church, or of the tender solicitude with which she safeguards the rights and interests of all her children. Ecclesiastical superiors pursue always the "golden mean"—remote, on one side, from absolutism, of which a great Church authority avers, "*Le pouvoir absolu est complètement étranger à l'esprit de l'Eglise*;" and remote, on the other side, from the ridiculous inaction to which both civil and ecclesiastical rulers would be reduced by a modern school of thinkers, who are well represented by the famous Dr. Arnold when he writes:—"Irresponsible persons, irremovable, and acting without responsible advisers, are such a solecism in government, that they can only be suffered to exist so long as they do nothing."

Sligo has not much to boast of as to the state of

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in the times that are passed. For this Catholics are little to blame, as till recently they were forbidden by law to educate others, or to receive education themselves from their fellow-Catholics. It was only in 1781 was passed an Act "to allow persons professing the Popish religion to teach school" (22 & 23 George III., cap. 62).

Erasmus Smith seems to have been the first Protestant to give a helping hand to education in the county. Of the 13,000 acres which that lucky adventurer devoted to the endowment of schools in Ireland, 2,199 acres, 3 roods, and 26 perches, lay in the county Sligo, in the parishes of St. John, Calry, and Drumcliff—Lisnahelly in Drumcliff, Tawnaphuble in St. John's, and Cloonsaor and Farrinmacardy in Calry, being portions of his great estate. It would have been well for the county had it received from the Erasmus Smith Board aid in proportion to

the extent and value of these lands, but instead of that, the support, for a short time, of the late Mr. Ward's school near the Lungy was, as we learn from the proceedings of the Commissioners on Endowed Schools which sat in Sligo in 1855,* almost the only return made to the town or county.

The next Protestant foundation was the Charter School, which was opened in 1755. In 1730 Primate Boulter, on the part of the Government, established the Charter Schools as conversion traps for Catholics, "out of concern," as he said, "for the salvation of these poor creatures." Parliamentary grants, amounting to millions, were lavished on these establishments, but they failed so utterly and disgracefully, that John Howard, who visited them in 1788, describes them as "a disgrace to Protestants, and an encouragement of Popery, the children being sickly, naked, and half-starved."

Assuming the Sligo Charter School to be a fair specimen of all, we must pronounce Howard to be sufficiently moderate in his judgment. According to a Report on the State of the Protestant Chartered Schools issued by a Parliamentary Commission in 1788, Sligo school, on the 26th July, 1787, "contained twenty-five boys and seventeen girls, all barefooted, for the most part ragged and illiterate. There were eleven beds in the room in which the boys slept, which were all filthy, and had but three tickens, and very few bolsters. The sheets in general were very foul. The girls' sleeping room was equally filthy, and had no tickens, and but two bolsters on eight beds. The master had three apprentices, who were working barefooted at a dunghill, viz.: William Kavanagh, aged 17 years, was bound to him in July, 1785; James Henley and William Connell,

* Mr. Hughes, one of the Commissioners, having asked the Rev. Samuel Shone, one of the witnesses, "Is the result this, that for Sligo, out of the estates held by the Governors, all they contribute is the salary of the master?" the witness answered, "The result is, that is all they give as regards education in the town of Sligo."—Evidence taken before the Commissioners, etc. Question 6684.

each 19 years old, indented in December, 1783. Kavanagh and Connell read very badly, could scarcely write their names, and did not know a single figure; Henley could not even spell; yet two of them had been twelve years in this school. Mary Mackenzie, aged 14 years, indented in July, 1785, was totally illiterate, though in the school since 1780. Several of the pupils have eruptions.”* Mr. M. Hart, who was the teacher at this time, notwithstanding his neglect of the pupils, knew how to take care of Number One, for the Report adds, “Young Master and Miss Hart occupy two rooms on the middle floor, which are well lighted, and measure each twenty-eight feet by eighteen feet!”

Such was the state of things in 1787, and matters can hardly be said to have mended up to 1825, when a parliamentary paper (First Report on Education, 1825), gives this account of the Sligo school: “The Master was a man of violent and ungoverned passions, and the boys were most severely and cruelly punished, not only by him, but also by his son, and by a foreman in the weaving department; and these punishments were inflicted for very slight faults. The habitual practice of the master was to seize the boys by the throat, and press them almost to suffocation, and to strike them with a whip or his fist upon the head and face during the time his passion lasted. The anger of the master was chiefly excited by the boys performing less work than he expected in the weaving shop (of which the master had the profit), or by their not weaving well.”

When the Charter schools were broken up, the Sligo house, which was described in 1787 as “three stories high, spacious, well built, and situated within a quarter of a mile of the town,” became the property of Mr. Wynne, and is now the premises of the Elphin Diocesan school. This school, which dates from 1571, was transferred to Sligo by warrant dated 5th November,

* An Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland, p. 103.

According to Rev. J. Wesley's Journal (May, 1785), there were in Ballinrobe Chartered School, only 3 beds for 15 boys, and 5 for 19 girls.

1862, and has now for Head Master, W. C. Eades, Esq., M.A., Ex Sch. and Sen. Cl. Mod. T.C.D., who is admitted to be an able and successful educationist.

As to private benefactors in the cause of education:—Mr. William Draper left a bequest of £18 a year, but whether it was for education or other purposes did not clearly appear to the Commissioners on Endowed Schools; Rev. Samuel Shone, one of the witnesses, stating that the money was “paid regularly to three Protestant servants, but *altogether irrespective of education*.”*

Mr. Adam Ormsby left a rent-charge of £32, 6s. 2d. on his estate. In this case, too, uncertainty existed as to the exact nature of the benefaction. Rev. Mr. Gully, a witness, understood it was for the support of the “charity boys of Sligo,” but added, that it had been transferred to the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, and was by them expended on Primrose Grange School.†

A Mr. Nicholson bequeathed rent-charges on his estate, expected to yield £120 *per annum*, for a school at Knocknarea.

Rev. Mr. Valentine, who was rector of the united parishes of Castleconor and Kilglass, and who died in 1760, left by will “£400 towards the institution of a Protestant charity school at Frankfort in that union, and for the putting out a few of the Protestant apprentices to trades.” This sum was placed at interest, and reached five times the amount before the school was established.‡

As has been said, Primate Boulter, when establishing the Charter Schools, made no secret of his design to use them for proselytizing purposes; but other educational organizations

* Evidence on Inquiry into the State of the Endowed Schools in Ireland, Vol. I., p. 320, query 6673.

† Evidence, etc., query 6685.

‡ Detailed evidence, which will repay perusal, was given to the Commissioners regarding this school. It is contained in the first volume of the Inquiry, etc., from pages 307 to 314.

were intended to accomplish covertly what the Charter School system was employed to do openly. The London Hibernian Society, dating from 1806, while professing to "interfere with no particular creed," made scriptural instruction its chief aim, obliging the pupils, who frequented its schools, to devote most of their time to reading the Scriptures, and committing them to memory. The well-known Albert Blest, of Coolany, was the head agent of the Society in this district, as well as chief manager of its schools, of which he established about a hundred in Sligo and the adjoining counties. In the Statistical Account of Kilmactigue, Reverend James Nelligan bestows strong praise on Mr. Blest; and the qualities which earned the writer's eulogy as well as the real character of the Hibernian Society schools, may be gathered from a single sentence of the Account:—"Since the commencement of this institution (the Hibernian Society), which has been about four years established, several of the teachers, as well as of the scholars, who were educated Roman Catholics, have, by Mr. Blest's conversation and instruction, together with the free use of the Scriptures, become Protestants, and useful and exemplary members of society." It is in this way the London Hibernian Society fulfilled its promise and profession "to interfere with no particular creed."

The Kildare Place Society, instituted in 1811, for the purpose of "promoting the education of the poor of Ireland," after starting with the most plausible professions, and disclaiming all desires or intention of meddling with any one's belief, developed through time a passion for tampering with the faith of Catholics, and lost, in consequence, its parliamentary grants. The Society in 1826 had 36 schools in the county Sligo, of which the following list, containing the name of each school, name of teacher, name of patron, and number of scholars, must throw curious light on the state of things in the county "Sixty years ago:—

School.	Teacher.	Patron.	Number of Scholars.
Ballymote, Male	Jackson Hawksby	Rev. John Garrett	74
Ballymote, Female	{ Anne Hawksby Jane Ellis, <i>Assist.</i> }	Rev. John Garrett	90
Killerry	William Banks	Rev. Michl. Boland	48
Sligo Prison, Male	George Sherman	Rev. Wm. Armstrong	73
Sligo Prison, Female	Mary M'Mullen	Rev. Wm. Armstrong	9
Mount Temple	Teacher not named	Lord Palmerston and Mrs. Soden	20
Ardagh	Thomas Finan	James Loyd, Esq.	52
Sligo, Male	W. P. Blair	Rev. Chas. Hamilton	98
Sligo, Female	Margaret Christian	Rev. Chas. Hamilton	114
Templevanny	Teacher not named	Earl of Kingston and Rev. P. Fitzmaurice	95
Templehouse	Ellen Waterstone	Mrs. Percival	67
Calry, Female	Catherine Blair	Mrs. Irwin	107
Thornhill	Margaret Beirne	Rev. John Stack	52
Breafy	Teacher not named	Rev. J. P. Lyons'	129
Tubberscanavin	Bart. Brennan	Rev. Wm. Handcock	86
Gortlaunan	Ferral O'Rourke	And. Johnston, Esq.	82
Seaview	Robert Hillas	Thomas Hillas, Esq.	180
Killinduff	James Taafe	Colonel Irwin	103
Branchfield	Teacher not named	Robert Duke, Esq.	143
Easky	Thomas Barry	Rev. George Truelock	115
Carrowmacarrick	Teacher not named	Rev. John Stack	116
Kilmactranny	Teacher not named	Mrs. Shaw	22
Corronla	Teacher not named	Rev. J. P. Lyons	40
Kilmore Moy	Noble Paget	Rev. J. P. Lyons	172
Kilmactige	William Evans	Rev. James Nelligan	60
Ballinful	James McKeon	Rev. Charles Dunne	67
Gurteen	Michael Clarke	W. T. Sherlock, Esq.	131
Ballysadare	Teacher not named	Rev. Wm. Handcock	66
Ardnasbrack	Ed. Keating	Nic. O. Fury, Esq.	75
Carha	Teacher not named	Meredith Thompson, Esq.	58
Thirlebeg	Teacher not named	Abraham Martin, Esq.	Number not given
Knockadoo	Teacher not named	Robt. Elwood	60
Seafort	Teacher not named	Mrs. Wood	50
Cliffony	Teacher not named	Lord Palmerston and G. C. Swan, Esq.	350
Carney	James M'Neice	Patron not named	88
St. John's	Humphry Gilmor	Patron not named	78

What has been said of the London Hibernian, and the Kildare Place Society, taken with the foregoing list, which is extracted from the "Fourteenth Report of the Society for promoting the education of the Poor in Ireland," will enable us to realize somewhat the wonderful improvement effected in the popular education of the county by the establishment of the National system—improvement in the qualities of the education, that of the National Board being a first-class English education, as against the smattering of reading, writing, and cyphering of the other Societies; improvement in the numbers receiving instruction, there being nearly as many pupils at present in a single parish, as there were formerly in the whole county; and, above all, improvement as to the persons administering and imparting education, the managers of the schools being now, in general, the pastors of the children and of their parents, instead of proselytizing clergymen and laymen; while the National teachers are men of integrity, ability, and knowledge, as against teachers who, admitting some of them to have been well disposed and well behaved persons, were, in too many cases, only waifs and strays in society, and weathercocks in religion. Except Rev. Alexander McEwen, one of the Inspectors, who was a well meaning and charitable man, all the officials of the Hibernian Society in the county Sligo, might be set down as either fanatics or hypocrites.

And the National teachers have a still more marked superiority over the so-called Hedge schoolmasters of the past. Indeed there is nothing that shows so well the extraordinary advance of primary education in Ireland as the enormous difference, physical, intellectual, and moral, that there is between the National teachers of the present time and the Hedge schoolmaster of the last century. If the teacher *is* the school, as all sound educationists maintain, there is no room for comparison between the primary schools of to-day, and the Hedge schools of the past.

In the first place the schoolmasters of one hundred years ago suffered commonly from some weighty physical defect—they being

in many cases hunchbacks, cripples, or victims of some such bodily affliction. As a rule, it was only persons whom physical disability prevented from earning a livelihood by manual labour that would devote themselves to the drudgery and dangers of teaching at a time when the school was a roadside ditch, or a roofless ruin ; when the only remuneration they received for their services was the two or three coarse meals a day they shared in the peasants' houses in which they were successively quartered ; and when their occupation, being a legal felony, exposed them constantly to the terrors and penalties of the law.

Intellectually they were in general on as low a level as physically. If they could read and write, and had some smattering of arithmetic, they considered themselves, and were considered by many others, sufficiently equipped for their office, even while their grotesque "jaw-breaking" utterances made them the laughing-stock of every man of sense.

Nor, morally, was there much to boast of, if we are to rely on what is handed down about them. There is good ground for believing that too many of them were addicted to drinking, that a large number were mixed up in the low intrigues of their neighbourhoods, and that several of them were connected with the secret societies that sprang up around them. If they did not in general compromise themselves in these societies as deeply as Mat Kavanagh, whom Carleton, in "The Hedge School," makes to expiate his guilt on the gallows, it is to be feared that a few committed themselves too far for their own good or the good of the pupils who were influenced so much by their example.

Our National teachers are markedly the opposite of all this. Physically, they are a particularly well-favoured class, as one would expect from the circumstances of their selection. Most of them have been monitors ; and as it is the healthiest, and likeliest, as well as the brightest, lads of the school that are made monitors, it is a matter of course that these, when they grow up and become teachers, should develop a fine physique.

Intellectually, many of them will bear comparison with the members of any other class of the community. More than one clergyman, or lawyer, or physician, would run some risk of being plucked, if, before entering office, he had to pass the examination which must qualify teachers for the first, or even the second, division of first class. While it is generally admitted that National teachers are strong in science, it is sometimes insinuated that they are but indifferent hands at English composition; but this opinion is not fair to the body; for there are plenty of them who, unlike the silly sesquipedalians of the past, can turn out folios of pure, idiomatic, and even elegant English, which might pass for so many pages of Addison or Goldsmith.

It is, however, in their moral aspect National teachers appear to the best advantage. As becomes persons entrusted with the almost divine function of forming the minds and moulding the hearts of the young and innocent, they are themselves the most perfect models of propriety of conduct and behaviour that can be presented for the imitation of their precious charge. And this good example they set not only in the school, but in their domestic and social relations, and still more in the church, where they are the able and zealous auxiliaries of the clergyman in catechizing the young of his flock in the doctrines and practical principles of religion. These edifying relations between the clergy and the National teachers are one of the most hopeful signs of the times, and form a gratifying contrast to the deplorable state of things to be seen on the Continent—notably in France and Germany, where the State paid schoolmaster is generally the bitterest enemy of religion and its ministers, whether Catholic or Protestant. To perpetuate this most desirable harmony of views and action between the minister of religion and the National teacher, it is only necessary that the latter should continue loyally to show the clergyman the deference and obedience that are his due, and that the clergyman in turn should entertain himself, and impress on others the duty of entertaining, for the teacher, the esteem and respect

to which his office and personal qualities give him the justest claims.

While National teachers are such benefactors of the people and of religion, it is the duty of the clergyman to do what he can in reason to sustain them, and improve their condition. Nor is it the duty of the clergyman alone; the obligation lies equally on the gentry of the country, who have so much to gain from a well-behaved and enlightened population.

One of the most discouraging indications of the time is the recent refusal of the Sligo Board of Guardians to make the Union contributory to the payment of the National teachers. Gloss it over as one may, the people think and feel that these refusals come from that antipathy to their religion, which, though eliminated from the laws of the land, still lurks in the minds, and betrays itself in the acts, of some of our gentry. And one can hardly blame the people for taking this view, when one calls to mind that several of the guardians concerned in the proceeding in question, have been long making, and are still making, considerable pecuniary sacrifices in supporting schools for the benefit of their own co-religionists, who, being generally substantial farmers or persons in good remunerative employment, are in incomparably less need of such aid than the penniless herds and labourers who send their children to the National schools. "Diverse weights and diverse measures" this!

There might have been some ground for the conduct of the *ex-officio* guardians—for the act was theirs—so long as the humbler ratepayers objected to the charge; but when the desire of these persons is to make the Union contributory, a fact proved by the votes of their elected representatives, the ground is cut from under the feet of the *ex-officios*, and they are left without justification or excuse. The refusal, moreover, might have escaped censure or notice some time ago, even a very short time ago, but ideas move fast in our day, notably in regard to the claims of the poor; and when *The Times* is constantly reminding landlords of the "unwritten law of social obligation;" when one of the weightiest charges against even

Lord Clanrickarde is neglect of the duty of "supporting schools;" and when an English statesman, who held high office in the Government of the country, proclaims that "the first charge upon land is the education of the people who live upon it," *ex-officio* guardians who stand between the poor and this great boon, must be prepared—to put the thing mildly—to lie under the reproach of being out of harmony with the times, as well as out of sympathy with the poor.

While taking exception to this act of the *ex-officios*, it must be admitted that the Sligo gentry of the present time are comparatively free from the passion for proselytizing so prevalent in the past.

It was the fashion formerly for individuals as well as societies to occupy themselves a good deal in making proselytes, and this by other means as well as by schools, and sometimes not so much from motives of religion as to comply with the fashion. Nor did some of the proselytizers seem to care much whether the proselyte was a real or only a sham convert. Take the case of Captain Ormsby of Castledargan, uncle to the late John Ormsby of the same place. The Captain, who was certainly much more of a wag than of a zealot, had about him a confidential man of all work, named Simon, who, on the principle of "Like master like man," came to be less earnest in the matter of religion than he ought, though he went occasionally to chapel on Sundays. On this promising subject Captain Ormsby tried his missionary hand, saying to him one day, "Simon, you have been long enough with these beggarly Papists, and you must now join our respectable and rich religion, or quit for ever my service." "Very well, Captain," said unfortunate Simon, who had little of the martyr or confessor about him, "but to qualify me for my new company you must get me a suit or two of nice clothes." The Captain gave the clothes, and Simon appeared a Sunday or two in church with the "quality."

Notwithstanding this ready compliance, Captain Ormsby knew well that it was all make-believe, and calling one day to inquire for Simon, who was stated to be seriously ill, and being

told that the patient was very bad, and had even called in the parson, Ormsby only shook his head and observed drily, "Simon will get over it." The convert falling ill a second time, and the patron coming again to inquire, was told, as before, that the poor man, expecting immediate death, had requested and received a fresh visit from the parson; but the Captain inferring somehow from the parson's visit that there was no danger, merely remarked, "Simon won't die this time." A third time, however, Simon grew sick, and this time he called, not for the parson, but for the priest. The Captain heard of the illness, but of no more; and having come to make friendly inquiries, and being told that the sick man had sent for the priest, and that the priest had visited, he cried out, with an oath, on the instant, "By this and by that, it's all over with Simon." It is manifest he knew throughout that the man was shamming, but having started the unfortunate serf on his hypocritical career, he took care to keep him in it to the end.

Captain Ormsby's name having been mentioned, it may be allowed to record a humorous anecdote regarding him, though some people may vote it too trivial for mention in history. The Captain had for neighbour Mr. Tom Phibbs of Doonamurray, who was an extensive grazier, and who, like some others of his class, set an extravagant value on his grass, and would as lief part with a fibre of his muscles as with a blade of it. This gentleman having gone to a fair, and having sold a lot of bullocks, for which he received in payment a purse of guineas, was on his way home, when the Captain met him, and insisted on his calling in to Castledargan and having dinner there. Mr. Phibbs yielded to the friendly pressure, and not only dined, but, in accordance with a habit too common at the time, remained a good part of the night with his hospitable friend, swilling whiskey punch. On the way home half a dozen hangers-on of Castledargan, whom the Captain told off for the practical joke, pounced on poor Phibbs, who was not then in a condition to either resist or recognize his assailants, and took away the purse of guineas.

The "robbery" getting bruited next day through the country, Captain Ormsby paid a visit of sympathy to his friend, and suggested confidentially a sure way of recovering the money. It was to engage privately the services of the priest in the case. "Allow me," says the Captain, "to promise him a month's grass for his horse on your land, and the thing is done." Mr. Phibbs consenting to the condition, the purse was soon returned to its owner, and the priest's horse was turned out on the best field in Doonamurray; and while the animal remained on the farm, Captain Ormsby had no better sport than bringing his friends and acquaintances over to Doonamurray, and showing them the priest's horse eating Tom Phibbs' grass.

Coming back to Education:—Within the last hundred years or so, the Protestant masters of classical schools in Sligo were:—1st, Rev. James Armstrong, Curate of St. John's parish, to whom Charles Phillips pays a warm tribute in his *Emerald Isle* ;*

* "Oh here, in filial fondness, let me bend
 Before thy resting-place, my earliest friend !
 Thou ! whose pure culture waked my infant thought,
 While thy life proved what all thy precepts taught.
 He was a man to friendship's memory dear,
 Skilled in each art the social soul to cheer,
 One who, despising all the grave grimace
 Of those who wear their worship in their face,
 Beamed round the circle of domestic love
 The ray serene he borrowed from above.
 For many an hour, from manhood up to age,
 Conscience alone his wealth and patronage,
 He stood sublime, like Israel's sainted rock,
 A desert fountain to his fainting flock,
 Shedding around the diamond dew of even—
 Himself unsheltered from the winds of heaven."

—*The Emerald Isle*. A Poem by Charles Phillips, Esq.
 Sixth edition, p. 115.

To this tribute Phillips adds, in a note—"My earliest friend, the Rev. James Armstrong, for many and many a year Curate of St. John's, Sligo; a man of most extensive acquirements, great piety, and a cheerfulness of manner, which made every circle in which he associated happy.

" 'His saltem accumulem donis et fungar
 Inani munere.' "

2nd, Rev. W. C. Armstrong, in whose school a few well known Catholics: the late William Kelly, of Sligo, the late Andrew Kelly, of Camphill, and the late Bernard Owen Cogan, of Lisconny, received their early education; 3rd, Parson O'Connor, who also had some Catholics among his pupils, including the late Mr. Matthew Walsh, of Breeogue, and his brother, the late governor of Sligo gaol, Mr. Edward Walsh.

4th, Mr. Elliott.

5th, Mr. Maurice Quill, who, on finding the attendance falling off, emigrated to America.

The Armstrong family, to which the Rev. James Armstrong, and the Rev. W. C. Armstrong of the foregoing list belonged, is one of the most talented that Sligo has produced in modern times. Of Rev. James Armstrong's abilities we have sufficient voucher in what is written of him by Charles Phillips, who, as his pupil and his townsman, had the best opportunities of knowing him; and as to the Rev. W. C. Armstrong, there are persons still living who knew him well, and who speak of his talents and learning in terms of great praise. Another clerical member of the family was Rev. W. Armstrong, rector of Calry, a man, too, of considerable abilities.

The family has given distinguished members to the medical profession as well as to the clerical. In the early years of the current century, Doctor Archibald Armstrong was a man of high standing in his profession; and his three sons, Archibald, Tom, and William, were similarly distinguished—Archibald in Sligo, and Tom and William in Collooney, where they occupied successively the position of Medical Officer of the district, William succeeding to the post on the death of Tom. Doctor William, of Collooney, left after him two sons and a daughter, who have given abundant proof of possessing even more than the family talent. William, the elder of the two brothers, who, like his father and uncle, was Medical Officer of the Collooney Dispensary district, was cut off in 1875, in the prime of life, and in the opening of what promised to be a brilliant career, by a malignant

fever, caught while attending at the bedside of a patient.* James, the younger brother, is now the able and accomplished rector of Castlerock, in the diocese of Derry, while Miss Armstrong, who is cultivating literature, has already made her mark as a poet and prose writer of merit.

The Catholic teachers within the same period were : 1st, Rev. James Filan, a priest of the diocese of Achonry, who was the first to start a high Catholic school in Sligo, and who taught there with great distinction and success, being admitted by all to have been a man of commanding talents and great learning. After a couple of years he returned to Achonry, where he became Parish Priest of Curry, and sustained well on the mission the reputation he had acquired in the academy. Further information respecting this distinguished man will be found under the head of Kilmacteige parish. Succeeding Catholic teachers were Mr. Supple, Mr. McElroy, Mr. Duke, Mr. Charles O'Connor, and Mr. Pat McNiff.

In regard to female schools: the Misses McCann, in the beginning of the century, taught a school frequented by Catholic and Protestant pupils. Later, Miss Hart conducted a similar establishment. The good Bishop Burke and Dean Donlevy, feeling the want of an exclusively Catholic Ladies' school, opened one on the Mail Coach Road, and put it under the superintendence of Mrs. Doctor Coyne and the late Mrs. M'Dermot, then Miss Madden. Mrs. Coyne, who was a convert, and who, it appears, had more zeal than discretion wishing to have everything in the school just as she liked, and finding the Dean, who had some will of his own, would not agree to that, retired after a little in high dudgeon from her position ; and, to

* Doctor William Armstrong is buried in the graveyard attached to the Protestant church of Collooney, and the following epitaph is inscribed on his tomb :—" WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Medical Officer of the Collooney Dispensary District, died on Friday, April 16th, 1875, of fever, taken in the faithful and fearless discharge of his duty, aged 36 years. This monument is erected to his beloved memory by many friends, who knew him and loved him well."

add to the embroglio, Miss Madden soon married, and left for the neighbourhood of Boyle, where her husband resided. By this time the Bishop and Dean had quite enough of the Ladies' school, and its "lady superintendents," which was all the better for Sligo; for they resolved, at whatever sacrifice, to procure for the town the greatest boon and blessing it has ever received—the presence and services of its incomparable nuns. Bishop Burke and Dean Donlevy would have been happy to be themselves the means of conferring this priceless benefit on the town, but both having been called to a better life before they could carry out their intentions, the good work fell into the able and willing hands of their respective successors, Doctor Browne and Father Owen Feeny. Once instituted Parish Priest of Sligo, Father Owen Feeny set about building the Convent of Mercy; and having received liberal aid from the proverbially open-handed inhabitants of the town, and a munificent donation from Mr. Peter O'Connor, who was then as now the Guaire Aidhne of both town and county, had soon the happiness of seeing the building completed and the Sisters in occupation.

The Convent of Saint Joseph was established about forty years ago. Doctor Browne, having been translated to Elphin in 1844, lost no time in inviting to Sligo the famous daughters of St. Ursula, of whose peculiar talent for the training of pupils of the higher class he had such proofs while in Galway; and these fervent religieuses, attracted by the odour of the bishop's virtues, and filled, like others, and even more than others, with admiration and reverence for those sweet and saintly qualities, which had gained him the name of the Dove of Galway, responded to the invitation in the spirit, if not in the language, of the holy soul in the Canticle of Canticles, "We will run after thee to the odour of thy ointments," and settled in Finisklin, as commodious, picturesque, and salubrious a site for a great boarding-school as any in all Ireland. In these two institutions the children of the humbler and of the higher class have a suitable education provided for them—the former in the convent of Saint Patrick, and the others in that of Saint Joseph;

while those who frequent either establishment enjoy alike the inestimable advantage of having always under the eye, in their accomplished teachers, models of piety, gentleness, and refinement, whose example, better than any amount of precept, inculcates elevation of character, goodness of heart, and grace of manner.

The establishments of secondary education for males, in or belonging to Sligo, at present are :—the College of the Immaculate Conception, Quay Street, under the presidency of Very Rev. John Corcoran ; the Diocesan School, on or near the Mall, of which Mr. William C. Eades is the Principal ; and the Incorporated Society's School, in Primrose Grange, the Head Master of which is Mr. W. A. Sheckleton—all three very efficient institutions, as is proved by the high place their pupils reach at the Intermediate and other competitive examinations.

It appears from the evidence taken before the Endowed Schools, Ireland, Commission, that the Sligo estate of Erasmus Smith is 2,199 acres, 3 roods, and 26 perches, the gross rental amounting to £627, 4s. 9d. Of this large rental the only sum expended in the county at the date of the Commission (1855) was £70, the annual salary of Mr. Ward, who taught the Lungy school for the Governors of the Erasmus Smith Board ; and the surprise of the Commissioners at this state of things may be inferred from a question put by them to the Rev. Mr. Shone, which, with the reverend gentleman's answer, is thus reported in the Minutes of Evidence : " Is the result this, that for Sligo, out of the estates held by the Governors, all the contribution is the salary of the Master ?—The result is, that is all they give as regards education in the town of Sligo." If the Commissioners were so struck by this extraordinary disproportion between the Sligo income and expenditure, they would be still more surprised, if they lived now, to find that, while the large income continues the same, the expenditure has ceased altogether, not one farthing of the sums received being given back in any shape to the county.

The lands, which form the Sligo estate of Erasmus Smith, were, first, set aside for "Pious Uses," and subsequently granted to Smith in payment of the money he had advanced as Adventurer in 1641. They lie in the parishes of Drumcliff, Calry, and St. John's—in Drumcliff, Lisnahelly, now in the occupation of Sir Henry Gore Booth; in Calry, Loughaneltin, Clounshoure, Farrincardy, and some other spots, the tenants of which lands are Mr. Wynne Hazelwood, Mr. Harpur Campbell, and Mr. William Clarke; and in St. John's, Tawnaphubble, of which the present tenant is Mrs. Edward Walsh.

The Primrose Grange School belongs to the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland, established in 1731. This society may perhaps have made somewhat more use of its immense endowments than the Charter School authorities, but still the result bears a very small proportion to the vast sums at its disposal, upwards of £110,000 of the public money having been voted to it at different times. And in addition to these munificent grants, the Association received, from time to time, large sums from private persons, of which we have some illustration in the case of Primrose Grange School, to which, according to the evidence of Rev. Mr. Gully, before the Endowed Schools Commission, is now appropriated "a rent-charge on the estate of Adam Ormsby in the county of Sligo," left "for the support of the charity boys of Sligo."

There is reason to believe that the Incorporated Society got hold, too, of the £120 a year, which a Mr. Nicholson left "for a School at Knocknarea," as there seems to be no other school in that neighbourhood to which the money could go. And, very likely, the Society had a free grant also of the land on which the Primrose Grange School stands, as it lay on the Nicholson estate.

With such resources at the disposal of the Incorporated Society, one would expect to find all the boys of Primrose Grange supported on the foundation, whereas most of them

pay for their education, as may be seen in the following table furnished by Mr. Sheckleton to the Educational Endowments Commissioners at their recent visit to Sligo :—

Year.	Foundations.	Paid Boarders.	Day Boarders.	Total.
1878	13	10	2	25
1879	12	13	1	26
1880	13	12	1	26
1881	12	14	1	27
1882	12	15	1	28
1883	12	15	2	29
1884	12	15	1	28
1885	13	17	1	31
1886	13	15	0	28
1887	12	18	0	30
1888	12	18	0	30

On the same occasion the proportion of boys sent up annually by different localities was given thus :—Sligo, 11 ; Dromore West, 8 ; Ballysadare, 7 ; Collooney, 7 ; Inniscrone, 7 ; Kilglass, 4 ; Rae School, 3 ; Killalla, 3 ; Ballymote, 2 ; Dublin, 2 ; Mohill, 2 ; Coolany, Riverstown, Ballinamore, Strabane, Mountcharles, and Lissadell, 1 each.

There are two classes of Boarders in Primrose Grange, Hall Boarders and Parlour Boarders ; the terms for the former being twenty guineas *per annum* with extras, and for the latter thirty guineas *per annum* with extras.

Little definite is known of the primitive

DWELLINGS

of the county. There is reason to believe that they were constructed of wattles, osiers, or some such flimsy material, with long grass for thatch.* As the people led long a wandering, pastoral life, they had no permanent habitations, but put up their booths on some sheltered spot of the range on which their cattle fed

* Harris's Ware, Vol. I., p. 181.

for the time, and transferred them to other places, when the animals, having consumed the herbage of the tract, were moved on to "pastures new." At first these huts were raised in forests, where they were sheltered and protected by the trees. Later, when erected in the open, they were surrounded, with a view to security, by a rampart of earth and a fosse, forming thus the raths or forts with which the county is still studded, and which, till recently, were supposed to be the work of the Danes. Without such protection there would be little security in the lawless society of the time for any structure, whether ecclesiastical or lay; and accordingly these circumvallations were run round not only private residences, such as most of the raths contained, but also monasteries or churches, as at Innismurray, where the enclosing wall still remains; and at Ballysadare, Cloonmacduff, and a hundred other sites of early ecclesiastical establishments, where the defences, though for the most part dilapidated, may still be traced. It was the same in other places, and even at the head-quarters of religion, in Armagh, where the Primate, after establishing the Friars Minors, "cut a broad and deep trench round their church."—Four Masters, 1266.

Some antiquaries would judge the age of these forts by the material of which they consist, assigning for those of stone a different period from that which they would fix on for those of earth—though, as far as the county Sligo is concerned, the material seems to have nothing to do with their age, but to depend solely on their respective localities, stone being employed where stone alone was to hand, as at Larkhill and Largan, in the parish of Ballysadare; Cappagh, in Killoran; the northern shore of Lough Gara, in Killaraght; the island of Innismurray, in Ahamlish; and Cashelore, in Killerry—earth being used in those places where the soil is deep, as through the most of Leyney—and stone and earth mixed where these materials were found together on the site, as in a hundred different places up and down the county.

Though all those raths enclosed residences of some kind, they varied greatly in size. The largest, perhaps, in the county was

that of Shannon (Sean Dun), in the parish of Calry, the diameter of which must be more than four hundred feet. Another exceptionally large rath is that of Rathcarrick, in the parish of Killaspugbrone, which Mr. Walker has converted into a lawn tennis ground.

The word "gran," or "grania," enters into the names of a few county Sligo forts, as Rathgran, in the townland of Rathgran, and parish of Killoran ; Rathgran, in Markrea demesne, and parish of Ballysadare ; and Ballygrania, in the townland of the same name, in the same parish.

Rathgran and Ballygrania are so called, it is thought, from their sunny situation, "grian" being the Irish word for the sun (Joyce's *Irish Names of Places*, First Series, p. 308), but as they possess no extraordinary superiority in this respect, over some other forts, the circumstance of situation can hardly be the whole and sole cause of the name ; and as they are exceptionally lofty, elaborate, ornate, and picturesque, it is pretty certain that they owe their distinctive name to their elegance of construction as well as to their advantages of location.

The raths of Ballygrania and Rathgran, in the parish of Ballysadare, are singularly strong as well as beautiful, having not only fosses and ramparts, like most other forts, but, between the fosse and rampart, level platforms, spacious enough to hold some hundreds of men, so that, from a military point of view, they must have been very formidable defence works. With their circles of palisades, their platforms, their fosses, and their ramparts rising to a height of thirty feet above the bottom of the surrounding trench, these structures, resting, too, on natural elevations of sharp inclines, were places of vantage in which a few resolute men in occupation could keep at bay any number of invaders.

Within these inclosures the inhabitants were sufficiently secure, though far from comfortable according to modern notions of physical comfort ; but the men and women of those days were so inured to hardships from their childhood, and thus

so tempered to their surroundings, as to be almost impervious to the injuries of the weather.*

Plenty of people, no doubt, rarely if ever put the head under a roof of any kind, like those Gauls who, as Cæsar tells,† had not entered a house for fourteen years. Rolled up in the "mantle" which Spenser so graphically describes as "a fit house for an outlaw, a meet bed for a rebel, and an apt cloak for a thief,"‡ these wild Irish passed day and night under the bare canopy of heaven, like Sir Thopas, of whom Chaucer writes :

"He nolde slepen in noon hous,
But ligen in his hood."

In nearly all the forts there was a cave—in some two, and in others, as at Rathrippon, near Collooney, as many as three—used generally as receptacles of provisions, but in some instances for human habitations, like those mentioned in Virgil as inhabited by the Scythians,§ whom Spenser and others take to be the ancestors of the Irish.|| There is good reason to believe

* We may infer from the following notification that the coming Paris Exhibition will throw great light on the history of human dwellings :—

"An interesting feature of the Paris Exhibition will be a group of forty-nine structures intending to give a history of the human dwelling. The different types of dwellings represented will include those of the pre-historic period—under rocks, in caves, on water, and on land ; and in later times—those of early historic civilization, of Aryan civilization, of Roman civilization in the East and in the West, and of rude civilization disconnected from the general progress of humanity—such as the Chinese, Japanese, Esquimaux, African, Aztec, etc. The interiors and surroundings will be those of the different epochs studied, and it is intended to people the dwellings with figures in representative costumes."

† Commentaries, Chapter 37.

‡ View of the State of Ireland. Vol. 1., page 473, of Thom's Tracts and Treatises, Dublin, MDCCCLX.

§ "Ipsi in defossis specubus, securo sub alta Otia agunt terra."—Georgics, Book III., Lines 376-7. Tacitus (*De Moribus Germanorum*, cap. xvi.) writes : "Solent et subterraneos specus aperire...suffugium hiemi et receptaculum frugibus ; quia, rigorem frigorum ejus modi locis molliunt, et si quando hostis advenit, aperta populatur, abdita autem et defossa aut ignorantur aut eo ipso fallunt, quod quaerenda sunt."

|| View of the State of Ireland, p. 354.

that the majority of the natives in remote times, and down apparently to the close of the sixteenth century, went shoeless and bareheaded, more especially in the west of Ireland. In a Report made to the Pope in 1517, on the occasion of an election of a bishop of Ardagh, we read, "That part of Ireland which is nearest England is most civilized. The other part is brutal. The inhabitants live in wooden huts covered with straw. A large part of them herd with their cattle in the fields and in caves. Almost all are shoeless."* That the men wore no head-covering we may infer from what is stated of young Gerald Fitzgerald, who escaped in disguise from Ireland in 1540, and of whom it is told that he was "bare-headed like one of the wild Irish."† The same appears in Camden's account of the retinue which attended Shane O'Neil in 1562 to the court of Elizabeth, "He appeared at court with his guards of galloglasses, bare-headed, armed with hatchets, their hair flowing in locks on their shoulders, on which were yellow shirts, dyed with saffron, with long sleeves, short coats, and trum jackets, at which strange syght the Londoners wondered much."‡ Of their living in caves and woods, Froissart, too, is a witness in the well-known passage, "Ireland is closely, strongly, and widely covered with forests and great waters, and marshes, and places inhabitable, it is hard to enter them to do any of the country damage; now you shall find no town nor person to speak withal; for the men draw to the woods and dwell in caves; and small cotages under trees, and among bushes and hedges, like wild beasts."§

* Brewer's Introduction to the Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts, where he quotes Theiner, p. 518. Things had not improved much in the time of Dean Swift, who writes (Roscoe's Swift's Works, Vol. II., p. 81): "The families of farmers who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon buttermilk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hogsty to receive them."—See also Arthur Young and Dr. MacParlan.

† The Earls of Kildare. By the Marquis of Kildare, p. 184.

‡ Quoted in Walker's Irish Bards, Vol. II., p. 75.

§ Note in O'Donovan's Four Masters, *sub anno* 1395.

All this time there was hardly a stone house in the county except some churches, which served not only for places of worship, but sometimes for ecclesiastical residences,* sometimes for prisons or fortresses,† and often for storehouses of provisions.‡ The first castle of stone and mortar in the county was built at Collooney,§ no doubt, by Turlough O'Connor, who was then King of Connaught; and no other, in all likelihood, was erected till after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. The Annals of the Four Masters record that the Barons of Erin came to Connaught in 1237 and "commenced erecting castles there."|| In 1245 Maurice Fitzgerald built the castle of Sligo;¶ in 1263 Walter Burke erected the castle of Templehouse or Ath Angaile,** and about the same time he and other English constructed timber castles in Leyney and Tireragh, at Rath Ard creeve, Banada, Buninna, and other places; took forcible possession of these districts; and expelled the O'Haras, O'Dowds, and other hereditary chiefs.

While these structures were building, no improvement could be made in the residences of the people, as the country was in a state of constant war. Nor is there any reason to think that such houses as existed in the town of Sligo, between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century, came near, either in appearance or value, to those which were burned down in 1396, and which the Four Masters extol so highly for their

* Both Keatinge and Camden tell that parish churches were used for dwellings.—Kilkenny Archæological Journal, VIII., p. 36.

† Four Masters, 1199.

‡ "Cardinal Vivian," says Lanigan (Vol. IV., p. 233), "allowed the foreigners liberty to take whatever victuals they might want out of the churches, to which, as sanctuaries, the Irish used to remove them."—See Annals of Loch Ce, 1236.

§ Four Masters, 1124.

|| See also Annals of Lough Ce, *sub anno*.

¶ Four Masters, *anno* 1245.

** Ibid., *sub anno* 1263.

“splendour.”* The example of Sir Roger Jones and Andrew Crean, who erected so-called castles for themselves, might have led others to build, but the troubles of 1641 and 1689, in the seventeenth century, and the Penal Laws in the eighteenth, arrested all improvement, so that contemporary records concur in picturing Sligo town and county as a scene of desolation and ruin. On this point the letters of Lord Taaffe and General Preston, given in a preceding page, supply strong proof; and to them may be added the following communication of a high official, Robert Echlin, to the public authorities, which is dated, “Sligo, 16th September, 1691,” and which concerns Sir Albert Cunningham’s dragoons, of which Echlin was then in command: “I design to march to Ballyshannon, to prevent the utter ruin of the rest of the dragoons, for there is *neither cover nor provisions in all this county.*” Shortly before this, Father Quin, a Jesuit missionary, had reported thus to his superiors: “The province of Connaught is one scene of desolation, and has been reduced to a desert by the ravages of war;” and the same state of things may be inferred from Dr. Boate’s Natural History of Ireland; for, in the first chapter of the work, where he gives a brief account of the cities and chief towns of the country, after mentioning, in the order of importance, Dublin, Galway, Cork, Londonderry, Drogheda, Kilkenny, and Bandonbridge, etc., he says of Sligo and Athlone, in Connaught, and some other places in the other provinces, “they are scarce worth the mentioning, because there are few Market towns in England, *even of the meanest, which are not as good or better, than the best of them all.*”

If we except, then, the structures enumerated before, the last half century or so has witnessed the rise of all the buildings of any note in the town—the imposing shop houses of our leading streets; the striking private residences of the Mall, of Wine Street, of Lyons’ Terrace, of Councillor Colleary’s new row in

* Vol. I., p. 103.

John Street; the Ulster Bank; the Provincial Bank; Middleton and Pollexfen's fine Office; the Town Hall; the Courthouse; Religious edifices—the Cathedral; Holy Cross Convent Church; the Convents of the Sisters of Mercy and the Ursulines; the Protestant Church of Calry; and the neat and commodious Churches or Chapels of the Independents, in Stephen Street; of the Methodists in Wine Street; and the Presbyterians, near the Lungy.

In the past the coast and inland islands of the county were all inhabited by chiefs or religious. Habitations in islands seem to have prevailed from the beginning, and down to the close of the sixteenth century.* Partholan, the alleged first colonizer of Ireland after the Flood, is said by O'Flaherty to have fixed his residence in Inis Saimer, now Fish Island, in the river Erne;† King Aidus Slaine lived on an island of Loch Lene;‡ King Eoghan Bel on an island of Lough Mask;§ and Flaherty O'Muldorrey on Inis Saimer.|| The islands of the county Sligo were turned to the like account; and we find the O'Rorkes residing in the island of Glencar lake;¶ the O'Haras in the island of Lough Mac Ferry, or (at present), Lough Talt;** the Cistercians in Church island, in Lough Gill; the Premonstratensians in Cottage island of the same lake; and other religious in the islands of Lough Arrow and Lough Gara, where remains of their establishments may still be seen.

* In his *Four Masters*, O'Donovan writes in a note under the year 1478, "By far the greater part of the dwellings of the Irish chieftains were, at this period, constructed of wood, and placed on islands in lakes."

See also account of the Territory or Dominion of Farney, by E. P. Shirley, Esq., M.P., pp. 93, 94, where that well-informed writer states, that the residences "of the petty chiefs of Monaghan were, in all cases, surrounded by water."

† Moore's *History of Ireland*, Vol. I., p. 75.

‡ Colgan—*Acta Sancti*, Vita S. Fechini, p. 135.

§ Colgan—Ibid., p. 537.

|| *Four Masters*, anno 1197.

¶ *Four Masters*, 1029.

** *Four Masters*, 1183.

TILLAGE

On any extended scale is of comparatively modern date in the county Sligo. About the middle of the eighteenth century there was little of it, the baronies of Corran and Tireragh, being then "continued sheepwalks."* It was in 1748 the great improvement began, and it proceeded so rapidly that in 1776 rents were, when compared with those of the former period, as fifteen to six;† and though it is likely that these rents were exorbitant, they still prove, after making due allowance, that the rate of progress was great at the time. In 1776, all Corran was giving potatoes and barley, and much of Tireragh was broken up and in tillage.‡

The tillage farms were generally held in partnership, or, as the people expressed it, "in means," half a dozen persons or so taking a farm of a hundred or two hundred acres, and then subdividing it among themselves, so that each had only a small quantity, rarely exceeding ten acres Irish. This system showed itself in and round Sligo, as also in a portion of Tireragh, near a hundred years before the time mentioned by Arthur Young; for in the Tripartite Indenture between Strafford, Radcliffe, and Doctor Leslie, there is mention of several such partnerships; as, for instance, those "of Dermot McHenry and partners," in Carrick, now called Carrick Henry, from this Dermot McHenry; of "Edward Gilgan and partners," in Inismulcloy, *alias* the Coney island; and of "Rowland James and partners," in the quarter of Aughris, in Tireragh.

Under this tenure the whole farm was cut up into three or four large fields or stretches, one for tillage, another for milch cows, and a third, and sometimes a fourth, for horses, asses, and young stock. Each of the fields was held and used in common by all the partners, so that all grazed their cows in one field, all

* Arthur Young's Tour in Ireland, Vol. I., p. 332.

† Ibid., p. 338.

‡ Ibid., p. 332.

had their young stock and “garans” in another, and all carried on their tillage in the remainder. The tillage field again was cut up into strips, separated by a balk of green sods; and each of the partners had two or three of these strips, in different parts of the field, in order, as they used to say themselves, that all might have their share of the good and the bad alike. This complicated system, borrowed apparently from England,* though operating as a bar to agricultural improvement, and attended with other weighty inconveniences, was still sufficiently general in 1802, when Doctor MacParlan wrote,† lasted, in some parts of the county, a good way into the present century, prevailed in 1812, when Wakefield compiled his *Account of Ireland*,‡ and was only beginning to break up in 1815, when Rev. Mr. Nelligan§ represents it as a cause of endless disputes and quarrels.||

Soon after Arthur Young’s visit to the county Sligo, and, very probably, in consequence of it, the gentry took to tilling their demesnes; and Doctor MacParlan, in his *Survey of Sligo*, represents that tillage was carried on extensively, about the year 1800, at Hazelwood, Markrea, Annaghmore, and other places. Mr. Owen Wynne distinguished himself in farming. He had “an open piece of ground within his demesne as an experimental farm,” on which he grew peas, beans, vetches, and almost every variety of green and white crops, viz.: Norfolk and Swedish turnips,

* See a learned and interesting Lecture of Lord Herries on *Everingham in the Olden Time*, where his Lordship, from family documents, shows how the system worked on the manors of his ancestors. This Lecture was delivered for the benefit of the Market Weighton Reformatory School, and was published in 1866.

† *Survey of Sligo*, p. 33.

‡ “A large portion of the county appears to be let to partnership tenants.”—Vol. I., p. 275.

§ “It is said that the tenants in common have been of late coming into the habit of dividing their several proportions, casting lots on the divisions, and inclosing them; which must tend very much to make them more comfortable, and better able to support their families.”—*Statistical Account of Ireland*, Vol. II., p. 385.

|| *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 392.

carrots, potatoes, cabbages, rape, borecole, etc., all drilled;* and the scale on which he farmed may be inferred from the fact that, while cultivating so extensive a range of crops, he usually had twenty-five acres under potatoes alone.† Of what Doctor MacParlan saw on a visit to Hazelwood he writes: "I have this day seen at Hazelwood, in full work, six ploughs; one double plough, drawn by three horses; four drawn each by two oxen; and one by one horse; besides a proportionable number of harrows."‡ In this way Mr. Wynne was a public benefactor, as well by the large employment he gave, as by the good example he set to high and low.

For the last twenty years or so the agriculture of the county has been either at a stand, or, more frequently, retrograding. To the disuse of local Agricultural and Cattle Shows may be set down much of this evil. While the shows lasted, they furnished the farmer with a powerful motive to excel in tillage and the quality of his cattle, by the prizes they offered, and, still more, perhaps, by the occasion they afforded of gaining some distinction in the eyes of his landlord and of his neighbours. No doubt, tenants do not trouble themselves overmuch just now about the good or the bad opinion of their landlord; but for this the landlord has to blame, in great part, his own increased and still increasing indifference to the well-being of his tenants, and not a little, perhaps, his indifference to their interests and wishes in this very matter of agricultural shows. Nothing is more common nowadays than to hear the landlord blame his tenants for being so different from the tenants of the past, though he complacently forgets that he is himself still more different from the kind, humane, and sympathizing landlords that preceded him. It is a case for the old reproof, "Cast out first the beam out of thy own eye, and then shalt thou see to cast the mote out of thy brother's eye."

* Survey of Sligo, p. 14.

† Ibid., p. 14.

‡ Ibid., p. 22.

Another important interest of tenants which is treated at present with great indifference by the landlord, is the improvement of their live stock by the importation of a better class of animals. Formerly the landlord considered this one of his chief duties, and spared no effort or expense to introduce on his estate stock of the best blood and quality. This is not the place to enter into particulars on such a subject; but, whoever reads what Doctor MacParlan writes about it, and compares the state of things which he describes* with that which now surrounds us, must admit that existing landlords fall very far short in this respect of those who went before them. And still, there never was a time when tenants needed so much such a service; for, it is the cry of every one, that cattle and sheep, of bad or inferior quality, are now almost unsaleable at any price.

The owner of a great estate then who is not prepared, even at considerable sacrifice, to aid his tenants in such a crisis, may not, perhaps, for this alone, deserve to be cast into the lowest limbo of those reprobate landlords, who, according to the good Bishop Berkley, have the "entrails of vultures," but, on the other hand, by his selfishness and insensibility to the sufferings of those depending on him, he forfeits all claim to be classed with the kind and considerate landlords of the past or the present; and if he fail to get his rent, if his tenants detest him, or if any other ill fortune overtake him, everyone will say that he only met with what he merited.†

* "There are some very large and very handsome heifers and oxen at Markrea."—Survey of Sligo, p. 24.

"Mr. Wynne and Mr. Richard Wynne have, at a very great expense, imported a bull and above thirty cows of the improved long-horned Leicestershire breed. . . . Mr. Wynne has a prodigious fine flock of new Leicesters ewes. . . . Both Mr. Wynnes have a very fine breed of hogs."—Survey of Sligo, pp. 25, 26.

† In an able and suggestive article on Irish affairs the *Nineteenth Century* of November, 1881, p. 649, observes:—"The landlords have brought all this trouble on themselves, and they deserve all that they have got. They have taken the lead in no schemes for railways, for fisheries, for manufactures." The writer

The County Cattle Shows and the County Ploughing Matches, which have taken place annually for the last three or four years, make up somewhat for the want of those Estate Shows which have been discontinued. Whatever deterioration either in the quality of farm stock, or in the processes of cultivation, may have happened quite recently, here and there, hardly affect the enormous contrast that exists between such things as they were one hundred and fifty years ago and as they are at present. In the former period the cattle were in general so small and light, that one might almost take them up under the arm; the run of horses or, as they were called, *garans*, looked fitter to be carried by man than to carry him; and the ploughing done by these *garans*, tackled by straw ropes to a rude, rickety, wooden plough, was a scratching rather than a turning up of the ground.

In 1812, when Wakefield wrote his Account of Ireland, the mode of ploughing was "Four horses abreast, and, to hasten their progress, a man walking backward before them, and continually beating them on the head."* One will be able to get a good idea of the enormous improvement in husbandry within the last hundred years, by comparing this clumsy, lumbering contrivance with, for instance, Mr. O'Hara's highly-equipped plough team, which, in the hands of the champion ploughman of the county, Martin Haran, glides through the tillage field as easily and gracefully as a circus car, cuts the soil with the cleanness of a surgical instrument, lays it over as regularly as the loom produces some ribbed pattern, and adjusts each successive slice, to those turned down before, so nicely, as to

of the article, however, makes an exception, and adds: "It is true that there have been a few energetic men who have tried to do for Ireland what Turgot did for the Limousin; who have lived on their property, have studied farming, have built cottages, made roads and bridges, drained hundreds of acres of bog, and planted hundreds of acres of waste, have introduced bulls, rams, and stallions of better breed, and been apothecary, adviser, and general providence of whole districts."

It is for our local landlords to examine themselves and find to which of these two classes they belong.

* Wakefield's Account of Ireland, Vol. I., p. 380.

give the "land" the exact outline and dip prescribed by the scientific agriculturist.

It took a good while to bring the relations between landlord and tenant to the state, in which the tenant discharges his liabilities, as he does at present, by a definite money payment, every six months, or every twelve months. In the seventeenth century, and through much of the eighteenth, there were, in addition to the annual money payments, payments in kind, with various stipulated services and duties. In the general run of tenancies there was an obligation, on the part of the tenant, to give the chief or landlord labour for a given number of days in the year, some measures or madders of butter, meal, and malt, and, generally, a sheep or a cow. These payments in kind varied a good deal with the peculiar produce of the farm, as also with the requirements or wishes of the landlord. Thus there was no wheat given where the land, as often happened, did not grow wheat; and horses, or the labour of horses, were supplied where the landlord needed them. As illustrating this variety, take a townland on the estate of Lord Taaffe, and another of about the same size on another property.

Of Knockadalteen, a townland of 245 acres near Ballymote, on Lord Taaffe's property, we read in the Survey of 1633, &c.:—"He settis it to undertenants for £15 per annum and country charges, 5 fatt muttons, 40 workmen, 1 fatt beefe, 40 quarts of butter, 1½ barrell of wheate, 4 barrells of malte, 20 hennes, with a number of eggs, and 40 horses for carriage." Landlords who did not use a carriage, and had no *gout* for puddings or such table delicacies, dispensed with the horses and eggs, but took care to have an equivalent in some other form. Thus Brian M'Teige O'Hart set Maghereconrosse (now Magheranrush), a townland of 270 acres, in Carbury, "for £16 per annum, and 4 barrells of malt, 16 medders of butter, 24 medders of meale, the third part to be wheat, a fat mutton upon every tenant, and a chosher at Christmas, and 40 workmen." Here there is no mention of carriage horses or of hens and eggs, but there is, instead, the "cosher" at Christmas, a condition which we find

in a good many of the tenancy contracts of the period. Lord Taaffe, as might be expected from a person of his station and culture, had nothing to say to the cosher at Christmas.

As many may not understand the word "cosher" it is well to explain it. The "cosher at Christmas" means that the landlord or chief and his party, that is, as many of his family, friends, and followers as he thought well to take with him, would proceed to the houses of his tenants, and remain there during the season of Christmas, eating, drinking, feasting, and carousing, at the expense of the tenants. It would be impossible to conceive a more demoralizing proceeding in regard to the landlord, or a more impoverishing and degrading one in respect to the tenant, so that it is little wonder that English writers never tire of enlarging on the evils of the custom. The chief lord, says Dr. Holland in his additions to Camden's *Britannia*, "had his cosheries upon his tenants, that is, he and his would lie upon them until they had eat up all their provisions. He would likewise employ upon them his horsemen, his kernes, his horse-boys, his dog-boys, and the like, to be fed and maintained by them, which kept the poor people in continual slavery and beggary."

With this and other like customs to struggle against, it is clear that the lower classes had much to complain of in regard to the chief; nor is it very surprising that they sometimes tried to defend themselves by attacking their taskmasters, after the manner of the Attacotti, who were goaded by the exactions of their rulers into rebellion, and who committed during the revolt the most frightful excesses on those who had oppressed them. It is well to remember what O'Donovan says in a note to the *Book of Rights* (p. 104), that these Attacotti inhabited Leyney and Gailenga, that is, the districts comprised, for the most part, in the present counties of Sligo and Mayo.

The cosher, though commonly supposed to be an exclusively Irish custom, was not altogether unknown in England, at least in the time of Edward III. That monarch had a fancy for quartering himself and his followers occasionally on his well-to-

do subjects, who came to regard the proceeding as a heavy visitation. To save them, as far as he could, from this oppression, Archbishop Islip had the courage of writing to the King an indignant letter of remonstrance, telling him, among other things: "When men hear of your coming, everybody at once, for sheer fear, sets about hiding, or eating, or getting rid of their geese and chickens or other possessions, that they may not utterly lose them through your arrival."

It was, probably, this coshering that gave rise to the abuse of "forcible refexion," which we often meet with in reading the annals of the country. Chiefs, to have revenge of other chiefs, sometimes invaded their houses, and regaled themselves on the good things they found before them, without asking anybody's leave. It was conduct of this kind which led to the tragic death of the poet, Teige Dal O'Higgin, of Doughorne, near Tubbercurry. His neighbours, the O'Haras of Castle Carragh, in the parish of Kilmacteige, invited themselves to his house, and ate and drank there at his expense, and against his will; and when the poet retaliated with a stinging lampoon, the only weapon with which he was a match for them, the savages paid him a second visit, cut out his tongue, and treated him otherwise so brutally, that he died of the injuries received on the occasion. For this they forfeited their lives, being tried for the offence, and hanged; while their lands were confiscated, and granted, at the Restoration, to Cornet Thomas Wood.

In this matter of forcible refexion, the object was not to satiate appetite, but to show contempt, and to gratify revenge, which could hardly be done more insultingly than by entering a man's house against his will, and consuming and wasting in his presence what was under his ownership and guardianship. The chief aim on these occasions being to humiliate and give offence, the most highly prized object of the obnoxious person was selected for outrage, that the owner of it might feel the injury all the more. It was from this motive that, in 1059, Hugh O'Connor, King of Connaught, having invaded Munster, the territory of the O'Briens; having burned their town of Killaloe;

and having demolished their chief fortress of Kincora, "ate the two salmon that were in the well of Kincora," this being the deadliest and most exasperating outrage he could inflict, as the fish were regarded by all Munstermen both with provincial pride and with superstitious reverence. By remembering this principle we shall understand the vast importance and significance of sundry acts mentioned in the old annals of Ireland, such as the cutting down of the tree of Moyre (*Chronicon Scotorum*, 980); the forcing, by Malachy, from the Danes of Dublin, of the ring of Tomar, and the sword of Carlus (*Ibid.*, 993), and the carrying away "the variegated door of the castle of Turrock, to place it as a door to the castle of Sligo." (*Four Masters*, 1536.)

There is reason to fear that "in the good old times" numbers were as backward in

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as in the minor matter of agriculture. "Common honesty" was not then "so common" a virtue as is sometimes supposed. Nor will this be matter of great surprise, if we call to mind the demoralizing nature of local warfare, consisting for the most part in raids on neighbouring districts, and carrying off everything of value that fell in the way—proceedings which could hardly fail to weaken, if not to destroy, in the minds of all, the very notion of private property. The chief who distinguished himself most in this way was pronounced "a choice gentleman in captainship and depredation."*

And the dearth of provisions which prevailed frequently, if not habitually, multiplied temptations to take what did not belong to one. Of this result of scarcity we have a startling example in the *Four Masters* so far back as the year 1050, where we read, "Much inclement weather happened in the land of Ireland, which carried away corn, milk, fruit, and fish, from the people, so that there grew up dishonesty among all, that no

* *Annals of Loch Ce, sub anno 1566.*

protection was extended to church or fortress, gossiped or mutual oath, until the clergy and laity of Munster assembled with their chieftains under Donchadh, son of Brien, at Cill Dalua, where they enacted a law and a restraint upon every injustice, from small to great."

Though the Church stopped dishonest practices on this occasion, and kept them always in check, she could not extirpate them, and many still regarded theft as deserving of praise and reward, "if the stealth were brought into the country ;"* so that Giraldus Cambrensis speaks of the Irish nation as swarming with robbers;† and a report addressed to the Pope in 1517, states, that the inhabitants of the west of Ireland were almost all "given to thieving."‡

Unfortunately there are facts in abundance to show that these charges are not altogether without foundation, and that some of our countrymen were addicted to this low vice. The people of Tirerrill stole the horses of St. Patrick ;§ inhabitants of Clare made away with the horses, and mules, and asses of Cardinal Vivian, the Pope's legate, and thus, according to the Aphorismical Discovery, brought on, in penalty, the Wednesday's fast, which formerly prevailed in the country, and, according to the Leabhar Breac,|| made this country tributary to England; some wretches, on the night after the battle of Carricknagat, carried off the "gallant grey" on which Bartholomew Teeling so distinguished himself at the battle; and the people of Leyney, if we are to rely on the character given of them one hundred years ago, in Arthur Young's Tour, were so vicious and expert

* Sir John Davis—quoted in Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia, Vol. II., note to page 1417.

† "Gens Hibernica prædonibus abundans."—Topog. Hib. Dist. II., cap. 55.

‡ Theiner, p. 518.

§ Trias Thaum., pars II., cap. LV., p. 137.

|| "It was on that account the successor of Peter sold the rent and tribute of Erin to the Saxons. And that is the right and title that the Saxons follow on the Gaedhil at this day, because it was to the successor of Peter, to Rome, used to go the rent and tribute of Erin until then."—See the whole passage in a note of the learned Dr. Reeves to Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 17.

in this respect, that they would steal the shoes off the horses' feet.*

These injustices were commonly the work of individuals, but bands of men were sometimes organized under a leader for the purposes of depredation. This happened during and after the confiscations of Elizabeth and James I., the Insurrection of 1641,† and the conflict between James II. and William; and the members of those bands, who were commonly called Tories, and sometimes rebels, were generally persons of good family, who, having been deprived of their estates in those revolutionary times, thought they had a right to take back, with the strong hand, as much as they could of what they still held to belong to themselves, though in the possession of others.

Such were the bands of the Brennans in Leinster, of Redmond O'Hanlon in Ulster, and of Dudley Costello in Connaught,‡ who maintained themselves for years at the expense of those who occupied their lands, and in spite of all the efforts and forces of the Government. So far from regarding himself or his party as vulgar robbers, Costello would not admit into his service a man guilty of dishonesty, in the common acceptation of the term, as appears in a letter of Lord Kingston, President of Connaught, to Ormond, dated Boyle, Oct. 6th, 1666, and telling that, "A footman of my Lord Carlingford having the other day committed a robbery near Ballymote fled to Costello, but could not be admitted into his party, which has gained Costello a great repute in the country."§ His Lordship in the same letter reports that Costello's party never exceeded fifteen, and is seldom more than four or five, and though everything was done to capture them, it was all in vain, for, says he, "I

* "The common people are so amazingly addicted to thieving everything they can lay their hands on, that they will unshoe the horses in the field in the barony of Leyney."

† "Christopher Reyley was Captain of Tories in the county Sligo."—*Aphorismical Discovery*, Vol. I., p. 39.

‡ The Tory War in Ulster. By John P. Prendergast, Barrister, &c. Page 4.

§ Carte Collection.

find it more difficult than I beleaved to make one Irishman betray another." His Lordship had private as well as public reasons to stimulate him ; for his relative, Captain King's house, near Ballymote, had just then been broken into, and pillaged by Costello and his men.*

Difficult as the Government found it to break up those bands, and dispose of their leaders, they always succeeded in the long run. The means invariably employed was to bribe one band to act against another, or a member of a band to make away with his chief. As an instance of the former method of proceeding, Donough Dowd and his brother Taltagh, who had been pardoned themselves for their "Torying" by Lord Kingston, were then set upon other Tories, against whom they did such execution, that Lord Dillon provides for their reward in this Proclamation, dated Oct. 12th, 1667 : " Whereas I am informed by Sir Francis Gore, Knight, that the Dowds since their submission to the President of Connaught have been very active in pursuit of the Rebels, and have already done considerable service upon them, I consent that they receive 1s. per quarter of the tilled land in the Baronies of Costello and Gallen ; provided that Roger Jordan and his brother Edward may have their proportion of same for their good service in apprehending one Gallagher, a notorious rebel."

The second method was the one most frequently employed, as it was found to be the most effectual. If few cared to meet, in the open, the brave and desperate men that were on their keeping as a party of Tories or Rebels, an ill-affected associate, aware of the many opportunities he had of acting without much risk to himself, was sometimes found willing to betray and murder his chief, and was accordingly engaged by the Government to do the deed. The secret on such occasions was so well kept by all concerned, that it was only in 1868 the names of those who despatched Tory chiefs near two centuries before became known for the first time.

* Letter of Philip Ormsby to Lord Dillon in the Carte Collection.

Parties of Tories appeared in the country occasionally since the days of Costello and O'Hanlon. We find, for instance, a deponent named James Gibson swearing informations before Joshua Cooper of Markrea against such a party; and in this case we have among the "Presentments, Affidavits, Examinations, Informations, &c., regarding the State of the County Sligo from 1711 to 1797," the following presentment:—"At a Gaol Assizes and General Gaol Delivery held at Sligo in and for the county on the 5th April, 1736, we, the Grand Jury, present that James O'Hara, Michael O'Hara, Bryan O'Hara, Charles O'Hara, and others, are Tories, Robbers, and Rapparees, out in arms, and upon their keeping." (Signed) Richard Gethins, *cum sociis*.

Even so late as the earlier years of the present century persons so called were to be found, though they resembled rather common highwaymen than the Tories of the seventeenth century, and could not allege in justification or extenuation of their doings the excuse or apology of these Tories, such as it was. The last of those bands went by the name of "Gallagher's Gang," haunted the Gap in the parish of Kilmacteige, and levied contributions on both sides of the Ox Mountains. Travellers by the Gap took care in consequence to prepare for the journey by arming to the teeth, and by beating up as many companions of the road as they could. Still robberies were frequent both on the highway and all round, so that the name of Gallagher carried terror far and near. The authorities made many efforts to capture the brigand, but in vain; for he was so well served by his accomplices and sympathisers, and was so full of resources himself, that he easily baffled pursuit. The neighbouring gentry, including Mr. Jones of Banada, fearing there was collusion between him and the Barony constables, volunteered themselves to join in hunting him down; but though they got so near him on one occasion that they formed themselves into a cordon close round the house in which he lay in bed, still he, on learning his danger, sprang through the door of the cabin, and bounded past the gentlemen with such agility and dash, that he was already beyond their reach, and

telling them "they might kiss the hare's foot," before they could discharge the pistols with which they were armed. He then snatched Mr. Jones's horse from the man having it in charge, and mounting it thus made good his escape. Treachery, however, effected in the end what the law and the gentry could not do; for a large reward having been offered for his arrest, the persons in whose house he stopped at the time, though near relatives of his own, after setting him drunk, putting him into bed in that state, removing from under the pillow the pistols and dagger he always kept there, and even binding him while unconscious with a net-work of rope to the bed, introduced the officers of the law, and delivered him up for the sacrifice.

Deeds of violence were much more numerous and enormous in the remote past than in recent times, or the times in which we live. Judging by the raids and expeditions constantly going on, it is likely that very few men escaped hostile violence at one time or other of their lives, and that a large proportion of them came by violent deaths. So far back as the year 1151, the Four Masters record as a singular fact, that "Conor Ciabhach O'Hara, Tanist of Leyney, died on his bed;" adding that "no Lord of the Lords of Leyney who had preceded him died on his bed." The disorganization of the times may be inferred, too, from such significant entries in the annals of the country, as the following: "All the province of Connaught laid waste from the Drowes to the Shannon." "Great war in Ireland, so that Ireland was a trembling sod." Not only were our local chiefs at war with their neighbours, but members of each chief's family were usually the deadliest enemies of one another; so that the murderous proceedings of Donnell and Teige O'Connor, in 1368; of Mulrony McDonogh's sons and their cousins, in 1425; of Conor Cam O'Gara and the O'Gara, in 1436; of Mulrony O'Dowda and his brother in 1443; of Hugh O'Hara, King of Leyney, and Duarcan O'Hara, in 1234—transactions detailed in the Four Masters under their respective years—may be taken as a pretty fair specimen of the fratricidal quarrels of our Sligo chiefs.

Infractions of the law were rather common through the county in the eighteenth century, and they took the form, for the most part, of houghing cattle, robbing, taking forcible possession, carrying arms, being Papists, or enlisting for foreign service. The grave offences of abduction and murder, we are told by Mr. Burke, in his *Anecdotes of the Connaught Bar*, were of rather frequent occurrence among the lower classes. Nor was the imputation at least; whatever may be said of the guilt, confined to the lower classes, for we find one of the Upper Ten, William Ormsby, son to a gentleman of station in the county, put on his trial at Sligo, in 1731, on a charge of murder.

The case, which was of a highly sensational character, kept the county in a state of excitement for several years. Ormsby becoming enamoured of a Catholic girl, named Catherine Conaghan, of humble parentage and position, married her privately according to the rites of the Catholic Church. After some time, however, had elapsed, and a child was born to them, he regretted what he had done, and set about dissolving the marriage; but before he had made any progress in this direction, his poor wife was found dead in Sligo abbey, at the foot of the tower. Some gave out that she had thrown herself down from the tower, but "the corpse presenting all the appearance of a struggle," says Mr. Burke, and a coroner's jury finding a verdict of wilful murder against William Ormsby, the authorities went in search of him, but searched long in vain, as he had disappeared from the neighbourhood, and kept out of the way.

Meantime the terrible tragedy engrossed the thoughts of everybody, and little was talked of except the more characteristic features of the case—the incomparable beauty of the deceased, which had attracted and fixed the affections of one so much above her in station; her virtues which, by common consent, were as rare as her beauty; and, above all, the unnatural scene of the occurrence, consecrated by the continual ministrations of religion, as well as by the reverential ideas and feelings of the people, and guarded, as it were, by the thousands of good men who were awaiting there their resurrection.

It was about three years after his flight from justice, and when, no doubt, he and his friends had provided for his deliverance from the meshes of the law, that Ormsby showed himself again in Sligo, and was arrested. The Grand Jury found a true bill, and he was put on trial in 1731, before Baron St. Leger, when the Jury, of course well packed, brought in a verdict of Not guilty—but only after having been locked in for the night (see p. 461, Vol. I.) ; a circumstance which would indicate that one or more of the twelve were for conviction. The result, however, of the trial, caused no alteration in the opinions of the people, who after, as before, the verdict, firmly held William Ormsby to be the murderer of the ill-fated Catherine Conaghan.

Another suit, in which another of the highest names of the county figures, occurred in 1745. It was the case of Susanna Wynne, by her next friend, Robert Sandford, plaintiff, *versus* James Wynne and others, defendants ; and the cross case of James Wynne, plaintiff, *versus* Susanna Wynne and others, defendants. The nature of the transaction may be learned from an affidavit made on the occasion by Mr. Owen Wynne, in which he deposed that he and Susanna Wynne were travelling to Dublin in their coach, when James Wynne and others came up to the coach at Dromod, in Leitrim, cocked pistols at deponent and the coachman, and forced Susanna Wynne away, notwithstanding all her efforts and those of said Owen Wynne. Owen Wynne further deposed that he believed the said Susanna Wynne's life to be in great danger. As Owen Wynne had a son named James, who married Susanna Shaen, daughter of Sir James Shaen, it would appear that this James and his wife are the parties concerned.

On the 3rd of May, 1780, a still more startling outrage took place in the town of Sligo. At that date, two men named Robert Brunton and Michael Rorke were in the gaol under sentence of death, but before the day of execution arrived some persons attacked the building, broke open the doors with sledges, and took away Brunton and Rorke. On examination, William Tims, assistant gaoler, charged Thomas Hudson of

Magheraboy, George Shaw, and others, with this weighty offence. It is not unlikely, whoever the attacking party were, that they were in collusion with officials inside; for it is known that, about the same time, prisoners were occasionally let out at night for the purpose of committing robberies in the town and neighbourhood, on condition that at their return they should share the proceeds of the night with the obliging officials! Ferguson was the name of the jailer who imposed this new kind of "hard labour" on his charge, and the men, told off for the work, were convict soldiers, whom he preferred, as likely, from their training, to be more amenable than others to his orders.

Even in the early years of the present century the walls and doors of Sligo gaol were not so impassable, as they have since become; for, in the *Sligo Journal* of September 29, 1809, and in several other issues, we find Alexander Percival, High Sheriff, offering a reward of £100 for the apprehension of William Irwin, charged with murder and other offences, who made his escape from the gaol of Sligo on the 20th March, 1809. The advertisement ran thus:—

W H E R E A S

County of Sligo, } WILLIAM IRWIN, charged with Murder
to wit. } and other Offences, did on the Afternoon
_____ } of Yesterday, the 20th Instant, make his
escape from the Jail of *Sligo*, I hereby offer a reward of ONE
HUNDRED POUNDS for his apprehension.

Said Irwin is about five feet six inches high, dark hair, grey eyes, and sallow complexion, his cheeks much drawn in, and is about 24 years of age.

ALEXANDER PERCIVAL,
High Sheriff, County Sligo.

21st March, 1809.

The faction fights, which were so common towards the close of the last century and in the first half of the present, at fairs and other meetings, supply another proof of the violence of these times.

The fairs of the county had their respective characteristics Carny, for instance, was famous for its sheep; Tubberscanavan for springers; Ballymote, Castlebaldwin, Ballintogher, for general stock; Carricknagat for horse jumping and match making; but the staple attraction at several of the county fairs was the faction fight of the evening.

About sixty years ago, the late Collector Wynne seeing one of those fights in progress at Carricknagat, rode in among the combatants with the object of separating them, but, both sides resenting his interference, turned on him and beat him most savagely, for which twenty of them received their deserts in Sligo jail; about one half of them being sentenced to two years' imprisonment and hard labour, and the other half to one year's confinement with hard labour.

These fights occurred sometimes at wakes and funerals. The funeral, in 1805, of Reverend Walter Henry, Parish Priest of Ballysadare and Kilvarnet, is still known in the neighbourhood as the "Funeral of the Sticks," from the circumstance that a crowd from Killoran, the native parish of deceased, came to Collooney, armed with bludgeons, to take away the corpse by force, and to bury it in Killoran graveyard; but finding the Collooney people assembled in great numbers, ready and resolved to punish any attempt to carry out of the parish the remains of their beloved pastor, the invaders abandoned their project, and returned crestfallen home.

Things, however, did not always end so quietly, as another instance shows. It is the case of a Mrs. M'Nulty, of Meemlagh, in the parish of Killoran. As soon as the remains were taken out of the house in which she died, her relations, on one side, and her marriage connexions, on the other, claimed each the right of burying her in their own burying-place; and as the conflicting claims could not be amicably settled, and both parties agreeing to fight for it, and laying down the coffin under the walls of Meemlagh castle, they set deliberately to work, and fought for a full hour till victory declared for the Magraths, when the

victors carried away the corpse in triumph over the prostrate M'Nultys, and buried it in the Magrath graveyard.

Down to the first years of this century Sligo was as free as any county in Ireland from organized illegal associations. While the Whiteboys and Rightboys of the South, and the Oakboys and Steelboys of the North, were worrying their respective regions, the Catholics and Protestants of Sligo, proof against the bad example, remained peaceful and united. It was in 1806 the first tumultuous rising since the Revolution occurred in the county. Their authors were called Threshers; their chief objects, to do away with tithe and curtail priests' dues; and the means employed, nocturnal meetings, breaking into dwelling-houses, swearing the inmates to promote the objects of the confederacy, and carding the naked backs of such as refused to do their bidding. They committed outrages in various parts of the county—in Cartron Watts, or Newtown Holmes, near Sligo; in Lugnadeiffa, in the parish of Ballysadare; in Ballylass, near Tubbercurry; and in some other places; and the evil became so serious in this and other counties, that a Special Commission under the Great Seal of Ireland was directed to Lord Chief Justice Downes and Baron George to try certain offenders in the counties of Sligo, Mayo, Leitrim, Longford, and Cavan. The judges opened the Commission on the 4th Dec. 1806, and sat for several days, the result being that two Threshers were sentenced to be publicly flogged, six to be transported, and one to be hanged, after which little more was heard of those deluded men.

There was nothing sectarian about the Threshers, and they treated priest and parson with the same impartial severity; but the Orange and Ribbon societies, which soon followed, were at once sectarian and secret societies. The Orange society is said to be an affiliation of the Steelboys, who wrecked the houses of Catholics in the county Armagh in 1795, and banished the houseless wanderers to Connaught, while the Ribbonmen claim to be the succession of the Defenders who banded together at

the same time in the North to defend themselves and their co-religionists against the attacks of the Steelboys.

Whether this is so or not, it is certain that the great plea of justification, put forward in behalf of Ribbonmen, is the alleged necessity of humble Catholics being thus united in order to be the better able to make head against the violence of Orange enemies. The writer's personal experience leads him to rely on the *bona fides* of this statement; for having, about twenty years ago, on occasion of a startling outrage which took place in his parish, and which had its cause in secret societies, preached against such societies in each of his three chapels, and pledged before the altar on their knees every man, woman, and young person in the congregations to renounce and discourage, in every way open to them, those secret confederacies, he was often remonstrated with by well-meaning but simple persons for advising a proceeding which would, it was alleged, leave poor Catholics at the mercy of their worst enemies; and if Ribbonism should have since in any way revived in the district, of which the writer knows nothing, the revival would certainly be due to the provocation offered by the Orange meetings constantly held in Sligo, Collooney, Riverstown, Ballymote, and other places, under, it would appear, the patronage of the local gentry.

To obtain a clearer idea of the state of the county in regard to crime, in the earlier years of this century, it will be well to refer for a moment to the cases commonly coming at the time before the judge of assize, as they are recorded in the books of the Clerk of the Crown. We learn from this official authority, that these were:—First, breaking forcibly into private houses and taking out of them the property of the owners—money, meal, butter, potatoes, linen, flax, wearing apparel, and other personal and household goods—and we shall be within the mark if we say that between eighty and ninety per cent. of all the grave cases brought before the judges consisted in such offences; secondly, demanding money on the high-road and taking it forcibly from the person; thirdly, administering un-

lawful oaths; fourthly, assembling riotously and tumultuously; and fifthly, violating excise laws, and resisting officers of the revenue.

Robbery was then punished with great severity. For instance, at the Summer Assizes of 1817 eight men—Hugh Coggin, Thomas Dermott, James Guinty, Bryan Keane, James Kilreaghal, Hugh Kilreaghal, Martin Callaghan, and Henry M'Kee—were sentenced to be hanged for this offence: Hugh Coggin and Thomas Dermott for forcibly entering the dwelling-house of Bridget Finnegan at Lugdoon, and taking out of it seven guineas and one hundred weight of oatmeal; James Guinty for entering the dwelling-house of Mary Bridges, at Dromore, and taking out of it Bank of Ireland tokens value 10s., six pounds weight of hackled flax value 8s., and one pair of shoes; Bryan Keane for forcibly entering the dwelling-house of Bartholomew Keane, and taking away two hundredweight of bacon value £4; James Kilreaghal and Hugh Kilreaghal for breaking into the dwelling-house of Andrew Finan, of Carrownalisky, and carrying away 43 yards of linen value £2, 3s., eight yards of frieze value 16s., twenty Bank of Ireland tokens value 6s. each, twenty-four Bank of Ireland tokens value 2s. 6d. each, sixty Bank of Ireland tokens value 10d. each, and thirty-four Bank of Ireland tokens value 5d. each; and Martin Callaghan and Henry M'Kee for breaking into the house of Michael M'Dermott Roe, at Drumluster, “with intent feloniously to take his money, goods, and chattels.”

These eight men suffered the extreme penalty of the law at the old gaol, Albert Street, where public executions usually took place, though on some occasions men were executed at the scene of their crime, as happened in the case of John Tunny and Patrick Looby, convicted at the Lent Assizes of 1817 of entering forcibly the dwelling-house of Henry Smith, at Tonelena, and taking thereout thirty tenpennies, four pairs of sheets, two gowns, three shirts, and one pair of stockings. Both were sentenced to be hanged on the 25th March (Lady Day) at Terenure, or St. James' Well, where they were executed in the

presence of immense crowds. It is said they were innocent, and that a man who was subsequently convicted of robbery, and executed at Carrick-on-Shannon, declared himself to be the perpetrator of the crime for which they suffered. The holiday was selected for the work of the gallows in order to secure the greater concourse of spectators ; and for the same reason Saturday, the market day, was always fixed for executions in Sligo, so that the hangman would be sure to have plenty of people to witness what had unfortunately become in the long run a rather commonplace performance.

One of these deplorable exhibitions was attended with circumstances which created a profound impression through the town and county. It was the case of a man named Sweeny, for whom great sympathy was felt, as he was believed by the public, as well before as after his conviction, to be innocent of the crime laid to his charge. On the day fixed for the execution considerable numbers assembled round the gallows in front of the old gaol, which stood immediately to the north of Messrs. Taylor and Grevat's establishment, just on the site of the office portion of the county court-house.

Poor Sweeny, who exhibited great firmness, felt but one regret, that he could not receive Extreme Unction, which is administered only to persons dangerously ill. As he appeared on the narrow, unfenced platform, five feet long and three wide, which led from the gaol to the gallows, most of the people present fell on their knees in prayer ; and when the rope was adjusted, the black cap pulled down, and the wretched man turned off, the rope snapped under the sudden strain, and he fell on his feet, receiving great injuries in the fall. His first words on recovering presence of mind were, "Thank God, my life is my own," to which, on the instant, the Sub-Sheriff, Mr. Abraham Fenton, replied, "Not so, if a rope can be found in Sligo strong enough to hang you." The Sheriff was as good as his word, and soon procured the rope, while poor Sweeny, being now grievously ill in body, received the one thing his heart was set on, Extreme Unction, after which he met his fate like a

Christian hero, so that there was hardly a Catholic present, or in the county, who did not regard the accident of the rope as an interposition of Heaven in answer to an innocent man's fervent prayer for the last sacrament.

Though capital convictions, from their frequency, resulted in making people rather indifferent about them, one or two occurred in those times, which awakened exceptional and sensational interest. Such was the conviction in the Geale case. Elizabeth Geale and her daughter, Catherine, kept a small soft-goods shop at Templehouse or Rathbane, and six men—Antony Morrisroe, Thomas Morrisroe, Terence Cummisky, James Coan, Thomas Coan, and Patrick Dyar—broke into it at night, and took away much of the goods which it contained. Bad as this was, it were well if the transaction ended here, but the wretches, in addition to the robbery, were guilty of personal outrage towards Catherine Geale, and brought thus on themselves the extreme penalty of the law. All six were executed on the 6th of April, 1813, and there was hardly a man in the county that pitied them.

Such, too, was the case of Jack Taaffe and his *fidus Achates*, Jemmy Jordan, of which the particulars are given elsewhere. Poor Jack escaped the gallows by the skin of his teeth.

And such, also, was the case of Patrick O'Rorke, convicted, at the Summer Assizes of 1820, of aiding in the abduction of Eleanor Conlon, of Douro, with the object of having her married to his brother, Con O'Rorke. Con himself, who was an especial favourite with the people of Leitrim, managed, with their assistance, to evade capture. It being well known that Patrick O'Rorke joined the abducting party merely with the view of preventing, as far as he could, personal outrage, everyone had sympathy for him; and so practical and powerful was this feeling, that four women and one man conspired, at the risk of their own lives, to convey him, in woman's apparel, out of Sligo gaol, where he was confined, and did actually convey him outside the gate of the prison, though his departure became known, and he was re-captured before he could make good

his escape. He and three other men were executed for the abduction, on the 15th August, 1820.

While burglary and abduction thus cost those concerned in them their lives, other crimes met with fitting punishment. Manslaughter was generally punished with two years' imprisonment and burning in the hand; perjury with the pillory, and either long confinement in gaol, or transportation for seven years, as in the instance of Richard Walton, sentenced at the Summer Assizes of 1817 "to be pilloried in Sligo for one hour, and afterwards transported for seven years;" "carding" the naked back, with long imprisonment and one or two "whippings" in the neighbourhood where the carding took place; and notable fraud in buying or selling, with the pillory and six months' imprisonment—a punishment inflicted in 1817, on Edward Hart, for passing on David Culbertson as "good, sound, and merchantable butter," four casks of "gravel and other rubbish," each cask being covered on the top with a thin layer of butter. The augur does not appear to have been in use at this early period of the Sligo butter market. It may be here stated that a pillory was preserved in the Provost's court down to the year 1848, when it disappeared and, probably, was destroyed.

Though the Threshers' association received its death-blow from the Special Commission that sat in 1806, it lingered on for a few years more, and, even in its moribund state, gave proof of life in a carding or two, which received their merited retribution. The Threshers had no sooner retired finally from the scene, than the Ribbonmen appeared, and took the vacant place; and, it is well to know that, as far as appears, the Ribbon association figured for the first time before the Judges in the county Sligo, at the Summer Assizes of 1819, when Peter Leyden, John Dyer, and Patrick Gormly, who had been committed by Reverend John Garrett and Major Bridgham, were convicted "of rising and appearing armed by night to the terror of his Majesty's subjects, against peace and statute," of "assuming the name and denomination of Ribbon men, the same not being usually

assumed by his Majesty's subjects on their lawful occasions," and of "feloniously administering and causing to be administered, at Culthatigue, to one John Coyle, an unlawful oath upon a book, importing to bind him not to inform or give evidence against associates of, or belonging to, an association styled Ribbonmen, formed to disturb the peace, against peace and statute." It is noteworthy that Ribbonism, even in its infancy, manifested that passion for dealing in unlawful oaths, which, all through its career, has given special trouble to both the Church and the State.

In looking through the Clerk of the Crown's books, Parson Garrett is seen to be one of the most active and inquisitorial magistrates in the county. The wonder is how he could find time to attend to the spiritual interests of his vast ecclesiastical union of Emlaghfad, Kilmorgan, Kilturra, Tumour, and Drumrat, being so much engaged in ferretting out everyone that he suspected of acting "against peace and statute."

Among those he wished to dispose of, was Rev. Bartholomew Kerins, whom he committed on the double charge "that he being a Popish Priest, did take upon himself to celebrate a marriage, and did celebrate a marriage, in Ballymote, between Thomas Tigue, a reputed Protestant, and — Davis, a reputed Protestant;" and "did, in like manner, at Ballymote, celebrate a marriage between Robert Poe and Mary Charlton, reputed Protestants." Father Kerins was tried, at the Summer Assizes of 1818, on the first of these charges and acquitted. On the second there was no trial, as the Grand Jury found no true bill.

About this time, Parson Scott, of Carrowroe, near Sligo, acquired no little notoriety in connexion with clandestine marriages, or attempted marriages. If Father Kerins gave trouble sometimes, the Parson was a more reckless and frequent offender; for, while the former could never be induced to put his hand to a marriage while sober, and very rarely under any circumstances, Mr. Scott, whether sober or otherwise, was generally ready and

willing to act, as often as he was called on, and had received his usual fee, which was five shillings and a bottle of whiskey.

In this way, the Parson's house at Carrowroe, came to be regarded as the Gretna Green of Lower Connaught, and attracted candidates for matrimony from far and near, who were all attended to by himself or his "Curate," as the neighbours facetiously styled his old housekeeper, Susy. Whether true or false, it was believed that Susy officiated more than once in her master's stead, after first enveloping herself in his *cotamore*, the better to personate him—the personation being the less difficult, as the whole ceremony, such as it was, came off in the dark, in order to baffle would-be informers. But these and other precautions failed of their object; and the Parson had to pay once or twice, in Sligo gaol, the penalty of his own or the "Curate's" transgression of the law.

Not the least of the evils arising from Parson Scott's proceedings was the increase of mixed marriages, which are so strongly condemned by religion. Without him they would have been far fewer in the neighbourhood—the Catholic clergy being prohibited by the laws of the land and the laws of the Church from assisting at them; and the Protestant clergy, as a rule, not caring to have anything to say to them, more especially after a tragedy which occurred near Sligo in 1848, and which was the result of one of these ill-assorted unions.

A Catholic lady, named McTernan, married a Protestant gentleman named Armstrong, under, it is said, an agreement that she should be free to bring up the children in her own religion. The husband made no objection to the arrangement till some time after a third child was born to them, when, either of his own volition or at the instigation of others, he insisted on the little ones being educated Protestants. The urgency of Armstrong threw his wife's mind off its balance; and all Sligo was shocked, one day, when the news came from Ballincar, that Mrs. Armstrong, going out that morning to the sea-side, and bringing the three children with her, had, after strapping two of them on

her back and taking the third in her arms, walked deliberately into the tide, and drowned both them and herself.

Illicit distillation gave the Judges, who went the Connaught Circuit, no little trouble in the first decades of the current century, hardly an assizes passing over without numerous convictions. Potteen was made, now and then, in all parts of the county, but the manufacture was so common and so constant in Drumcliffe and Ahamlish, that nine-tenths of the Still Cases, as they were called, came from those parishes. The penalty, in ordinary cases, such as "having a still," "using a still," "making pot ale," "having singlings," "malting grain," etc., was imprisonment for a week, with a fine of £10, the parties to be kept in gaol for six months, if the fine was not paid; the great object apparently of the authorities, being to secure the money paid as fine. Resistance to the revenue officers, or rescue of objects seized, entailed much heavier punishment, varying according to the circumstances of the case.

It would be out of place to dwell further here on the past condition of the county in regard to crime; nor is it necessary, as one can gather, from the authentic details already given, a good notion of the criminal offences more frequently occurring, as also of the marked contrast there happily is between the law and order of the present time, and the lawlessness and barbarism of the past.

Another nuisance and scandal of by-gone days were the so-called

BUCKS

who infested the town of Sligo and the neighbourhood in the closing years of the last century and the early years of the present. These bravoos were the degenerate descendants of Cromwell's officers and soldiers, and many of them still retained possession of the Commonwealth debentures, though burdened with debt. In accordance with the habits of the period, when men passed much less of their time in the domestic circle than

they do now, the Bucks commonly spent the evening and a good part of the night in some of their clubhouses, of which they had at least three, one, the shop house of the late Mr. Charles Anderson in Bridge Street, then called the Green House from the ivy with which it was covered; another, the house of which the striking remains still stand over the Curragh, in the townland of Carrowgobadagh; and the third, that still popularly called the Club-House at Ardnaglass, in Tireragh.*

Acting on the maxim, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we shall die," they assembled in one or other of these haunts every night, and passed the time in gambling, swilling "scalteen," talking ribaldry, and bellowing snatches of profane songs. The orgies lasted till long past midnight; and woe betide the man that fell in the way of those "sons of Belial, flown with insolence and wine," as they wandered forth, and rolled through the streets to their residences. It is told that they once, in a mid-winter night, stripped a man they met with of his clothes, tossed the clothes into the river, and left the shivering wretch to his fate in the midst of frost and snow. On another occasion they forced a passer-by into a coffin, and placed it, after nailing down the lid, on the battlement of the bridge, in such a way, that any effort to extricate himself from his horrid position would only precipitate him into the river; and if they did not signalise their passage by these enormities, they always made night hideous by their yells and imprecations as they staggered along.

* Some of the entertainments were advertised. The following notice appears in the *Sligo Journal* of September 4th, 1807:—

F A N D A N G O.

THERE will be a Public Ball and Supper at the Club-House of *Ardnaglass*, on the Evening of Monday the 7th Inst.

ROBT. WM. HILLAS, and	}	STEWARDS.
JAMES FLEMING, Esqrs.,		
Mrs. JONES,	}	STEWARDESS.

4th September, 1807.

A story is handed down, that on one occasion they dragged into their den a young girl who had been sent with a sick call to a priest, and whom they found in the street on her errand. It is probable they did this with the view of creating a ferment through the town rather than, as the people thought, for licentious purposes; but when some one, who witnessed the abduction, ran with the news to Father John Flynn, Parish Priest at the time of Sligo, he at once called round him a body of brave men, chiefly butchers, and, proceeding with them to the Green House, soon liberated the poor creature from the lions' den.

For this as well as for other reasons Father John was particularly obnoxious to the Bucks, so that they were constantly in search of opportunities to have their revenge. On pretence of carrying a sick call to him, three of them were once admitted by the servant into his sitting room; and when they were proceeding to lay hands on him, the priest, who was one of the strongest men in the county, seeing his danger, laid round him so vigorously in self-defence, that in a very few minutes he had bundled the whole three of them down-stairs one upon the other, in a frame of body and mind which cured them for ever of the fancy of again bearing a sick call to his Reverence; and though others of the fraternity vowed to have vengeance for this mauling of their worthy brothers, and tried more than once to carry out their designs, they were always foiled in their attempts by the butchers, who had formed themselves into a vigilance committee for the priest, and proved more than a match for the Bucks, so that Father John at last was left in peace.

This result was not accomplished in a day, nor without sundry collisions, in which the knights of the Green House always had the worst of it; and at last John Street, in which Father Flynn then lived, was made so hot for them that they dared not show the face in it by night or by day, either individually or in a body. If an individual of them appeared in the street he was put quietly back, and if a body of them, as happened on one or

two occasions, essayed to pass, the butchers straightway formed themselves into a cordon across the street, with their bulldogs, and soon convincing the trespassers that discretion is the better part of valour, caused them to beat an ignominious retreat. Such were the doings of the Bucks and the butchers of Sligo so late as the early years of the present century.

Even in the Green House the Bucks had it not always their own way, as at least one memorable instance shows. A stranger having dropped into the house, which was a kind of inn as well as the *rendezvous* of a club, and having asked what he might have for dinner, was told there was nothing but cold meat; but finding a number of fine grouse already dished, and about to be served up, he pointed out one, and said he should dine on it. The waiter told him he must not think of such a thing, as the game belonged to the gentlemen up-stairs, who would soon make a spatch-cock of him if he laid a finger on it. The stranger, however, insisted that he would have the grouse, let the gentlemen up-stairs do as they would; and when the waiter mentioned the incident to his company, they resolved to punish the new-comer for his audacity, and by way of showing that they regarded him as an *ignoramus*, directed the waiter to take one of their watches with compliments to the gentleman and ask him what o'clock it was?

The stranger took the rude joke very quietly, put the watch in his pocket, and sent in his card as his receipt for the watch and his reply to the message. The card troubled them almost as much as a bomb could if it fell in their midst, for it bore the name of the most noted fire-eater in the province, a Mr. Martin of Galway. Having finished his dinner, Mr. Martin stepped in among the Bucks, and asked for the owner of the watch; and when no one claimed the object, he handed it to the waiter with directions to keep it as a present from him. He next insisted on the Bucks choosing one of their party to give him "satisfaction" for the insult they had offered. There being no other way of adjusting the matter,¹ they cast lots to decide which of them should give the desired satisfaction, when the

lot fell on a Mr. Barrett. The duel came off forthwith by torch-light in the yard of the Green House; and Martin, at the first fire, lodged a pistol ball in the shoulder of his antagonist, to serve him ever after as a souvenir of the occasion.

The occupation of the Bucks during the day was often as wild and reckless as that of the night. Take the instance of L—— J——, who was a pretty fair specimen of the lot. One day he goes to Inismurray, and from pure wantonness profanes the most venerated object in the island in a way that will not bear to be written. At another time, on finding two of his labourers boxing, he insisted on their fighting it out with pistols; but the catastrophe had more of farce than of tragedy about it, for having taken the precaution of loading, himself, the pistols behind the back of the duellists, one of the parties, who was hit, and called out that his blood was streaming down his face, was greeted with a loud laugh from all present, who saw that it was not blood that was flowing, but the soft stirabout with which Mr. J—— had whimsically charged.

A writ for debt having been served on this *farceur* at the suit of Thady Kelly, a wine merchant, of Market Street, he hastened to Thady's shop, and horsewhipped the unfortunate man within an inch of his life for his audacity in "suing a gentleman." It is difficult to believe in such extravagances, but they are quite in keeping with all that is known of the Bucks of Sligo.

The Ballysadare Bucks went further, at least on one occasion, than their *confreres* of Sligo; for a Catholic named Bryan Drum having built a house in the village, and slated it, the Bucks of the place, indignant at his presumption in thinking to have a slated house, while they were living in thatched ones, assembled in broad daylight, tore off the roof, and cast it into the river. Drum was absent at the moment; and when he returned and, seeing what was done, threatened law proceedings, the wreckers beat him so unmercifully that he died in a few days of the barbarous treatment.

It will appear strange how the austere Roundheads developed

into these lawless and demoralised Bucks. *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*; so that we may take it that the metamorphosis was gradual. The deterioration, however, was the natural result of their situation; for once they got their enemies under their feet, and had the county all to themselves, and were so prosperous that they began to take no heed of the morrow, they gave themselves up to enjoyment, and thus started on their downward course; and that they had fallen very low, even before acquiring the name of Bucks, we have strong evidence in the Journal of Rev. John Wesley.*

Wesley visited Sligo about a dozen times between 1758 and 1789, those years inclusive, and has left in the Journal an interesting record of the moral condition of the inhabitants he preached to, or met, who must have been almost exclusively the descendants of the Usurpers. It would occupy too much space to note here all he says of Sligo, and one will get idea enough of what he thought on the subject from the following entries, in which he speaks of Sligo in much the same language as that our Lord employs in speaking of reprobate Jerusalem, or of Corozain and Bethsaida. Under date of May 28th, 1765, he writes:—

“In the evening I took my usual stand in the market house, but how was the scene changed. I have seen nothing like this since my first entrance into the kingdom. Such a total want of good sense, of good manners, yea, of common decency, was shown by not a few of the hearers.”†

Under the dates of May 19th, 20th, 1773, he says: “At Sligo I expected little comfort, as having little expectation of doing any good, and the less as some strollers were acting a play over the market house where I was to preach. At seven I began in our own room. Many of the soldiers, with some officers, were present; and the whole congregation, rich and poor, were so

* The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., &c. London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1864.

† Ibid., Vol. III., p. 211.

remarkably serious, that I had *a faint hope we shall see some fruit, even in cold, barren Sligo...* Surely God is giving yet another call *to the poor, stupid sinners of Sligo.*"*

His hope of seeing fruit was little realized, for he writes under May 23rd, 1785: "After a long day's journey, I preached in the new court-house at Sligo, to far the worst congregation that I have seen since I came into the kingdom. Some (mis-called gentry) laughed and talked without fear or shame, till I openly reprov'd them; and the rabble were equally rude near the door."†

On the occasion of his last visit to Sligo, which occurred on the 20th May, 1789, he makes this entry, which shows him somewhat less dissatisfied than on previous occasions: "We set out from Castlebar between three and four, and in just twelve hours reached Sligo. There I met S. Pennington once more, with her lovely daughter and son-in-law. I never before saw such a congregation in Sligo, so numerous and so serious. *Does there yet another day of visitation appear even for this desolate place?*"‡

About the time that Rev. John Wesley was making some of these entries, Arthur Young, another very observant traveller, visited the county Sligo, and formed much the same estimate of our Cromwellian gentry. Writing at Tanrego in August, 1776, he tells us: "Upon the sea-shore are immense beds of oyster shells, which are burnt into lime for building and plastering, as they take much less fuel; these hills received no little increase from all the gentry of the interior country coming to the sea-coast to eat oysters, where, having filled themselves sufficiently in the mornings, they got drunk in the evenings; this was in the *uncivilized* times. Most of the gentlemen of this county were Cromwell's soldiers, and many Welsh families, Jones's, Morgan's, Wynn's, &c."§

* The Journal, &c. Vol. III., p. 467.

† Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 296.

‡ Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 438.

§ A Tour in Ireland, &c. Vol. I., pp. 340-341.

Things are very different now in the town of Sligo from what they were when John Wesley spoke of the inhabitants as little less than reprobate. Taking them all in all, there is not perhaps a more religiously disposed people in Ireland than those of Sligo. This praise, too, belongs to all the denominations; and, certainly, not least so to the orderly, energetic, united, law-abiding society which that zealous and indefatigable reformer bequeathed to the town.

Another evil that disgraced the town and county of Sligo about the time of the Bucks, and somewhat later, was the practice of

DUELLING.

Sligo has been always too noted for this relic of barbarism. Five counties of Ireland—Tipperary, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon—being particularly interested in the practice, sent delegates to Clonmel, in 1775, to draw up a code of laws for the regulation of affairs of honour, which, being duly enacted, were addressed to all the fire-eaters of Ireland as “The Practice of Duelling and Points of Honour settled at Clonmel Summer Assizes, 1775, by the Gentlemen Delegates of Tipperary, Galway, Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon, and prescribed for general adoption throughout Ireland.” To make sure that no one could plead ignorance of these laws, it was ordered that a copy of them should be always kept in gentlemen’s pistol cases.

This “law” gave dignity and a species of legality to the proceedings of duellists, to which the example of the first lawyers and statesmen of the kingdom lent additional sanction. Attorney-General Fitzgibbon fought Curran; Scott, Chief Justice of the King’s Bench, fought Lord Tyrawley; Egan, Judge of the County Dublin, fought half a dozen people, including Curran; the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Isaac Corry, fought Henry Grattan; Lord Norbury was so practised at the

pistol, using it against every one who came in his way, that he was said in his day to have *shot up* to the bench; and, in short, there was hardly a single high official connected with the bench, the bar, or the castle, at this time, who had not to reckon affairs of honour as regular incidents or rather duties of his office.

While Galway gentlemen preferred the sword in these affairs, the pistol was the usual weapon in Sligo, at least in the encounters which took place within the last hundred years or so. Passing over the "hostile meetings" which occurred in the county before that period, when they were more frequent than later on,* the following is a list, though not a complete one, of the county Sligo duels of more recent times, and of those who fought them:—

* "About the year 1777 *fire-eating* was in great repute in Ireland. No young fellow could *finish his education* till he exchanged shots with some of his friends or acquaintance. The first questions asked as to a young man's respectability and qualifications, particularly when he proposed to a wife, were, 'What family is he of? Did he ever *blaze*?' His fortune was the last inquiry, *because* the reply was seldom satisfactory. Tipperary and Galway were the ablest schools of the duelling *science*. Roscommon and Sligo had many professors, and a high reputation in the *leaden branch*. There was an association in the year 1782, a volunteer corps, called the 'Independent Light Horse.' They were not confined to one district, but none could be admitted but the *younger* brothers of the most respectable families. They were all 'hilt and muzzle' adepts. And that no member might set himself up as greater than the other, every member of the corps was obliged, on entering, to give his honour that he 'covered his fortune with the crown of his hat,' and had exchanged shot or thrust before he was balloted for. Most counties could then boast their regular *point of honour* men, to whom delicate cases were constantly referred. Lord Norbury was supposed to understand *the thing* as well as any gentleman in Ireland, and was frequently referred to by the high circles."—*Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. XXXIV., pp. 588-9.

There was such an epidemic of duelling in France in the time of Henry IV., that in the space of sixteen years (1590-1606) "no less than 4000 lives were sacrificed in duels."—*Essays of an Octogenarian*, Vol. I., p. 384, where authorities are quoted.

Thirty-five years ago, any one who wished to see a duel, had only to visit the fosse of the Paris fortifications in the early morning, when he was pretty sure to witness more than one *affaire*, the parties engaged belonging generally to the army, as commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, or privates, who, all three alike, took this way of settling their disputes.

1. Philip Caech Percival and Hyacinth O'Rorke. The affair arose from informations which Mr. Percival, as magistrate, took against O'Rorke, who resented the proceeding. They fought at Kilcat, near Chaffpool, in the parish of Achonry, and O'Rorke was shot dead on the spot. A small cairn of stones was raised, and still stands, where he fell.

2. The most famous duel which has taken place in the county, is that between Messrs. Fenton and Hillas. In its origin, its attendant circumstances, and its result, it attracted exceptional notice; and still, vivid as the traditions about it have always been, they are in great part apocryphal, thus supplying a new proof of the utter untrustworthiness of mere oral tradition in regard to the details of remote transactions.

It is commonly thought, and Mr. Oliver Burke, in his *Anecdotes of the Connaught Bar*, shares the opinion, that the dispute arose about a question of barrister's fees, Mr. Hillas being supposed to be a counsellor, as Mr. Fenton was an attorney, whereas, the fact is, that the unfortunate affair was connected with a wreck which took place on the Tireragh coast, quite close to the residence of Mr. Hillas, who was a military man, a Major in some force, and not a lawyer at all. A report having been sent by a Father Burke to the Major about a vessel in distress, the latter hastened to the shore, went on board the ship, and exerted himself so humanely and effectively, that the magistrates who sat to investigate the salvage claims—Mr. Wynne and Colonel Irwin—attributed “chiefly to his humane and spirited conduct the saving of the crew and the vessel”—the captain being already drowned.

While Major Hillas was thus engaged, Mr. John Fenton came on board, and an altercation soon occurred between them, of so warm a nature, that Fenton threatened to throw Hillas into the sea. The matter even proceeded so far that Mr. Fenton sent the Major a challenge, but no hostile meeting followed on this occasion. It was two days after this when Mr. Thomas Fenton, accompanied by the Castletown yeomanry, arrived, and, in spite of all opposition, took charge of the wreck—a proceeding which

annoyed and irritated Major Hillas so much that, in speaking of it afterwards in the salvage court, he made use of the offensive language which brought him the challenge from Thomas Fenton.

The hostile meeting came off in Kilmacowen, John Fenton acting as second to his cousin, while Major Hillas was attended by Captain Ferrall, a noted duellist, assisted by Loftus Jones, and Jack Taaffe. Ferrall, however, being old, between seventy and eighty years of age, as well as lame, Loftus Jones took on himself most of the second's duties or functions. John Fenton, who acted, all through, *secundum artem*, and with consummate skill and coolness, placed his cousin on the ground, put the pistol into his hand, "squared" him, as the phrase is, and moved his arm so as to protect his own person and to cover that of his adversary; while Hillas, all this time, was left very much to shift for himself, the multitude of seconds being unlike the multitude of counsellors in ensuring safety—and rather illustrating the old adage, that what is everybody's business is nobody's business. Fenton was the first to fire, Hillas firing nearly at the same moment, after which he dropped down dead.

Messrs. Thomas and John Fenton were indicted on the 21st March 1816, in the Crown Court of Sligo, before Judge Fletcher, for the murder of John Hillas, the court, as might be expected, being crowded to its utmost capacity. The witnesses examined were James Moffatt, Loftus Jones, Doctor Armstrong, Robert Ormsby, Mr. Wynne, and Doctor Carter, and the proceedings were dull and languid, as the conclusion was a foregone one. In his charge to the Jury, Judge Fletcher was so one-sided, and so hard on poor Hillas, as to feel the need of making some apology, and added that "he had, perhaps, entangled himself, on the subject more than he ought." The jury having retired from the box, just after the Judge had pronounced the duel to be "as fair a one as ever was fought,"* came back in a minute or two

* Some others do not appear to have been as satisfied as Judge Fletcher of the fairness of the duel. We read in Hamilton's Only Approved Guide, con-

with a verdict of acquittal. It is right to state that in the proceedings of the trial, the duel was admitted on all hands to be a fair one ; while great commiseration was expressed and felt for the unfortunate deceased, whose "friends" were much to blame for his tragic end. In addressing the crowd assembled to witness the duel, Mr. Hillas observed, "I am sorry the mistaken laws of honour oblige me to come here to defend myself, and I declare to God I have no animosity to any man or woman on the face of the earth."

What an opening here for a peacemaker, if a peacemaker could be found in such a godless gathering, to make up the quarrel ; but poor Hillas's "friends"—Captain Farrell, who was mixed up, all through his long and discreditable life, with these cursed *affaires* ; Jack Taaffe, who was following so constantly in the Captain's courses ; and Loftus Jones, who was never known to have a hand in peace-making, or in anything else that was good, instead of desiring a reconciliation, wished rather for an encounter, just as the demoralized Roman populace longed

taining the Royal Code of Honour, p. 119, the remark, "Mr. Thomas Fenton, when acting as the second of his relative, John Fenton, was accused of having unfairly stood too long conversing with his principal ; because, while standing between the parties, he enabled John Fenton to look over his shoulder, and take deliberate aim at Major Ellis (Hillas), who fell at the first shot."

At page 239 of the Only Approved Guide, the author makes the following additional remarks on this duel : "Messrs. O'Ferrall and Fenton, who acted as seconds in the case of Major Hillas and Mr. John Fenton, squared the principals, in order to present the smallest possible objects. Major Hillas threw off his coat upon the ground, and appeared with light black sleeves attached to his waistcoat, evidently with a view to present the less conspicuous object to his adversary.

"The reason Major Hillas had black sleeves attached to his waistcoat, was to make his bulk appear the smaller. There is another mode of lessening the object to be fired at, which is thus described by a military officer who has written on the present subject : 'By advancing the foot and inclining in the act of presenting, the body will be lowered some inches, and many is the good or the bad head that has been saved by it.'

"In the case of Major Hillas and Mr. Fenton, spud stones were placed to mark the distance, and prevent the parties from advancing toward each other."

for the bloody scenes of the amphitheatre. This precious trio were more guilty than John Fenton of the murder of their friend. In connection with duels, more than under any other circumstances, one has reason to say, Save me from my friends.

3. Rev. Mr. Gethin and Harloe Phibbs had a hostile meeting at Magheraboy, near Sligo.

4. Rev. Mr. Duke and Mr. Holmes.—They exchanged shots in Doorla, near Lackagh, in the parish of Kilmorgan. Mr. Duke was near having a meeting with a Mr. Fenton too, but friends interfered and prevented matters from going to extremity.

5. Doctor Coyne and Doctor Carter.—They met at the Five Mile Bourne, when Coyne was wounded in the knee.

6. James Gilmor and Captain Irwin.—The meeting took place in the garden of the house in which Mrs. St. Leger now resides on the Mall. Both were hit—Irwin in the body, the ball passing through, and Gilmor in the hip; and both lived to a very advanced age, Gilmor being 86 at his death, and Captain Irwin 80.

7. Messrs. Phibbs and Cross fought at the Cartron Hill.

8. Messrs. Flanagan and MacDermott had a meeting at Rosses Point.

9. Jack Taaffe and Major Bridgham.—They fought in the yard of the chief hotel in Boyle. Taaffe was a great favourite with the humbler classes, and a *bete noir* with the gentry, who, it is said, egged on Major Bridgham to provoke him, and, when he escaped the Major's pistol, had him indicted and tried at the Summer assizes of 1818, in Sligo, for arson, at that time a capital offence. Before the trial, they thought to commit him to gaol, but Robert King Duke and Gowan Gilmor, Esqrs., bailed him in £1000 to appear at the assizes. They strained every point to secure a conviction, going, it is said, the length of suborning false witnesses for the purpose. Suborned or not, the witnesses certainly swore false, as eventually appeared. There were two trials. In one of them, Jemmy Jordan, a confidential man of Jack's, and an alleged accomplice, was indicted for conspiring to burn Kingsfort

House. The unfortunate man was convicted, and sentenced to be flogged through Ballymote—a punishment which he underwent, and underwent without flinching, throwing up his hat at the close of it, and cheering for Jack Taaffe under the nose of Bridgham, who was present, and was taunting Jordan for his connexion with Jack.

The people always admired Taaffe: first, because he was eccentric, and they generally love eccentricity and originality; and, secondly, because he was a thorn in the side of their enemies, the Bucks and Buckeens of the county, with his well-known maxim, which he kept always dinning into everyone's ears, "Jack Taaffe cares for no man;" but after his acquittal he was a greater popular idol than ever.

Taaffe's enemies, it is said, took their measures so cleverly, that they were confident of a conviction; but they were out in their reckoning; for, when the trial came on, it was clearly proved that the witnesses perjured themselves, so that the prosecution forthwith collapsed ignominiously—to the great mortification of the wire-pullers and to the unbounded delight of the people. And to make his vindication more triumphant, the witnesses who had sworn against him, came forward in the chapel of Ballymote on the occasion of a jubilee, and confessed before the assembled congregation that they had perjured themselves.

10. Messrs. Kelly and Plunket of Roscommon.—They fought in the Black Field of Doorla, in the parish of Kilmorgan. Hunted by the authorities from other places, and having got out of their reach at the Black Field, they turned in, measured ten paces, and exchanged shots, Kelly receiving a wound in the shoulder. It is told of Plunket, who was a Catholic, that before going to the ground, he got some holy water in a roadside cabin, when he said to his friends, "I now defy Kelly and the devil." The poor fellow showed his faith even while violating a formidable ordinance of his Church.

11. Counsellors Casserly and Baker.—The duel came off at the Five Mile Bourne, where they were arrested after one exchange

of shots. They were brought before Mr. Gowan Gilmor, a magistrate, to give securities for keeping the peace; and when he, at a loss for a word, as he was taking the informations of the police, asked playfully some one near him, "What shall I say? Shall I say 'for stealing a sheep?'" "No," says Casserly, "but 'for firing at a sheep.'"

12. Counsellors Walker and Ramsay.—Both being engaged in court on opposite sides, Walker took offence at an observation of Ramsay's, and then and there wrote something on a bit of paper, which he slipped quietly across the court to the Counsellor. The incident would hardly have been noticed only that Mr. Walker, after despatching the paper, fell off in a swoon. The weakness proceeded from exhaustion, and not from lack of courage, for on the following morning, when the duel came off, Mr. Walker exhibited great coolness and nerve.

13. John Patrick Somers and Captain Fawcet.—They fought on Camphill bleach green in presence of considerable numbers. The reckless Somers was ill able to keep his feet on coming to the ground, having been up all the preceding night, gambling, it is said, and drinking. Though hit at the first shot, he cried out, "Another pistol;" but Captain Fawcet's friend would not hear of it, and took away the Captain, saying, "We must not fight a wounded man." There was near being bad work after the duel, for the friends of the respective parties could hardly be prevented by the police from attacking each other.

14. Henry Griffith and Mr. Kelly of Galway.—They fixed on Doocastle for the meeting, but as a large crowd had assembled there, they agreed to move off to a spot near Tubbercurry. Here, too, there was a mob, so that the principals and their seconds drove away to Streamstown, in the parish of Achonry, where the duel took place, and without casualty of any kind.

15. Attorney Moffett and Mr. Murphy, editor of the *Sligo Journal*, the occasion of quarrel being some remark of the *Journal*, which Moffett supposed to be personal and disparaging.

16. Counsellor James Wynne, a member of the Hazelwood

family, and Mr. John Martin. They fought at Cleveragh. Within a few minutes of the appointed time, Collector Wynne, who was on the ground, complained that Mr. Martin, who had not yet arrived, was keeping them waiting, when Mr. — Wood, father of the late Mr. Tom Wood, quietly rejoined, after looking at his watch, "Never mind, he has yet four minutes, and if he be not up to time, I will take his place, and Counsellor Wynne will not be disappointed."

17. Messrs. Charles Sedley and Edward Howard Verdon fought at Magheraboy. Mr. Sedley's second on the occasion was his brother, Mr. James W. Sedley.

Sligo, either town or county, has not much to boast of, in more modern times, as to producing

MEN OF MARK

in any of the great walks of life. This is so true since the date of the Cromwellian Settlement, that it must be matter of wonder, to those who reflect, how the descendants of Cromwell's officers and soldiers, with all the lands and wealth of the county in their hands, with their educational opportunities, with all the offices of the State open to them, with the Professions eager to receive and honour them, have not, with an exception or two, produced any men that have left a name behind them. Leaving it to others to enlarge on this fact, the writer thinks he will employ the time better in directing attention to some natives of the district who deserve special mention for their talents or their actions.

A few of these, and not the least distinguished, have been mentioned already, such as Cathal O'Connor, of Castletown, and Cathal Oge O'Connor, of Sligo, both brilliant military leaders; Sir Donnell O'Connor, a statesman of rare tact and prudence; Bryan M'Donough, of Collooney, *chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*; Terence M'Donough, the "Great Counsellor," the

first man of the county in his time; and the great Ballymote family of the Taaffes, more especially the illustrious Count Taafe of the Holy Roman Empire.

In referring to other distinguished county men, the exigencies of space will cause the references to be very brief. To the O'Higgins or Higgins family the county is indebted for many men of note. Their head-quarters was at Dooghorne, in the parish of Achonry, the four quarters of which had belonged to the nunnery of Kilcreunat, in the county Galway, from which establishment the O'Higgins received their interest in these four quarters. The family had large possessions in the parish of Kilmacteige also, but though their joint possessions in Achonry and Kilmacteige amounted to several thousand acres, they owe their celebrity not to those lands, but to their poetic performances. Like the O'Dalys, the Wards, and others, they inherited poetry as a birthright, so that in one sense at least they verified Horace's maxim, *Poeta nascitur non fit*; for all the O'Higgins of the fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries regarded themselves as born poets.

Passing over several of the name, and beginning with DONNELL O'HIGGINS, we learn from the Four Masters that he was "chief preceptor of the schools of Ireland in poetry," and that he died in 1501, soon after a pilgrimage he had made to the famous church of St. James, at Compostella, in Spain. He was author of a poem of 132 verses, in honour of John, son of Alexander M'Donnell.

TEIGE DALL O'HIGGINS lost his life in 1595 in consequence of a satire he had composed against the O'Haras of Cashel Carragh, in the parish of Kilmacteige. His death is referred to 1610 by O'Reilly; but an inquisition held at Ballymote in 1610 before Nicholas Brady expressly states that "Thaddeus Cæcus O'Higgin ut vocatur, died on the 8th June, 1595, seized of 15 quarters of land in the county Sligo, that Teige Oge is his son, and was twelve years old at the father's death, and that he entered into possession."

Smarting under the infliction of his satire, the O'Haras went by night to his house, cut out his tongue, and otherwise barbarously injured himself, his wife and child, so that all three died of the injuries. O'Reilly enumerates nineteen poems of this writer, including a Genealogical poem on the O'Haras of 320 verses, a poem of 152 verses on the exploits of Cathal Oge O'Connor Sligo, and a poem of 280 verses calling on the Irish to take up arms against the English, and place themselves under the leadership of Brian, the son of Brian, the son of Owen O'Rourke, the most popular chief of Ulster and Connaught.

MOST REV. MAOLMURY O'HIGGINS, Archbishop of Tuam. He was brother of Teige Dall, and composed several pieces, four of which are mentioned by O'Reilly, one of them being a poem in praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and another in praise of Ireland—themes becoming a prelate and a patriot.

BRYAN HIGGINS, a physician and chemist, was born about 1737 in the county Sligo, but practised his profession in London, where he also presided in a school opened by himself for instruction in chemistry. His reputation as a chemist stood high, and gained him the patronage of the Empress Catherine of Russia, at whose court he passed some years. He died in Staffordshire, England, in 1820, aged 83.

WILLIAM HIGGINS, nephew of Bryan, and, like him, a native of the county Sligo, graduated at Oxford, became in 1791 Chemist to the Apothecaries Company of Ireland, and in 1795 Chemist and Librarian to the Royal Dublin Society, where he expounded his views and discoveries in chemistry in lectures delivered before the Society. The distinguished chemist of our own day, Professor Sullivan, bestows great praise on William Higgins, as well as on Bryan.

GILLA ISA MOR MACFIRBIS.—The MacFirbises of Lecan were as famous for historical, as the O'Higgins were for poetical, compositions; and two of the family call for special mention—

Gilla Isa Mor and Duald. Gilla Isa Mor MacFirbis was the principal compiler of the Book of Lecan, which, with the aid of two or three other antiquaries, he put together in the year 1418, according to O'Reilly ; but in 1416, according to O'Curry in the *Manuscript Materials of Irish History*.

The Book of Lecan, which is written on vellum, consisted originally of 624 pages, contains a great variety of matter, original or selected, and is one of the chief sources of Irish history and antiquities. This book is now in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

DUALD MACFIRBIS, the last of the famous antiquaries of Lecan, was stabbed to death in 1670, at Dunflin, in Tireragh, being over eighty years of age at the time. The banned religion of poor MacFirbis, and the privileged religion and rank of his murderer, who was a Protestant gentleman of the neighbourhood, secured to the latter impunity for his crime. The name and family of the homicide are well known, and are mentioned by O'Curry and Hennessy ; but as the Venerable Charles O'Connor, of Belanagare, who wrote on the subject, and Dr. Petrie, who read a paper upon Duald MacFirbis before the Royal Irish Academy, withhold the name of the murderer out of consideration for his descendants, it is as well to follow here their charitable example. Charles O'Connor thus estimates the effect of the tragedy : "Duald MacFirbis closed the line of the hereditary antiquaries of Lecan, in Tirfiacra of the Moy ; a family whose law reports and historical collections (many of which lie now dispersed in England and France) have derived great credit to their country. This last of the Firbises was unfortunately murdered at Dunflin, in the county of Sligo, A.D. 1670 ; and by his death our antiquities received an irreparable blow."

While "the compilations of MacFirbis are numerous and of the most varied nature, including works on Biography, Genealogy, Hagiology, History, Law, and Philology," his chief work is that which is popularly called the Book of Pedigrees, but

which is entitled by the author, "The Branches of Relationship, and the Genealogical Ramifications of every Colony, that took possession of Ireland, etc.; together with a Sanctilogium, and a Catalogue of the Monarchs of Ireland, etc.; compiled by Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh, of Lecan, 1650." The original of this important work is in the possession of Lord Roden, but a fac-simile copy, made by Eugene O'Curry, in 1836, is in the library of the Royal Irish Academy.

It is commonly supposed that Sir James Ware is largely indebted for his fame as an historian and antiquary to Duald MacFirbis, who acted as his amanuensis, and who was on his way to Dublin to resume the functions of this office, when struck down, as mentioned, at Dunflin. In the masterly introduction to the *Chronicon Scotorum*, the learned editor, Mr. Hennessy, supplies an exhaustive memoir of Duald MacFirbis, and thus fixes his place among Celtic Scholars: "Of the history of Dubhaltach MacFirbisigh, generally written Duald MacFirbis (or Dudley Firbisse, as he has himself anglicised the name), but few particulars can now be ascertained. Enough is known, however, to show that he was a man of no ordinary talent and character. Although his name is not even once mentioned by Ware, who was indebted to him for much of the information, which enabled him to acquire his distinguished reputation as an Irish antiquary, nor included in the catalogue of native authors published by Bishop Nicholson and Edward O'Reilly, his contributions to Irish history, genealogy, and literature, entitle him to a place in the foremost rank of Celtic scholars."

With the great Genealogical Work, the other works of Duald MacFirbis known to exist are, according to Mr. Hennessy:—

1. An Abridgment of the Genealogical Work.
2. A Treatise on Irish Authors drawn up in 1656.
3. A Catalogue of extinct Irish Bishoprics, together with a list of dignitaries, anciently accounted Bishops, but not so in the author's time.
4. A List of Bishops arranged for Sir James Ware, which is probably a copy or abstract of the foregoing catalogue.

5. A Collection of Glossaries, including original compositions and entries from more ancient ones.

6. A Martyrology, or, Litany of the Saints, in verse.

7. A transcript, or collection, from a volume of Annals belonging to Nehemias MacEgan, "chief professor of the old Irish, or Brehon Laws."

REV. AMBROSE O'CONNOR, O.P., has good claim to a place in this collection, as he is ranked by De Burgo, after Echard,* among the writers of the Dominican Order. He was a member of the O'Connor Sligo family, and an alumnus of Holy Cross convent in the town. Having joined the Order in Sligo he proceeded to Spain for study and training, where he evinced such talents for business that, upon his ordination, he was appointed Procurator-General of the Irish Dominicans to the court of Madrid, an office which he held for thirty years, and in which he gained great distinction for himself and great benefits for Ireland. With this office he held, for nine years, that of Provincial of the Irish province; and in discharging the duties of the position he risked a visit to Ireland, where, in spite of the continuous efforts of the civil and military authorities to arrest him, he remained several years, directing the ninety Fathers, or thereabouts, who were then scattered up and down the country; animating those who were in prison to bear up

* Echard writes of Father O'Connor: "F. Ambrosius O'Connor, Hibernus, *Sligoæ*, vernacule *Sligeach*, ex illustri Dominorum O'Connor, Comitatus Sligoensis Dynistarum, Stirpe ortus, ibidem ordinem amplexatus est, et post exacta in Hispania studia, Procurator Generalis Provinciæ *Hibernicæ* nostræ in Aula regia *Matritensi* positus, hoc munus morum gravitate, agendorumque peritiâ strenue tutatus est per annos triginta. Hinc a Magistro ordinis Prior Provincialis semel et iterum institutus, in Hiberniam se contulit, sodales visitaturus, quos nonaginta circiter per regnum hinc inde dispersos invenit, cum ingenti fructu occulte evangelizantes, et quinque a quatuor annis in diversis partibus carceribus detentos, omnique ope destitutos: Quos omnes ad quæcunque aspera pro religione sustinenda inflammavit Verbo et Exemplo, cum Missionarius utriusque Cleri ipsa Catholicis in fide Romana fovendis fortiter, et impigre laborans, dum ab Hereticis interim sollicitius quæreretur, et ejus vestigiis sæpissime instaretur."

and persevere; and co-operating as well with his own brethren as with the secular clergy in preaching and ministering to the people. Returning to Spain in 1804 he published an account of the state of Ireland under the title: *De præsentis Hiberniæ sub Acatholico jugo statu Anno 1704, in quo tria præsertim exponuntur: Primo, Fidem et Pacta Limericensia violari: Secundo, Orthodoxam extirpari Religionem: Tertio, S. Sedis Venerationem in Nihilum redigi.* (Of the present state of Ireland under the heretical yoke, wherein three things are shown: first, that the Treaty and Articles of Limerick are being violated; second, that the Orthodox Religion is being extirpated; and third, that veneration for the Holy See is being brought to nought.) This work was addressed to Pope Clement XI.

Father O'Connor composed also a "Memorial" on Irish affairs for Queen Mary Beatrice, widow of James II. It is doubtful whether either of these publications is now extant in the original form; but as De Burgo* states that the "Memorial" was reprinted by Colonel Hooke in a work entitled, "*De Scoticis Negotiationibus*," and published in 1760, it may still be seen in that book, which, no doubt, may be had at the British Museum, or perhaps, in other public libraries. This distinguished Dominican died in London about the year 1710, being bishop designate of Ardagh at the time.

REV. ANDREW DONLEVY, LL.D., must be counted with our Sligo men of note for his famous *Catechism or Christian Doctrine* in Irish and English. This production must not be confounded with the tiny epitomes of religious knowledge prepared for children and called Catechisms; for Dr. Donlevy's work, as published by him at Paris in 1742, is a goodly octavo volume of 512 pages, and may be regarded as a pretty full theological treatise on both Dogma and Morals. The book has passed through several editions, and has always been held in the highest esteem by competent judges, including Doctors of the Sorbonne, heads of ecclesiastical seminaries, and Irish bishops

* *Hibernia Dominica*, page 546.

and archbishops. It was well suited to the period in which it appeared, when the Irish language was still rather generally understood and spoken, and the use of the English language was fast spreading.

Dr. Donlevy was born in or about the year 1694, and received his early education in Ballymote. About 1710 he succeeded, in spite of the vigilance of the English authorities, in making his way to Paris, where he completed his studies and preparation for the priesthood. On his ordination he was appointed Prefect of the Irish College, or, as it was then called, *the Irish Community*, in Paris, an office which he seems to have held till his death, which occurred some time after 1761, the precise date being unknown. The exact spot of the county in which he was born has not been ascertained, but most probably it was either Ballygawley, in the parish of Killross, where there lived long, and until very recently, a respectable family of the name Donlevy, to which, too, the late Dean Donlevy of Sligo belonged, or Templehouse, in the parish of Kilvarnet, where more than one family of the name still resides. While Prefect of the Irish Community, Dr. Donlevy was a valued correspondent of Walter Harris, who acknowledges weighty obligations to him "for many favours received from him, particularly in his transmitting, from time to time, several useful collections out of the King's and other libraries in Parish."

CHARLES PHILLIPS being the most distinguished man the town of Sligo has produced in modern times, it is well to give the facts of his life in some little detail. He was born near the close of the last century in the house now occupied by Mr. Josiah Cochrane Davis. His father, who was a Charles too, was a native of Sligo as well as member, for several years, of the Town Council, and died in the year 1800. His mother was a lady named Johnstone, from Fermanagh, who had a sister married to Attorney Walker of Rathcarrick, father of the late Counsellor Roger Walker, and grandfather of Mr. J. F. Walker.

Charles Phillips received his early education in the town of Sligo in a school kept by the Rev. James Armstrong, Curate of

St. John's parish, whom Phillips styles his "earliest friend," and to whom in the "Emerald Isle" the grateful pupil pays the warm tribute of respect and affection quoted in a preceding page. From this school he passed to Trinity College, where he matriculated in 1802, where he obtained in 1807 the medal for oratory of the College Historical Society; and having entered the Middle Temple, London, in 1807, he was called to the Irish Bar in 1811, and to the English in 1821. Belonging thus both to the Irish and the English Bar, he pleaded in both countries, and acquired on either side of St. George's Channel the reputation of a brilliant and successful advocate. After a time he became the acknowledged leader of the Old Bailey.

Defending Courvoisier in 1840, when on trial for the murder of Lord William Russell, he took occasion to declare his private belief in his client's innocence, and even by insinuation cast suspicion on others, though he knew at the time, from the criminal's own confession, that Courvoisier was the assassin. This proceeding gave rise to considerable controversy in the newspapers, and more especially in the *Times*, *Examiner*, and *Annual Register*, some maintaining that Phillips had acted within his right and duty as an advocate in what he had said, while others, and they the greater number, condemned his conduct as at once immoral and unprofessional. There is reason to think that the public shared the latter opinion, and that Phillips was lowered by the transaction in the consideration of society.

The trials in which Phillips figured in Ireland were generally of a sensational character, such as breach of promise and kindred cases. In these he was very successful, as might be expected from their depending so much on the sentiments of jurors, whom the torrent of his fervid and rushing eloquence carried wherever he wished. In his advocacy he was so severe, one might say so savage, on his opponents, and so unmeasured in the language he applied to them, that it is matter of surprise, considering the character of the times, how he escaped duels, the usual consequence of such onslaughts.

The only person he seems to have come in conflict with on these occasions was a client of his own, a Mrs. Wilkins. This lady, having been made defendant, at the age of sixty-five, in a Breach of Promise case, by a Lieutenant Blake, chose Charles Phillips for her counsel, hoping, of course, he would cover with the obloquy, of which he was so great a master, the hated gentleman that had dragged her into court. But Phillips took a novel line of defence; for, instead of turning on the plaintiff, as everyone expected, he concentrated all his eloquence in ridiculing his own client, enlarging *usque ad nauseam* on her sixty-five years, her bodily ailments, her mental infirmities, her fits of temper, and the hundred other undesirable qualities and drawbacks comprised in Juvenal's dictum, "*Multa incommoda circumveniunt senem.*" However all this might serve to avert or diminish damages, which was the great object of the advocate, the *Phillipic* grated so terribly on the feelings of Widow Wilkins, that she resolved to have her revenge; and the moment Phillips got out of the court-house into the street, she set upon him and belaboured his shoulders with a cudgel in so vigorous a style, as belied very effectually all his asseverations of her invalid and almost moribund condition. Only that he took to his heels, and fled in a very undignified plight, through the streets of Galway, for shelter to a friend's house, he would have had still greater cause to remember his client of sixty-five.

Charles Phillips was a politician as well as a lawyer, and delivered stirring speeches, chiefly in favour of Catholic Emancipation, at Sligo, at Dublin, at Cork, at Liverpool, and on Dinas Island in the Lake of Killarney, where his health was proposed in association with that of the noted Tom Payne, who accompanied him. His speech at Sligo was the first of his platform utterances; and the reader will find in the following sentences the peculiar feelings under which the orator spoke in his native town, as well as the hindrances—some of a public, some of a family nature—which stood in his way when espousing the popular cause:—"The exaggerated estimate which other counties have made of the few services so young a man could render,

has, I hope, inspired me with the sentiments it ought ; but *here*, I do confess to you, I feel no ordinary sensation—here, where every object springs some new association, and the loveliest objects, mellowed as they are by time, rise painted on the eye of memory—here, where the light of heaven first blessed my infant view, and nature breathed into my infant heart that ardour for my country which nothing but death can chill—here, where the scenes of my childhood remind me, how innocent I was, and the grave of my fathers admonish me, how pure I should continue—here, standing as I do amongst my fairest, fondest, earliest sympathies,—such a welcome, operating, not merely as an affectionate tribute, but as a moral testimony, does indeed quite oppress and overwhelm me. Oh ! believe me, warm is the heart that feels, and willing is the tongue that speaks ; and still, I cannot, by shaping it to my rudely inexpressive phrase, shock the sensibility of a gratitude too full to be expressed, and yet (how far !) too eloquent for language. . . . Indeed, Gentlemen, you can have little idea of what he has to endure, who, in these times, advocates your cause. Every calumny which the venal, and the vulgar, and the vile, are lavishing upon you is visited with exaggeration upon us. We are called traitors, because we would rally round the crown an unanimous people. We are called apostates, because we will not persecute Christianity. We are branded as separatists, because of our endeavours to annihilate the fetters that, instead of binding, clog the connection. To these may be added the frowns of power, the envy of dulness, the mean malice of exposed self-interest, and, *it may be, in despite of all natural affection, even the discountenance of kindred.* Well, be it so,—

“ For thee, fair freedom, welcome all the past,
For thee, my country, welcome even the last ! ”

It is greatly to the honour of Charles Phillips that he was one of the most intimate, as he was one of the most devoted friends of Curran. From the time they became acquainted, Curran liked Phillips so much, as to treat him as a member of his

family, making him welcome at all times, formal and informal, to his house, and even pressing him to take up permanent abode there; while, on the other hand, Phillips, fascinated by his illustrious friend, was near him as often as possible, behaved towards him with the affectionate solicitude of a child, was among the few who committed his remains to the grave in one of the vaults of Paddington church, London,* and has since, by the "Recollections of Curran" and other publications done more than any other man to perpetuate the memory of the great orator's genius and virtues.

Phillips' talents and his position at the Bar gave him claims to high office, which in due course he obtained. Having declined

* "When I was called to the Bar," says Phillips, in his "Recollections of Curran and Some of his Contemporaries," "Curran was on the Bench; and not only bagless but briefless, I was one day with many an associate taking the idle round of the Four Courts, when a common friend told me he was commissioned by the Master of the Rolls to invite me to dinner that day at the Priory, a little country villa about four miles from Dublin. Those who recollect their first introduction to a really great man, may easily comprehend my delight and my consternation. . . . The moment, however, he perceived me, he took me by the hand, said he would not have anyone introduce me, and, with a manner which I often thought was *charmed*, at once banished every apprehension, and completely familiarized me at the Priory. I had often seen Curran—often heard of him—often read of him—but no man ever knew anything about him who did not see him at his own table with the few whom he selected. . . . From that day till the day of his death I was his intimate and his associate. He had no party to which I was not invited; and, party or no party, I was always welcome. He even went so far as to ask me to become his inmate, and offered me apartments in his town residence. Often and often he ran over his life to me to the minutest anecdote—described his prospects—his disappointments and his successes—characterized at once his friends and his enemies; and in the communicative candour of a six years' intercourse, repeated the most secret occurrences of his history. Such is the claim, which I have to be his biographer."

In the "Life of Curran," by his son, William Henry Curran, the author mentions in a note the names of those who were present at the interment. "The persons who attended the funeral were (besides the members of his own family), Mr. Tegart, Messrs. Lyne and Phillips, of the Irish Bar; Mr. Finnerty, the late Mr. James Thompson, Rev. George Croly, Mr. Thomas Moore, and Mr. Godwin. Mr. O'Connell's professional engagements had obliged him reluctantly to depart for Ireland before the day of Mr. Curran's interment."—Vol. II., p. 385.

the offer of a silk gown and a judgeship in Calcutta, during the Chancellorship of Lord Brougham, he was appointed by Lord Lyndhurst, first, a Commissioner of Bankruptcy, at Liverpool, and, later, in 1846, a Commissioner of the Court of Insolvent Debtors, London, at £1,500 a year, an office which he held till his death.

Charles Phillips was the author of several publications, some of them pamphlets on current topics: "The Emerald Isle, a Poem:" (an expansion of the "Consolations of Erin"); "Recollections of Curran and Some of his Contemporaries;" "The Speeches of Charles Phillips, Esq., delivered at the Bar and on Various Public Occasions in Ireland and England;" "Specimens of Irish Eloquence;" "Historical Sketches of Arthur Duke of Wellington;" "Napoleon III.;" and "Vacation Thoughts on Capital Punishment."

"The Emerald Isle," though the first, is probably the best of Phillips' productions. It passes in review all the great men that Ireland has produced, and paints their characteristic traits in clear and striking colours. The author sketches here and there very happily the natural beauties of the country, dwelling through several pages on the scenery and surroundings of Killarney. It is strange that he fails to notice Lough Gill and the other charming environs of his native town, which might furnish him with more than one subject for a pendant not unworthy of his picture of Killarney.

"Recollections of Curran and some of his Contemporaries," is a work of considerable merit. The late Dr. Madden, in his "United Irishmen,"* goes so far as to say, "Curran and his Contemporaries" "is the best book yet written of the best of Irishmen."

Charles Phillips' style, more especially in his speeches, is generally and justly condemned. While the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly*† differ widely in their respective estimates of

* Vol. II., p. 586.

† *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXIX., p. 52; *Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVI., p. 28.

Phillips as a politician—the former regarding him as a man of honour and independence, and the Quarterly as little better than a hypocrite and an apostate—they are quite at one, as they could hardly help being, in condemning and ridiculing his style. Indeed, it is almost inconceivable how a man of Phillips' abilities and education could be led into the faults, with which his speeches abound—sesquipedalian diction, broken metaphors, mixed metaphors, endless alliteration, jingling antitheses, bombast, and a hundred other deformities or blemishes, which people with a tenth of his talent manage generally to avoid.

The Edinburgh Review, in its 29th volume, quotes, in illustration of these defects, scores of paragraphs, one of which is the following :—" Only just admire this far-famed Security Bill—this motley compound of oaths and penalties, which, under the name of emancipation, would drag your prelates with an halter about their necks to the vulgar scrutiny of every village tyrant, in order to enrich a few political traders, and distil through some state alembic the miserable rinsings of an ignorant, a decaying, and a degenerate aristocracy ! Only just admire it ! Originally engendered by *our friends*, the Opposition, with a *cuckoo* insidiousness, they swindled it into the nest of the Treasury ravens, and when it had been fairly hatched with the beak of one, and the nakedness of the other, they sent it for its feathers to MONSEIGNEUR QUARANTOTTI, who has obligingly transmitted it with the hunger of its parent, the rapacity of its nurse, and the coxcombry of its *plumassier*, to be baptized by the bishops, and received *æquo gratoque* *animó* by the people of Ireland !! Oh ! thou sublimely ridiculous Quarantotti ! Oh, thou superlative coxcomb of the Conclave ! what an estimate hast thou formed of the MIND of Ireland ? Yet why should I blame this wretched scribe of the Propaganda !"

Poor Quarantotti's ill-starred letter on the Veto occasioned hundreds of attacks upon him, but if they were all as fantastic as the foregoing, he could hardly help laughing at them himself.

The Quarterly Review, in its article, quotes largely like the

Edinburgh, and is still more caustic and censorious. The extracts it gives are much of a piece with the paragraph about Monsignor Quarantotti, so that there is no need to copy them here. The reader will get better insight into the opinions of the reviewer by reading the following opening sentences of the article, at the head of which a list of Phillips' publications is given:—"We have really been at a loss in what light to consider the series of works before us; they are planned and constructed on a scale of such ridiculous exaggeration, there is so little law in the pleadings, so little poetry in the poems, and so little common sense in the prose, that we almost suspected that they were intended to ridicule that inflated and jargonish style which has of late prevailed among a certain class of authors and orators in the sister kingdom. But, in opposition to this internal evidence, there are so many circumstances of external testimony, that we have been reluctantly driven to conclude that Mr. Charles Phillips is not a censor, but a professor of the new school; and that having lost his own wits, he really imagines that the rest of the world may be brought to admire such fustian in verse, and such fustian in prose as cannot, perhaps, be equalled except in Chrononhotonthologus, or Bombastes Furioso."

The wits of Great Britain made merry over Phillips' performances, and nicknamed him "Orator O'Garnish." Even the philosophic Sir James Mackintosh, about the highest authority of the day in such matters, not only employs the *soubriquet*, but goes so far as to proclaim, "O'Garnish's style is pitiful to the last degree. He ought by common consent to be driven from the Bar."

On the other hand, able and impartial critics, who looked beyond the diction to the thoughts, recognized and proclaimed Phillips' gifts; and the renowned Christopher North only expressed the estimate of many when he wrote: "Charles Phillips was worth a gross of Sheils. There were frequent flashes of fine imagination, and strains of genuine feeling in his speeches, that showed nature intended him for an orator. In the midst

of his most tedious and tasteless exaggerations, you still feel that Charles Phillips had a heart."

A more able man than even Christopher North, Lord Brougham, formed a still higher estimate of the distinguished Sligo man, as will be seen in the following apology of his Lordship for not including Curran in the *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George III.*:—"It may seem an omission in a work professing to give the orators as well as the statesmen of the last age that Curran should not appear among them—the greatest orator after Grattan and Plunket that Ireland has produced, and in every respect worthy of being placed on a line with the great masters of speech. But there is really an insuperable difficulty in attempting a task which has been so inimitably performed already, and within only a few years. Mr. C. Phillips' sketch of his friend is certainly one of the most extraordinary pieces of biography ever produced. Nothing can be more lively and picturesque than its representation of the famous original. The reader of it can hardly be said not to have personally known Curran and Curran's contemporaries. It has been justly said of this admirable work that it is Boswell *minus* Bozzy. No library should be without such a piece; and instead of hopelessly attempting any addition to it, there will be more use in copying over one of the numerous characteristic descriptions in which it abounds."

Whatever others might think of Phillips, the people of Sligo were proud of their townsman, both as a politician and as a literary man. Whenever he came among them, as on the occasion of the banquet to Mr. Finlay, they gave him an ovation which equalled any given later to Daniel O'Connell. Nor did they show their appreciation by plaudits alone, for what was quite unusual at that early period, they started a subscription with the object of presenting him with a testimonial for his services in the cause of Catholic Emancipation, and contributed so liberally themselves, and procured such and so many contributions from other parts of Ireland, that the proceeds not only

enabled them to purchase for him a massive and richly wrought service of plate of great value, but left a balance large enough to build the fine residence which is now occupied by Major Campbell, and which, in allusion to the circumstances under which it was built, was popularly known for a long time as Emancipation Hall.

Charles Phillips died on the 1st February, 1859, in Golden Square, London, his death being sudden. He presided, as usual, in his court on the day previous; and it was only after he had finished his business there, and returned to his private chamber, he was struck down insensible by a combined attack of apoplexy and paralysis, from which he died on the following evening. The funeral took place on the 7th of February, on which day, to do honour to his memory, the courts did not sit till one o'clock.

He is buried in Highgate cemetery, opposite the entrance to the catacombs, where the monument which marks the grave bears the inscription:—"Sacred to the Memory of Charles Phillips, Esq., B.A., one of Her Majesty's Commissioners in the Courts of Bankruptcy and Insolvency, who died 1st February, 1859.

"Dearly beloved and sincerely lamented."*

On the same stone are recorded the deaths of his wife, Ann Phillips, in 1869; his son, Barry Brougham Phillips, in 1845; and his eldest son, Captain William Henry Phillips, in 1873.

The *Times* of the 3rd February, 1859, contains, under the heading, "DEATH of Mr. Commissioner Phillips," the following obituary notice:—"Our readers will not be unprepared for the announcement that Mr. Phillips, the once celebrated criminal lawyer, and for the last twelve years a commissioner of this court, died on Tuesday evening at his house in Gordon Square,

* It was very difficult to discover the cemetery in which Mr. Phillips was interred. The writer, having tried long in vain, had given up the search, when it was kindly taken in hand by Mr. John Bree, of the National Debt Office, who, after much correspondence with the officials of the London cemeteries, and numberless inquiries in other quarters, ascertained Highgate Cemetery to be the last resting place of the distinguished Sligo man.

never having been restored to consciousness since the moment of his attack on the previous day. The learned gentleman was, we believe, 74 years of age. He was called to the Irish Bar in 1809, and admitted to the English Bar in 1821. His successful career as a criminal lawyer is well known, and it was brought to a close in 1842 by the appointment of Mr. Phillips as a District Commissioner of Bankruptcy at Liverpool. That office he continued to fill until 1846, when upon the occasion of Mr. David Pollock being appointed Chief Justice of Bombay, Mr. Phillips resigned his provincial post and accepted the vacant commissionership of the Insolvent Debtors' Court. The late commissioner was not unknown in the ranks of literature, his *life of Curran* being perhaps his best known work. He was also the author of various pamphlets, one of which upon the question of capital punishment was considered by the Society of Friends so cogent in its reasoning, and so decisive in its facts, that it has been republished by them as an authority in favour of the views which they entertain upon this important subject."

Like the *Times*, the other newspapers of the day contained memoirs of the deceased. Periodicals, too, of a less ephemeral character devoted considerable portions of their valuable space to accounts of his life and labours; and, for instance, the *Annual Register* of 1859 has a pretty long notice of Charles Phillips. All this makes it clear that he occupied a large place in the thoughts of the public long after he had retired from the Old Bailey, and had abandoned the political platform. And it suggests, too, that the name of so distinguished an inhabitant should be always held in honoured remembrance in his native town.

An attorney named Lyons—BOB LYONS, as he was commonly called—who lived at Mullaghmore for the greater part of the last century, deserves a word of notice. He was so busily employed in his day, both as a lawyer and a host, that when Charles Phillips became acquainted with him in the second

decade of the current century, Lyons had "alternately sued and entertained two-thirds of the province of Connaught," thus combining two characters, which are not always found together in modern attorneys. Of this remarkable man Phillips has left us a pen and ink sketch, which is as characteristic of the artist's style as it is photographic of his original:—"Plausible in his manners and hospitable in his habits, those who feared him for his undoubted skill as a practitioner, esteemed him for his convivial qualities as a companion. Nor had even his industry the ill favour of selfishness. If he gained all he could, still he spent all he gained, and those who marvelled at the poverty of his neighbourhood, could easily have counted his personal acquisitions. No matter who might be the poorer for him, he was the richer for no man—in short, it seemed to be the office of his left hand lavishly to expend what his right hand assiduously accumulated. He had all the pleasantry of youth in his address, and art struggled hard to set off the lingering graces of his exterior. His clothes were always adjusted to a nicety—a perennial Brutus rendered either baldness or greyness invisible, and the jet black liquid that made his boot a mirror, renovated the almost traceless semicircle of his eyebrow."

To Lyons Ireland is indebted for starting Curran on the great career, which, without his aid, he might have never traversed. For years after Curran was called to the Bar he got no briefs, if we are to rely on Phillips' statement; and as he had no other income, while a wife and family depended on him for support, he was thrown into a state of melancholy by the prospect before him, which was the more easily done, as he was of a hypochondriac temperament. When things were at the worst, and ruin seemed on the point of falling on him and his, a visit to his lodgings from the Mullaghmore attorney effected a transformation of the situation, which Curran must be allowed to tell in his own graphic words:—"I then lived," said he, "upon Hog Hill; my wife and children were the chief furniture of my apartments; and as to my rent, it stood pretty much the

same chance of its liquidation with the National Debt. Mrs. Curran, however, was a barrister's lady, and what she wanted in wealth, she was well determined, should be supplied by dignity. The landlady, on the other hand, had no idea of any gradation except that of pounds, shillings, and pence. I walked out one morning to avoid the perpetual altercations on the subject with my mind, you may imagine, in no very enviable temperament. I fell into the gloom to which, from my infancy, I had been occasionally subject. I had a family, for whom I had no dinner, and a landlady, for whom I had no rent. I had gone abroad in despondence—I returned home almost in desperation. When I opened the door of my study, where *Lavater* alone could have found a library, the first object which presented itself was an immense folio of a brief, twenty golden guineas wrapped up beside it, and the name of *Old Bob Lyons* marked upon the back of it. I paid my landlady, bought a good dinner, gave Bob Lyons a share of it, and that dinner was the date of my prosperity."

Ever after Curran and Lyons were the most attached of friends, each doing all he could to promote the interests and happiness of the other; and if the great advocate's house was always open to his early benefactor when in Dublin, Curran, in turn, passed many a vacation at Mullaghmore. And his visits there must have been protracted as well as frequent; for he came to be regarded by the inhabitants as one of themselves, took a prominent part in all their meetings, joined in their sports, was present at their wakes, attended their funerals, mixed with them, in a word, on all occasions, public and private, and thus acquired that insight into the peasants' character, manners, and habits, which contributed largely to his recognized pre-eminence as a cross-examiner. For all this he was indebted primarily to Old Bob Lyons, as well as for eleven hundred pounds, which the Mullaghmore attorney, from time to time, paid the great advocate as professional fees; facts which of themselves would prove Bob Lyons to have been a

remarkable man, and entitled, even on his own account, and without reference to his distinguished friends, Curran and Phillips, to the place among the Worthies of Sligo which is here given him.

One of his visits to Mullaghmore was near costing Curran his life. Having stopped for a night in Sligo, at the Market Street hotel, as he was going to, or coming from, Bob Lyons' place, a blunderbuss was discharged at him in his bedroom, while engaged in packing his portmanteau for the journey.

Though not hit himself, the glass of the window over him was broken, and the slugs, which formed the charge of the gun, after passing through the window, lodged in a board close to the head of a brogue maker, who was plying his trade in a stall on the opposite side of the street, and who, as was natural enough, supposing the missiles to be intended for himself, called for vengeance on the miscreant in the room opposite, who had attempted his life. Curran, on turning round to see who was his assailant, found there was nobody in the room, though on the floor lay the blunderbuss, hot from its recent discharge, but with nothing in the world to show how it went off, whether by some unaccountable accident or by deliberate human agency. The mystery lasted for months, though in the meantime nothing was left undone to get to the bottom of it; and when people had almost ceased to speak or think of the occurrence, a little urchin, hardly ten years old, let out the secret, that it was he who had made the horrid attempt, and had made it in revenge for a cuff, given him a little before by Curran, probably in play. To compass his object he hid himself behind the curtain of the bed in the room, and waited his opportunity, which occurred when Curran, having come into the apartment, took to arranging his valise; and having fired, the would-be assassin slipped unobserved through the half open door out of the place, amid the smoke and confusion caused by the discharge. Poor Curran stood fire on several occasions in duels, but it is likely that none of his antagonists—Sellinger, Lord Clare, "Bully" Egan,

or others—went so near taking away his valuable life as this preternaturally vicious imp of Sligo.*

The late Mr. ABRAHAM MARTIN, who was one of the most remarkable men that Sligo has produced in more recent times, may claim a place here, if not for intellectual culture, for other valuable qualities. With all due deference to Sir Bernard Burke, who states it as certain that the Sligo Martins are English in origin,† it is perhaps just as likely that the family is Celtic, and that the name is only a modification of Gilmartin, the prefix, in all likelihood, being dropped when the head of the family changed his religion. At all events, there seems to be no decisive evidence to the contrary, while it is certain that the Martins have lived in the town of Sligo since 1641, when their ancestor, Arthur Martin, perished in the massacre of the gaol. Owing very much to their sufferings on this occasion, they have been generally favourites with the disposers of patronage in Sligo; and partly in virtue of this favour, but still more by their own exertions, they have been always rising in wealth and station.

In 1738, Arthur Martin was created a freeman of the borough; in 1754 Edward Martin was admitted a burgess; in 1759 the same Edward Martin was elected provost in succession to William Vernon, while Charles Martin succeeded the same person as Ballast Master; in 1785 John Martin, popularly known as Jack Martin, resigned the office of burgess, in which he was succeeded by Charles Phillips, father of the celebrated Charles;‡ while Abraham Martin, though occupying always only a private station, except when he served as High Sheriff, stood, perhaps, higher socially than any of the family who had preceded him.

Abraham Martin was a well-marked individuality. Even in his exterior there was nothing commonplace. Something under the medium height; of stout build, and inclining to *embonpoint*;

* Recollections of Curran and Some of his Contemporaries, pp. 46, 47.

† Sir Bernard Burke's *Landed Gentry*—article *Martin of Bloomfield*.

‡ These facts and dates are taken from the Records of the Sligo Corporation.

with large, clear-cut features, spacious chest, broad, square shoulders, and robust limbs; wearing habitually an easy-fitting, wide skirted body-coat, with breeches, waistcoat, and leggings, of the same material and colour, and a low, broad-leafed hat, he moved along with a firmness of tread, a swing of arm, and an air of independence, which proclaimed to the world that he was as much at home in the streets of Sligo as the owner of the borough, Owen Wynne, with whom he was often in conflict and at law.

Mr. Abraham Martin was a man of business, but *facile princeps* among the business men of Sligo in his day. He owned a distillery, a flour mill, and a bakery, and worked all three to the utmost of their capacity. His whiskey manufacture was so great a success that the distillery was a kind of mint to him. This was particularly so after the visit of George IV. to Ireland in 1821; for samples of Martin's *cru* having been presented on that occasion to the King and his *entourage*, his Majesty, who was an experienced and first-rate judge of strong drinks, commended the beverage so warmly, that his lieges made it a point of loyalty to take to deep potations—the result being that the Sligo distillery was hardly able to supply the demand which arose in Dublin—though the high-road between Sligo and the capital was constantly covered with drays laden with “Martin’s Whiskey,” which had then much the same reputation that John Jameson’s has now. The last words spoken by the royal toper, when quitting Ireland, served as an advertisement for Mr. Martin:—“Go,” says this edifying monarch to the shouting mob, “and do by me as I shall do by you. Drink my health in a bumper. I shall drink all yours in a bumper of good Irish whiskey.”*

* A firm trading as Alex. Stewart and Co., had a distillery in Sligo before Mr. Martin erected his establishment. The following advertisement of the firm appears in the *Sligo Journal* of January 18, 1805:—

“SLIGO DISTILLERY.

“Alex. Stewart and Co. beg leave to acquaint the Public, that they have commenced Distilling, and will have their Stores in Castle Street open for the Sale of Spirits on Wednesday, the 9th inst.

January 8th, 1805.”

The flour mill must have been as busy as the distillery, for it turned out nearly all the flour used in the province, a feat which, till recently, not only kept the great milling concerns of Collooney and Ballysadare in constant movement, but gave besides considerable employment to several mills in America, Spain, and France in executing the weighty orders of Mr. Tighe, the Messrs. Pollexfen, and others.

And it was his bakery that furnished most of the breakfast tables of Sligo. Considering the large consumption, this branch of business could hardly fail to bring profit, though some of Mr. Martin's friends used to say, that he kept the ovens going merely to secure his fellow-townsmen good value for their money—a view of the case which derives some probability, from the fact, that, when the provision market ran high, Mr. Martin, in order to keep prices at a moderate level, sent round messengers to warn the forestallers that they should not, in selling, rise above a given figure, and, in any case, that the public would get in his place, what they wanted at that figure.

With his distillery, his flour mill, his bakery, and the Sligo fishery which he owned, Abraham Martin thrived apace. In his case, as in others, prosperity begat ambition, and he resolved to run his son in the election of 1837 for the parliamentary seat of the borough of Sligo; though antipathy to the Wynnes had probably as much to do with the resolution as mere ambition—the candidate he sought to defeat being Mr. John Wynne, afterwards the Right Hon. John Wynne.

It was no ordinary enterprise to wrest Sligo from the Wynnes, who, either by themselves or by their nominees, had represented the borough for one hundred and thirty years; but by professing Liberal principles, and by securing the aid of Dean Donlevy (the Parish Priest), Mr. Martin had the great gratification of seeing his son triumph over the son of Owen Wynne, and become the representative in parliament of his native town.

Once in the House of Commons Mr. John Martin soon forgot his Liberal principles and his promises to Dean Donlevy; but the Dean, who was one of the most determined and high-

mind men in Ireland, was not to be befooled in this way with impunity. To punish the backslider he brought down John Patrick Somers as an opposition candidate at the next election, and spared no lawful effort to secure the return of his *protegé*. Being beloved, adored, by his parishioners, who were proud of him for his sterling qualities of both head and heart, and being besides second, perhaps, to no man in all Ireland, as an electioneering orator, he carried everything before him during the canvass, so that the poll sent Mr. John Martin back to private life, and sent him back, not only branded with the stigma of tergiversator, which Dean Donlevy attached to him, but loaded also with the coarse obloquy which Somers and half a dozen congenial *confreeres*, in a hundred speeches, had piled insultingly and mercilessly upon him.

Abraham Martin died in 1853, at the age of 82, and is buried in the graveyard of St. John's church, in the same vault with his father, John Martin, and his grandfather, Abraham Martin. His wife survived him ten years, dying in 1863, at the age of 81. They were married in 1804, as this notice, which appears in the *Sligo Journal* of December 7th, 1804, tells us: "Married. On the 29th ult., Abraham Martin, Esq., to Miss Alicia Cuff, of Creagh, county Mayo."*

The late EDWARD JOSHUA COOPER of Markrea Castle deserves a high place among the Worthies of Sligo. Though he was in his day the head of the Cooper family; though he owned a vast estate, a noble demesne, and a magnificent castle; it is not for his family, or his possessions, that he is classed here with the Sligo notables, but for his noble intellect, and his

* The members of another branch of the same family are buried quite close to Mr. Abraham Martin's vault. The stone that covers their grave bears the inscription:—

"Here lyeth ye body of Charles Martin who died ye 17 October, 1734, aged 72 years. Also Mary his wife, who died 26th June, 1760, aged 84 years. And also Charles, who died February ye 11th, aged 55 years. He was son to ye above named Charles, grandson to John Martin, and great-grandson to Arthur Martin, all of ye town of Sligoe. He died in ye yr. 1768."

assiduous cultivation of it. The physical sciences had special attraction for him, the instructions of his talented mother, who had a predilection for astronomy herself, strengthening the native bent of his mind. Having passed from his mother's lessons to those of the Diocesan School of Armagh, he often visited, while at school, the observatory of that city and the astronomers in charge, and thus had the direction of his studies finally fixed, so that not only there, but at Eton next, and in Oxford afterwards, he gave himself up to the study of Astronomy.

After quitting the university he spent some time in travel through Europe, Asia, and Africa, occupying himself on the way in determining anew the latitudes and longitudes of the places through which he passed. On this occasion he visited the temple of Isis in Denderah, Upper Egypt, the most magnificent and the best preserved of all the Egyptian antiquities. The main object of his visit was to examine and study on the spot the so-called zodiac, which was figured on the ceiling of one of the apartments, and was then *in situ*, but which was conveyed in 1822 to France, and deposited in the great Paris Museum. To do the work thoroughly he employed an Italian artist at great expense, and brought him to the temple to draw and measure the zodiac, or planisphere, as it is sometimes called; and from the observations made during this visit, and the drawings and measurements of the artist, he confuted the wild inferences, in regard to the astronomy of the ancients, which Sir William Drummond had drawn from the zodiac.

On settling down at Markrea, Mr. Cooper's first care was to erect the now famous observatory of that place, and to furnish it, regardless of expense, with the best instruments to be had at home or abroad; the result being that this establishment, first under the care of Mr. Cooper himself and his assistant, Mr. Graham, who has proved himself one of the first astronomers of the age, and, next, in the energetic and able hands of Dr. Doberck, the present distinguished Astronomer-Royal of Hong-

Kong, has rendered services to science which are spoken of with respect in all the observatories of the world—services, too, which are still continued, with undiminished efficiency, under the astronomer now in charge, Mr. Marth.

While scrupulously exact in performing all the duties incumbent on him as landlord and country gentleman, Mr. Cooper was still able to pass much of his time in the observatory; observing, recording, and calculating. Learned papers of his appeared from time to time in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, the Transactions of the Royal Society, and the *Astronomische Nachrichten*; piles of his unpublished manuscripts rest still on the shelves of the library room of the *Markree Observatory*; but the most enduring monument, as well of his industry as of his learning, is his great work, the *Markree Catalogue of Ecliptic Stars*, which was so esteemed by the *savans* of the Royal Society that they published it at the expense of the Society; and his *Cometic Catalogue*, a work also of recognized merit, which he dedicated, in a few graceful words, "To Miss Catherine Herschell, as a Tribute to her many virtues, her remarkable talents, and persevering industry."

His indefatigable labour would be creditable even to a drudge toiling for his daily bread, but is honourable in the extreme to Mr. Cooper, who, born to a great fortune, loved science purely for its own sake, and who, to gratify this ennobling passion, had to forego, which he did cheerfully, many of those social and domestic enjoyments in which less finely attempered natures place all their happiness. Mr. Cooper's death occurred on the 23rd April, 1863. He is buried at Ballysadare, in the same grave with his wife, who died on the 29th Dec. 1862.*

SIR JOHN BENSON, a native like Mr. Cooper of the parish of Ballysadare, is not unworthy of a place near him in this series.

* For a comprehensive and detailed memoir of this distinguished and amiable man see "Ballysadare and Kilvarnet," pp. 168-196.

Sir John was born in Collooney about 1810, and had reached the age of twenty or twenty-one with little education except what he had received in the village school, or had acquired in desultory reading, to which he was much addicted, when Mr. Cooper meeting him, and discovering in him talents of a high order, sent him to Dublin to a technical school, to be trained for the profession of architect, to which his own artistic tastes strongly attracted him. Sir John remained in Dublin only one year. On his return he was employed by Mr. Cooper to superintend some important works then in progress at Markree Castle, and executed the commission so as to elicit the admiration of everyone capable of judging such things. About the same time he took in hand, in the neighbourhood, several costly and weighty works—the Victoria Bridge, Sligo; Mr. Sim's magnificent flour and corn mills; the Protestant Church of Strandhill; and his *chef d'œuvre*, the Church of the Assumption, Collooney; and thus left in his native county enduring monuments of his brilliant and versatile talents.

The organizers of the great Dublin Exhibition of 1851 having invited designs for the Exhibition Building from the architects of the Three Kingdoms, and having offered a valuable prize for the best design, hundreds of architects competed; and though there were among the competitors men of the highest standing, Sir John Benson, or, as he was then, Mr. John Benson, out-distanced them all, and not only gained easily the offered prize, but received in addition the dignity of knighthood from the Queen, on the day Her Majesty and Prince Albert opened the Exhibition.

For the last twenty years of his life Sir John Benson resided in Cork, where he filled successively the offices of County Surveyor and City Engineer; designed for churches and several other important buildings; and became such a favourite with high and low, that the Corporation of the city gave the name of Benson Bridge to the new bridge which he built across the Lee. Sir John died in London in 1874, and was buried in the cemetery of Brompton, greatly to the regret of the people

of Collooney, who expected to have his honoured remains among them in the family vault.

MICHAEL CORCORAN, the late distinguished Irish Brigadier-General of the American army, was born in September, 1827, at Carrowkeel, in the parish of Emlaghfad, which was then the property of the MacDonogh family, to which, on the mother's side, he belonged. Emigrating to the United States in 1849, after serving for a short time in the Irish Revenue Police, he soon became very popular with the Irish of New York, where he held a Government situation, and was elected colonel of the 69th New York Militia, regiment, composed altogether of Irishmen. On the breaking out of the civil war in 1861 he joined the Northern army at the head of the 69th, and served with great distinction on all occasions, but more especially in the unfortunate battle of Bull's Run, where, instead of imitating the bad example which earned for the battle its unenviable *soubriquet*, he fought on like a lion till he was wounded, disabled, and captured.

General Corcoran was now confined in several prisons of the South, being removed from one to another owing to the movements of the Federal troops. It was well for him that the Federal authorities did not carry out their threat of hanging the crews of the Confederate ships which they had captured, for in that event he would have been executed in retaliation, as he was one of the officers selected by the Confederates for the purpose. Better counsels, however, prevailed, and led to an exchange of prisoners, including Colonel Corcoran, who, on his exchange, was raised to the rank of Brigadier-General. Once free, he organized an Irish legion, and, taking the field at the head of it, fought in several engagements, in which he and his legionaries nobly sustained and even enhanced the reputation for valour of their countrymen. It was at this point, when his prospects seemed brightest, his career was brought to a sad and abrupt close by a fall from his horse, in which he sustained such injuries that he sank under them in a few days. As it is,

his name is a familiar and honoured one in the country of his adoption, as well as in that of his birth ; but had he lived a few years longer, there can be little doubt that, with his personal dash, his military talents, and the devotion with which he knew how to inspire all under his command, he would have risen to a level with the most distinguished generals on either side in that war of giants.

It would be an injury to the town to pass over in silence the name of MARTIN MILMORE, though there are no materials to hand which would enable one to put together even a passable summary of the facts of his life. Excepting one of those pithy biograms, which we find in Father Russell's admirable *Irish Monthly*, nothing at all concerning him has fallen under the notice of the writer.

According to this respectable authority, Martin Milmore was born in Sligo on the 14th September, 1844, emigrated with his poor, widowed mother to America in 1850, and settled in the city or neighbourhood of Boston. While the mother was earning her daily bread in an humble employment, she kept the child to an infant school, managed by nuns, who were the first to discover the artistic bent of his mind.

The discovery once made, the little boy's friends were constantly on the look-out for the means of turning to account the gifts he had received from nature, and they succeeded ultimately in gaining admission for him into the studio of Thomas Ball, the eminent sculptor of Boston. Here Martin Milmore's talent soon asserted itself ; and after a time he came to be acknowledged as one of the leading artists of the country. Orders flowed in on him from all sides for monuments, groups, and figures ; Longfellow, Wendell Phillips, and Ticknor being among the distinguished men of whom he executed statues. Martin Milmore died on the 21st July, 1883, when, considering the circumstances of his boyhood and youth, he had hardly reached the full measure of his powers. Milmoë, not Milmore, was the original name, and the change took place while he was

a little lad at school, upon the recommendations of his teachers, who knew nothing of the name Milmoe, but were familiar with that of Milmore, which is pretty common in America.

It would be out of order on an occasion like this, devoted to an account of our *deceased* Worthies, to dwell on the name of Mr. W. B. Yeats, who is not only living, but who is little more than entered on a career which promises to be a brilliant one. Though still quite a youth, he has already made a name for himself, both in England and Ireland, by publications in verse and publications in prose. Those who are acquainted with Mr. Yeats' ardent patriotism need not be told that his themes and his treatment of them are alike "racy of the soil."

It would carry us too far to notice the many other remarkable men belonging by birth to the town or the different parishes of the county; and some reference to a few of those connected with the parish of Ballysadare may suffice, as they may be taken as a fair specimen of the rest. To begin with the late Alderman Farrell:—

Born and educated in Collooney, he continued to live there till he had arrived at the age of manhood, when he left for Dublin, opened there the famous seed shop of Fergus Farrell and Co., and rose to be Lord Mayor of the city at a time when that high office was the reward of personal worth and social standing, and not, as it sometimes became since, the outcome of intrigue and of the manipulation of wire-pullers.

John Foster, another native of Collooney, died in Toronto in 1887, being, as was said in the newspapers, "the oldest and most esteemed magistrate" of the Dominion of Canada at the time of his death. The name of his father will be found on the list, given in the Appendix, of the Suffering Loyalists of 1798.

Dr. Charles Benson, of the talented Collooney family of that name, made his medical studies in Dublin, where also he practised his profession, and attained such eminence, that he was elected President of the College of Surgeons, as also

President of the College of Physicians. His sons, who are members of the learned professions, have settled in Dublin; one of them being the distinguished oculist of St. Mark's Ophthalmic Hospital.

Mr. Patrick Quinn, born in Cloonmucduff, a townland adjoining Collooney, was already married, and had his first child, when he emigrated to the United States. Having received an excellent education, and being besides a man of ability, he opened a school on his arrival in America; but, soon finding a better open for his talents, he devoted himself to engineering and building, pursuits in which he acquired a considerable fortune. Soon after reaching America, he settled in the city of Rochester, New York, where he was always regarded as one of its leading citizens, his fellow-citizens showering on him all the honours, private and official, that they could. Nothing, however, was nearer to his heart, all through, than his native parish, of which his many benefactions through life and at his death afford unmistakeable evidence. Two of Mr. Quinn's daughters are nuns, one being the superioress of her convent; and though they were both born in America they feel, one and the other, the same loving solicitude for the spiritual and temporal well-being of the inhabitants of Collooney that their father felt, of which friendly feeling they have given many touching proofs.

Like Mr. Patrick Quinn, his namesake, Mr. Thomas Quinn, of Brooklyn, is at once a good Irishman and a good American. Though they took different sides in American politics, both were equally loyal to their adopted country, as both were always shoulder to shoulder in every movement that had for object to benefit the country of their birth. On first landing in the States, Mr. Thomas Quinn took up his residence in New York, and has since remained either there or in Brooklyn, to the great advantage of emigrants from the county Sligo, whom he was always ready and able to befriend on their arrival, when they often needed his help or advice. In proof of his attachment to his native place, it may be mentioned that, on hearing, some

years ago, that we were putting up the spire of the Church of the Assumption, he forwarded a large contribution, including a generous subscription from the redoubtable O'Donovan Rossa. Mr. Quinn is the father of Rev. Thomas Quinn of New York, and brother of the Rev. Patrick Quinn, one of the oldest, as he is one of the most respected members, of the new religious Order of St. Patrick.

The late Dr. Sweeny, another native of the parish of Ballysadare, left Collooney for the United States about 1828. As he had taken out his diplomas before emigrating, he engaged at once in the practice of his profession on reaching New York, and soon acquired both fame and fortune. It was characteristic of him that though his time, owing to his large practice, was very valuable, he devoted much of it to the gratuitous service of the poor, and more especially of the poor coming from the county Sligo. Like the Messrs. Quinn the Doctor took a warm interest in the Church of the Assumption, of which, like them, he was a liberal benefactor. His son, a doctor, too, is at present a distinguished practitioner in the city of New York.

A word or two will suffice regarding another native of the parish, who is already a famous lawyer in America, and who is sure one day to need a goodly volume to do justice to his biography. This is Mr. William Bourke Corkran, son of Martin Corkran and Harriet White, late of Claragh, near Ballinacarrow. On the mother's side Mr. Corkran is connected with the south of Ireland, as she belonged by birth and family to Munster, being the daughter of a leading magistrate of that province.

Mr. Bourke Corkran's father's family is a local one, his grandfather being Tom Corkran, who kept a large business establishment in Ballinacarrow, and who in his day was popularly called the "Mayor of Ballinacarrow," from his influence being paramount in the village and neighbourhood. In Tom Corkran's early days there was no Catholic chapel in Ballinacarrow, and he placed a room of his house at the disposal of the priest and the flock on Sundays and holidays, where

accordingly Mass was celebrated in those days and the other ordinances of religion administered.

The lawyer's father, Martin Corkran, received a classical education with a view to his joining one of the learned professions, but his fondness for rural life and field sports prevailing over his taste for books, he settled down on the fine farm of Claragh, which he soon supplemented with a fee-simple estate, that he purchased shortly after his marriage. Through life Martin Corkran had a great passion for the saddle, and was admitted to be as bold a rider as ever followed the hounds across the hills of Claragh, or faced the formidable stone fences, put up for the special purpose of testing the mettle of both horses and horsemen, at the fair of Carrignagat.

On the death of her husband, Mrs. Corkran removed to Dublin, in the interest of the education of her children, and, on the advice of the writer and other friends, soon sent her son, William, to France to school, where, from the post, he gave unmistakeable proofs of superior talents. It was, however, considerably later, and after his return to Dublin, it became known to his friends and, probably, to himself, that he had received from nature the rare and precious gift of genuine eloquence. The fact was established to the satisfaction and admiration of everybody through a debating society, which he attended with many of the most talented young men of the city, and at which, though the youngest member of the society, he carried away the palm from all, and was admitted by everybody to be first, without any second near him—his speeches having all the attributes of finished as well as of natural eloquence—spontaneousness, fulness, force, argument, and ornament.

There being no such open then in Ireland as there is at present for young men of talent, this gifted youth cast his lot in the United States, and qualified himself for the American Bar. From the first Mr. Corkran made his mark in the courts, his mastery of law being on a par with his gifts of speech, so that, as a consequence, we find him engaged in the weightiest suits

of the time. Political and private friends, to find scope for his great powers, induced him to enter Congress, where, though he is not yet twelve months a member, he is already regarded as the first orator of the House of Representatives, to which he belongs. There can be no doubt then that our young Claragh friend has a great future before him; and it need hardly be added that none will follow the incidents of his career with livelier and more sympathetic interest than his father's, and his own, old friends of the county Sligo.

Mr. Patrick Milmo, better known now through North and South America as Don Patricio Milmo, is one of the most prosperous and distinguished men that the parish of Ballysadare or the county of Sligo has ever produced. After serving an apprenticeship in the fine business house of Mr. M. J. Madden Camphill, he emigrated to Mexico, where his cousins, the Messrs. Hale, had long preceded him, and had formed a commercial firm second to none in that country. On his arrival, Mr. Milmo joined the firm, and his remarkable ability and energy developed and greatly extended the business.

As it is so long since this gentleman left Ireland, some may not be aware that he is the son of the late Mr. Darby Milmo, who lived in Lisaneena, and owned the large farm now held by Mr. Robert Cregg. The memory of Darby Milmo is still cherished by the neighbours, who will not easily forget how he granted a fine site for a school-house to the then Parish Priest, Dean Durcan, after the Dean had been searching for years in vain elsewhere for the accommodation. On the mother's side Don Patricio belongs to the great family of O'Dowd of Tireragh, who, under Celtic rule, gave local chiefs to the district for more than a thousand years.

At present Mr. Milmo is sole proprietor of the bank of Monterey, and is commonly reckoned one of the wealthiest men in Mexico. There is another bank in Lerido, Texas, which is called the Milmo National Bank, in the ownership and management of which he is associated with his son-in-law's father, Mr. Eugene Kelly, the well-known banker of New York, and

with his own brother, Mr. Daniel Milmo, who, as every one that knows him would expect, is as great a favourite almost in his adopted country as he is in his native Sligo, where he is so much esteemed and respected. And this regard he well deserves, for he never misses an opportunity of doing a good turn to Sligo men, be they rich or poor; and, as an instance, when the report of local distress reached him, a few years ago, he lost no time in sending large remittances to Collooney and Ballymote, the two parishes with which his family was more immediately connected.

As many Sligo people are already aware, Don Patricio is the son-in-law of the late famous Mexican General Vidauri, who, under the republic, was Governor of Nuevo Leon and Coahuila, and, under Maximilian's short-lived empire, was President of his Council of Ministers. About three weeks after the execution of Maximilian, this distinguished general was shot by orders of the revolutionist, Diaz, on the 8th July, 1867.

One would think that after such a shock to his feelings, and such a blow to his interests, Mr. Milmo would shake the dust off his feet and hurry away from such a cruel land, where too, owing to his relation with the deceased general, he was sure to be an object of suspicion to the new government; but Don Patricio, brave and able man as he is, resolved to remain at his post, to go on, as if nothing extraordinary had happened, with his commercial transactions, and to leave the rest to Providence—a course which the result has well justified. For his success in life is as great as it could be if his father-in-law and the Empire still survived, so great indeed, that travellers from England or the United States, who publish their travels in Mexico, devote no small portion of their space to an account of the affairs of Don Patricio Milmo and his brother. Of these accounts, the subjoined remarks from an article that appeared on the 1st March, 1888, in the famous New York review, the *Catholic World*, may serve as a sample: "Not far distant is a really handsome two-story building with massive bronze railings

and medallions, and charmingly refreshing court in the centre; this is the bank of the magnate of the frontier, Senor Don Patricio Milmo. He is a fine white-headed man of sixty, with clear-cut regular features, keen judgment, accurate discrimination, and a great appreciation of the value of his word. His brother Daniel is cashier of the Milmo National Bank of Lerido, Texas, of which Mr. Kelly, of New York, a connexion of the family, is president. No more cultivated gentleman or courteous friend than Mr. Daniel Milmo is to be met in either republic, as all those will testify who enjoy the pleasure of his acquaintance." Sligo men may well be proud at finding natives of the county held in such esteem and honour.

It is pleasant to be able to add that the parish of Ballysadare shows no signs of failing to produce men of note; and though it is a maxim, that a man had better not prophesy unless he knows, one may venture, without much risk, to predict, that several youths of the parish, who lately left it to fill public positions, after proving the possession of superior abilities by brilliant Civil Service examinations or equally satisfactory tests, are sure one day to give a good account of themselves. Such young men are, to name a few, Mr. James F. McGetrick, of the Valuation Office, Dublin; Mr. Michael M. Hart, of the Education Office, Marlborough Street; Mr. John Bree, National Debt Office, London; Mr. Patrick J. McManus, of the Excise; Mr. John Gunning, of the Customs; Mr. Hugh Stephen Hart, a talented pressman; Mr. Michael J. McManus, of the Excise; Mr. Patrick Quin, of the Customs; Mr. George Denison, Head Master of a High School, in Derby, England; Mr. Joseph McKim, author of an interesting collection of poems, published in 1888; and several others.

We cannot more appropriately close these references to county Sligo Worthies than by recording the striking fact that the county has, within the last year or two, furnished our great national College of Maynooth with three of its ablest professors—Rev. Thomas Gilmartin, Professor of Ecclesiastical History;

Rev. John Clancy, Professor of English Literature; and Rev. Thomas Judge, Professor of Logic and Philosophy.

There have been local

NEWSPAPERS IN SLIGO

for more than a hundred years. *The Sligo Morning Herald* or *Connaught Advertiser*, and the *Sligo Journal* or *General Advertiser* were the first papers started, and the first named would appear to have been the earliest in the field. Three early numbers of the *Sligo Journal*—116, 157, and 231—and one number of the *Sligo Morning Herald*—184—have fallen under the writer's notice; and as the number of the *Journal* issued on the 20th December, 1793, is 116, while the number of the *Herald* issued on the same day is 184, it would follow, taking both to have been weekly papers all through, that the first number of the *Morning Herald* preceded the first issue of the *Sligo Journal* by more than a year. Both, however, were bi-weekly occasionally.

The name, motto, and price of *Morning Herald* are thus given in Number 184 :—

"No. 184.	VOX POPULI.	Price 2d.
THE SLIGO	(<i>A Print of Fame</i>)	MORNING HERALD
OR CONNAUGHT	here.	ADVERTISER.

SLIGO MORNING HERALD.

Friday Morning.

December 20th, 1793.

Sligo: Printed and Published by O'Connor, Market Street, where Advertisements and Articles of Intelligence are received."

In his History of Irish Periodical Literature, Dr. Madden mentions a paper called *The Sligo Morning Herald*, "printed by J. O'Connor, Limerick;" but it is pretty certain that "J. O'Connor, Limerick," is a mistake of the Doctor for O'Connor, Market Street.

The *Sligo Journal* of December 20th—No. 116—is thus headed and illustrated:—

“Printed by

THE SLIGO
AND GENERAL



John Gray.

JOURNAL
ADVERTISER.

Price 2d.

Friday, December 20th, 1793.

No. 116.”

The contents of the papers consist for the most part of Government Proclamations or other official documents, foreign news, more especially news connected with the wars then in progress, and business advertisements; editorials, long or short, being conspicuous by their absence.

Some of the advertisements of the time are curious. In one Mr. Owen Wynne, Hazelwood, offers “a reward of 10 guineas for the conviction of the person or persons who shot near Hazelwood an old swan, and destroyed four young ones, and robbed two nests within these months; and he hopes for the assistance of the neighbours in detecting the villains who thus wantonly and malevolently destroyed one of the principal ornaments of the lake.”

2. Charles Kelly, surgeon and apothecary, “invites the custom of his friends and the public.”

3. Rev. James Armstrong wants “An assistant in the school of Sligo capable of teaching the senior classes; to a gentleman in Holy Orders, and who has been in habits of instruction, a salary of forty pounds *per annum*, together with board and lodging, will be given.”

4. "The Secret Committee formed in consequence of the County Meeting, held the 30th April, 1795, O. Wynne, Esq., in the chair, resolved that a deposit of 5 per cent. of the money subscribed be paid into the hands of John Martin, Esq., the Treasurer appointed for that purpose. It is requested that all who have not paid may comply.—John Martin."

5. "Notice. A meeting of the gentlemen and inhabitants of the Barony of Tirerrill is requested at Balladeravin (Riverstown) on Tuesday the 13th inst., for the purpose of considering some matters of importance. Signed by order.—Roger Dodd."

There can be little doubt that the last two advertisements are of a party and sectarian character. About that time society was in a ferment, and wherever there were good numbers of Protestants and Catholics together in a neighbourhood, as in the north of Ireland, they were living in constant expectation of mutual attack—a state of things which, here and there, led to actual conflict, as happened at Lurgan, according to the following communication from that place, which is found in the *Sligo Journal* of October 2nd, 1795:—"On Monday, the 28th, the Protestant farmers and decent manufacturers turned out well armed, and in a few hours came to close quarters with the Roman Catholics, killing sixty, and wounding above one hundred of the Defenders."

Perhaps the most remarkable of these advertisements is the following invitation to saint worship from a quarter the last in the world where one would expect encouragement of the practice:—

6. "KNIGHTS TEMPLARS
And ROYAL ORANGE LODGE.
No. 626.

The Brothers of said Number are desired to attend the Lodge Room on Friday the 27th inst., in order to celebrate the Festival of their PATRON SAINT.

Dinner on the table at 5 o'clock.

Signed by order,

Sligo, Dec. 19th, 1793.

J. HENDERSON, Sec."

It is commonly supposed that the Orange organization dates from 1795, and that it was started immediately after the battle of the Diamond,* which happened on the 21st September that year, but we learn from the foregoing advertisement that there were Orangemen and an Orange Lodge in Sligo as early as 1793.

At John Gray's death the *Sligo Journal* passed into the possession of Alexander Bolton, in whose hands we find it in 1814, when it had become a bi-weekly, issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays, price 5d.

The next Sligo newspaper we have met with is the *Western Luminary*, the number of March 18, 1824, being thus headed:—

“WESTERN LUMINARY,

Vol. II.

OR,

No. 11.

SLIGO IMPARTIAL REPORTER.

Sligo: Printed by the Proprietor, Robt. Hunter, and Published every Friday morning at the General Printing Office, Knox's Street, where Orders, Advertisements, &c., are received, and Printing Work of every description elegantly executed. Price 5d.”

This paper was of Liberal politics, and was very much in the interest of Mr. Abraham Martin, who had a quarrel at the time with the Commissioners. They wished to convert the Fish Quay into a dry dock, a project which Mr. Martin opposed. A case on the subject was submitted to Mr. Saurin, who replied:—“The right Mr. Martin has to the salmon fishery of Sligo was in its inception no more than a right to the Wear on the river, and to the exclusive right of taking fish by means of it, and not a separate and exclusive fishery in that part of the river or arm of the sea in which the tide ebbs and flows.” The *Luminary* maintained Mr. Martin's claims, relying a good deal on the fact that John Martin, Abraham's father, had exercised proprietorial

* We read in Haydn's Dictionary of Dates:—“DIAMOND, a hamlet, Armagh, N., Ireland, where was fought the ‘Battle of the Diamond,’ 20th September, 1795, between the ‘Peep-o'-day Boys’ and the ‘Defenders,’ and many of the latter were killed. To commemorate this conflict the *first Orange Lodge was formed immediately after.*”

rights in 1789, when he built the great arch abutting on the quay.

The OBSERVER, another Sligo newspaper, appears to have come after the *Western Luminary*, but the writer regrets he has not come across any number of this journal, and cannot, therefore, give particulars of it.

The SLIGO CHAMPION dates from 1836. The first number appeared on the 4th of June that year, with the heading:—

“THE CHAMPION, OR SLIGO NEWS.

No. 1.	Sligo, Saturday, June 4, 1836.	Price 7d. Yearly Sub. £1, 10s.
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Printed and Published for the Proprietors at the Office, Stephen Street.”

The motto over the leading article is “TRUTH CONQUERS.” Interesting items of news in this issue are:—

1. Collooney Meeting—Disapprobation of Lord Lyndhurst’s Municipal Reform Bill. On this head the Editor remarks: “We have been informed that the speeches delivered by Mr. William Kelly and the Rev. Dr. Durkan were distinguished for their independent and patriotic tone. Resolutions, four in number, were moved and seconded by—(1) Rev. Mr. Durkan, Mr. Henry Meredith; (2) William Kelly, Esq., Mr. John Hart; (3) Mr. Patrick Quinn, Mr. Patrick Milmore; (4) Mr. Michael M’Donnell, Mr. John Gillooly.”

2. Sligo Municipal Reform Meeting, held in Chapel Field. Martin Madden, Esq., in chair; Mr. Charles O’Connor, Sec.

A sentence or two from the Editor’s Address to his readers may be reproduced:

“We come forward in a country where the voice of liberty has been stifled, and where the sacred rights and privileges of the subject have been violated, to advocate the cause of a long oppressed people, to be the fruitful, the unflinching, and, we trust, the invincible CHAMPION of civil and religious liberty. . .

“As the spirit of liberality was spreading through other parts of Ireland, tyranny and bigotry increased fearfully and shame-

fully in Sligo—instead of *advancing* the county has *retrograded*. . . .

“It is for the purpose of checking, or at least exposing, this corruption and wickedness that the *Champion* enters the political arena. It comes forward to put down Grand Jury jobbing—to open the county—smile not, reader! we reiterate, TO OPEN THE COUNTY; and we assure you that is not only possible, but probable—to expose magisterial injustice, to right the oppressed, to hold up to public scorn the petty tyrant, and to be the friend of the people.

“But we beg not to be misunderstood. Let no one think the *Champion* will be a vehicle of slander—we are determined never to sully our pages with personalities.”

A small quarto sheet of two leaves, called *The Cryptic*, made its appearance in 1844, and had a short-lived and disreputable career of about twelve months. In the forty-fifth number, which is the only one we have seen, the title motto, date, and terms, are thus given:—

(*A grotesque bust here.*)

“THE CRYPTIC.

‘Prend moi tel que je suis.’

No. 45.

Saturday, March 29th, 1845.

[2d.

Sligo: Printed for the *Proprietors*, and may be had at No. 5 Thomas Street, where communications will be received.

TERMS:

Yearly 8s.

Half-Yearly 4s.

Quarterly 2s.

To be paid in advance.”

This vile rag, which traded in buffoonery and personalities, was suppressed by law at the suit of an injured party; but not before it had held up to ridicule and contempt many of the inhabitants of the town. It is a pity that some one had not the courage of sweeping away the nuisance earlier.

A paper called the SLIGO GUARDIAN was started in 1849, and existed for about fifteen months, when the Messrs. Sedley purchased the plant, and began to publish the SLIGO CHRONICLE. David Erskine was the editor of the *Guardian*, and after its discontinuance became the editor of the *Chronicle*. The number of this paper that appeared on the 23rd Nov. 1850, is the last that bears Erskine's name, for which was substituted, in the issue of the 30th November, that of Hugh M'Donald Soden. The name of Mr. J. W. Sedley appears for the first time in the number for December 7th, 1850, and has continued since connected with the paper.

The style and title of the first number of the *Chronicle* ran thus :—

“THE SLIGO CHRONICLE.

No. 1.	April 17th, 1850.	Terms—Price 5d. Yearly, £1; Half-Yearly, 10s.
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Printed and Published by David Erskine for the Proprietors,
6 Correction Street.”

Over the leading article is the motto, “Liberty without Licentiousness, and Law without Despotism.”

In the leader we read :—“As we have nothing to conceal, we are anxious to be generally understood, and so we commence by stating that the *Chronicle* shall advocate MODERATELY Conservative views. . . . We do not mean by the word ‘Conservative’ a conservation of barbarity and oppression, with cupidity for their origin, and antiquity for their plea. We do not mean to be the conservators either of unchristian exclusiveness in politics or religion. While we deprecate the lawless pretext which would make out property a robbery, we cannot respect the discretionary sovereignty which, in the name of the rights of landlordism, robs the tenant of his due—a sovereignty which, in an atmosphere of light peculiar to the progressive character of our age, appears too odious to be respected by enlightened landlords themselves.”

The SLIGO INDEPENDENT came after the *Champion* and the *Chronicle*, its first number appearing on the 29th September, 1855, headed as follows :

“THE SLIGO INDEPENDENT.

No. 1.	Sligo, Saturday, September 29, 1855.	Price 3d. Stamped 4d.
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Terms : Unstamped Edition, Single Paper 3d., per annum £1, 5s.
 Stamped “ “ “ 4d., “ £1, 13s.
 in all cases payable in advance.

Printed and Published by the Proprietors (Gilmor Bros.),
 4 Ratcliffe-street, Parish of St. John, Sligo.”

The principal items of news in the first number are :—

1. Hazlewood Agricultural Society Show—5 columns.
2. Sligo Butter Market, (Firsts) 101s. 6d.; (2nds) 99s.; (3rds) 95s.; (4ths) 88s.
3. A Sligo hero at storming of the Redan, Lieut. Charles B. Wynne, 90th Regiment, son of Owen Wynne, Esq.
4. Sebastopol, account of fall of.
5. A subscription of £5 from Captain Meredith, Cloonamahon, to Protestant Orphan Society, to be an annual gift so long as Dissenters are not admitted to benefits of said society.
6. Mazzini's address.

The paper opens thus :—“Prospectus of a new Commercial and Conservative Journal, this day published in the Town of Sligo, entitled the *Sligo Independent*, to be published on each successive Wednesday and Saturday.

“The daily increasing commercial prosperity of the town and county of Sligo, coupled with the earnest request of a large and influential body of the inhabitants, has induced the Proprietors to undertake the bringing out of the above Journal.

“The first and great object of the *Independent* will be to attain the character of rank amongst the first commercial organs of the country. In this department nothing shall be left unnoticed from that which concerns the interest of the banker down to the smallest trader. . . .

"In Politics the *Independent* will be Conservative, but, we trust, not that Conservatism which would induce us to close our columns against our fellow-man solely because he differs from us in religious opinions. No—our columns shall be always open to advocate the cause of the wronged and the oppressed, from the peasant to the peer, and, in this, our first intimation to the public, we beg leave to state that never, under any circumstances, shall we be induced to indulge in low personal scurrility, but shall always endeavour to support the character to which the Press is entitled upon the honest foundation of Truth and Justice. . . .

"These are briefly the principles on which the *Independent* seeks the support of all right-thinking men, and which it is determined shall characterize its every act as truly as its name signifies. . . .

"The war in which the country is engaged is the chief reason which has induced the Proprietors to undertake publication twice a week, &c., &c." . . .

It is edifying to find Sligo newspapers, both the Conservative and the Liberal, disclaiming "personalities," though a new proof of the frailty of good intentions may be found in the fact that, in spite of their professions, we find some of them laden occasionally with the obnoxious matter. We learn from the *Sligo Journal* of December 29, 1837, that the *Sligo Champion*, in its Christmas number, had presented the Conservatives with a "Christmas Box," consisting of caustic quotations from Shakespeare, applied by the editor to leaders and some other members of the Conservative party. The *Journal* would not be outdone in this species of generosity, and returned the compliment in a "New Year's Gift," in which Shakespeare and other poets are laid under contribution for unsavoury extracts with which to ticket local Liberals.

To show how indiscriminate and unsparing the editor of the *Journal* was in his attentions, the names of the persons aimed at are here reproduced without, of course, the defamatory references. The names are given just as they lie in the paper,

with their contractions, or other modifications, but anyone, whose memory reaches forty or fifty years back, will have little difficulty in identifying individuals through the thin disguise :—
 “ Sir William ; Sir James ; Daniel J—s, senior ; Gomville B—D ;
 The Two Bishops ; T. S—Y, P.P. ; Andrew E—N, P.P. ; Luke C—N, P.P. ; Malachy B—N, P.P. ; Daniel M—Y, P.P. ; Michael O’C—N, P.P. ; Two Friars ; Counsellor R—Y ; Counsellor C—Y ;
 Mr. Valentine J—N ; Martin D. M—G ; John N—Y ; Martin M—N ; Mr. Tom (Dory) K—Y ; Stephen M. C—Y ; Edward (Griskin) K—Y ; Thomas R. Durkan, M.D. ; Alexander H—Y, M.D. ; T. M. McHugh, M.D., Ballymote ; Francis M’G— ; Thomas B— ; Henry O’C—R ; John T—K—R ; P. M—Y ; Dominick H—Y ; Michael C—Y ; Michael G—L—N ; Thomas M’G—W—N, Grocer ; Denis O’C—N—R, (Big Jug) ; J. G.— ; J. G.— ; A. K— ; A. W— ; J. J. O’D—N ; Henry D. H—R—Y ;
 The Editor of the Champion ; The Liberal Club.”

This duel in ribaldry was disgraceful to both the people and the papers. The late Matthew Arnold used to say, “Tell me the character of their newspapers, and I will tell you the character of the people ;” and if that gentleman fell in with the *Sligo Journal* and the *Sligo Champion*, of Christmas, 1837, he would. it is to be feared, pronounce the inhabitants of the town and county of those days sadly deficient at once in charity and culture.

It is matter for congratulation that things have altered so much for the better on all sides since that time.

The broad, smooth, macadamized, and well-fenced

ROADS,

which now traverse the county Sligo in all directions, are, many of them, of modern construction, while such of them as come down from more remote times have been widened, remodelled, or otherwise changed within a hundred years or so. Anyone who looks into the Grand Jury books, preserved in

Mr. Vernon's office, will see that a large proportion of the presentments passed in the earlier years of this century are concerned with the roads of the county—with the cutting down of hills on them, the filling up of sloughs and other hollows, and the construction of small bridges or arches over streams and gullies.

In Arthur Young's "Tour in Ireland," the writer praises strongly (Appendix, p. 56) the number and condition of the public roads of this country, setting them far before the roads of England. "For a country," says he, "so far behind us as Ireland, to have got suddenly so much the start of us in the article of roads, is a spectacle that cannot fail to strike the English traveller exceedingly." Newenham, in his valuable "View of Ireland" (published in 1809), is equally laudatory (p. 31); and Wakefield, who wrote in 1812, endorses the estimates of both his predecessors, and, indeed, embodies in his narrative most of what Newenham writes on the subject. Though public roads were in so satisfactory a state in the times referred to, it is known that, on the other hand, they were in a wretched condition in the early years of the eighteenth century—which was almost a matter of course, as no Road Act was passed in the reign of William III., only two in that of Anne, and none at all under George I.; these monarchs being apparently so busy persecuting Catholics, that they had no time to devote to works of public utility.

Notwithstanding, however, what Arthur Young writes, there is proof enough that all the roads of the county Sligo were not in the condition he describes, for we learn from Reverend John Wesley's Journal (Vol. IV., p. 117) that when travelling in 1778 through the parish of Curry, on the way from Castlebar to Sligo, he encountered three "sloughs" on the road near Ballincurry; and though he made a shift to get through two of them without help, he had himself to be carried over the third on the shoulders of a countryman, who did the *pious* Æneas on the occasion, while his chaise was forced through with great difficulty by horses and men—the horses

“tugging” at ropes fastened to the vehicle after the traces were broken, and the men “thrusting” with all their strength from behind. The whole scene would form the subject of a suggestive historical picture, illustrating not merely the state of the roads, but still more the humanity and charity of the Popish peasants who had left their work to help the apostle of Methodism out of his untoward predicament.

As might be expected, the further we go back the worse we find the public roads of the county. At first they were mere frequented tracks rather than roads in the modern sense. In remote times the three strands of Drumcliff, Sligo, and Ballysadare, were the common passes for their respective neighbourhoods: On Drumcliff strand there were two passes—the long and the short one: the former running from Finid to Doonierin, and the latter from Drumcliff Church to Doonierin; near the town of Sligo the *fearsat* or pass crossed from Standalone Point to Finiskin and Gibraltar; on the Ballysadare strand there were three tracks—one from Carrowerin or Kellystown to Streamstown, another from Carrowerin to Larkhill, and the third from the same point to Beltra.

We learn from the Book of Armagh, the oldest Irish record we possess, and from Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, that Saint Patrick and his companions made use of these strands in their journeys; and the Annals of the Four Masters, under the year 1536, in tracing the march of Hugh Dubh O'Donnell and his troops, brings them from Fined across the Drumcliff strand to *Fearsat-Reanna-an-Liagain*, now Standalone Point; from *Fearsat-Reanna-an-Liagain* across the Sligo strand to Coolerra; and from Coolerra through the Ballysadare strand to Tireragh. All these routes were much used till recently; and the short strand at Drumcliff is still traversed by pedestrians and vehicles of all kinds.

As has been stated, the present Standalone Point is given, in the Four Masters and the Annals of Loch Ce, as *Fearsat-Reanna-an-Liagain*, a name which the Four Masters themselves, and the compilers of the Annals of Loch Ce, would

derive from a Fomorian chief named Liagain, who, they allege, was slain there by Luigh the Longhanded ; but both O'Donovan and Hennessy pronounce this derivation fanciful, and render the Irish phrase into the English words, the "pass of the point or promontory of the pillar stone." There can be no doubt that this is the correct interpretation of the phrase ; and if any doubt remained it would be removed by the local rendering of the Irish into the English words Standalone or Stone-alone-Point. Stone-alone-Point expresses with sufficient exactness the idea of the Irish term *liagain*, that is, pillar stone, or a stone standing up by itself and detached from others.

The reader will observe that the writer identifies *Reanna-an-Liagain* with Stone-alone-Point, which has not been done before. O'Donovan thought, at first, that this Point was on the Drumcliff river, and, later, that it lay on the Sligo river, but without being able to indicate the exact spot. The writer rests his identification on the facts :—first, that the *Fearsat-Reanna-an-Liagain* is certainly on the Sligo river, as it leads from Drumcliff to Coolerra (Four Masters, 1536) ; secondly, that this *fearsat* or ford was the only one ever used on that river ; and thirdly, that Stone-alone-Point is the manifest translation of *Reanna-an-Liagain*.

The celebrated Red Earl of Ulster, Richard de Burgo, is credited by tradition with having constructed the oldest roads of the county Sligo, as well as of the rest of Connaught ; and to this day the name *Boher Earla Ruadh* is applied by the country people to the disused road of Ballaghboy across the Curlews ; to that from Ardcotton to Ballysadare across Slieve Gamh, or the Ox Mountains ; to the road from Ballygawley to Carrownamoddow over *Slieve-da-en* ; and to several others. Most probably tradition is right in this case, as such works are in harmony with the magnificence of this earl who built (in 1300) the noble castle of Ballymote, and (in 1305) the still nobler castle of Inishowen. Being at once Earl of Ulster and Lord of Connaught, and thus master of all the resources of the

two provinces, he had ample means for the accomplishment of great public undertakings.

The chief existing roads of the county have been made within the last hundred years or thereabouts. That from Sligo to Boyle was begun in the last years of the eighteenth century, and finished in the opening years of the nineteenth. The stretch of it which runs through the Ballydrehid *curragh* was regarded in its day as a great feat of engineering skill; and there is a tradition that, when Mr. Owen Wynne brought the subject for the first time before the Grand Jury, the project was regarded as Utopian, and received with merriment, the *curragh* being then covered with water, and looking like a lake.

The road from Sligo to Ballyfarnon was constructed about the same date as that to Boyle, the one to Tubbercurry a little later, and the road to Ballina about the same time. Of the three main roads through Carbury to Sligo, that on the sea coast from Bunduff to Breaffy is much the oldest, the one passing through Carney coming later, and the road by Cool-druman latest. The cross roads through the parish of Ahamlish were constructed by Nimmo for Lord Palmerston, and many others through the county date from 1846, the "Famine Year."

What was known formerly to the inhabitants of Sligo as the "Circular Road," part only of which now exists, was made in 1822-3 with the aid of money received for the relief of distress from the London City Committee; and for several years after its formation, posts stood upon it bearing the inscription:—"This road was made in token of British benevolence."

When the time for repairing it was come, the cesspayers refused to pass a presentment for the work, upon which Mr. Abraham Martin enclosed and appropriated the portion of it which ran through his property of Cleveragh. Others did likewise in regard to other portions, with the result, that the people of Sligo lost a promenade, which was at the same time one of the healthiest and one of the most picturesque in Ireland.

Till late in the last century the roads were narrow, there being no cars or carts; and when those conveyances were first introduced they necessitated no change, as they were so slight and narrow that two hundred weight was considered a good load for them. In the "Earls of Kildare" (p. 371) we are told that the Duke of Leinster was the first to introduce four-wheeled waggons in Ireland, the introduction taking place in 1755; and it took some time before they reached Sligo. Before the mail coach road between Sligo and Boyle was made, the post was carried by "diligence" to Florence Court, and sent on from that to Dublin. It was in 1808 the first mail coach ran from Sligo to Dublin,* *via* Boyle.

Down to fifty or sixty years ago, beggars and "backaghs"—persons who suffered or shammed lameness, or some other corporal infirmity—infested the public roads, seating themselves at the most frequented points, and remaining there for years, till they became as familiar to travellers as the physical features of the place, so that mendicants who died more than a hundred years ago are still associated with particular spots. A blind beggarman, who had his quarters on the bridge of Ballysadare, distinguished himself so much by the blessing bestowed in return for alms, that it became famous as the "Beggar's Benison," and is thus referred to by the artists employed by

* In the *Sligo Journal* of June, 1805, we find the advertisement, "The Mail Coach diligence, accompanied by a well-armed guard, runs from Sligo to Dublin, meeting at Cavan the Mail Coach, where two seats are reserved."

The *Sligo Journal* of July 17th, 1807, in an advertisement about the "Sligo, Enniskillen, and Dublin Royal Mail," states that "the distance from Sligo to Dublin *via* Enniskillen is 104 miles, the time taken 26 hours, and the fare £2, 12s."

The first Mail Coach from Sligo to Dublin, *via* Boyle and Longford, was started by Mr. Bourne. The Royal Canal Company opposed it vigorously, and lowered its own rates to prevent travellers from going by the coach; but the people of Sligo stood by Bourne and his new conveyance, and, at a public meeting which was held in September, 1809, and at which Mr. Abraham Martin occupied the chair, bound themselves by resolution to support the coach.

the Right Hon. Colonel Burton Conyngham :—" On the bridge we were shown a stone on which a beggar used to sit constantly, who, on receiving alms, used to bestow on the giver a blessing, which is become a famous toast, under the name of the *Beggar's Benison*." It is a pity the terms of this famous benediction are not preserved.

The oldest bridges of the county are those of Sligo (1188), Ballysadare (1361), and Collooney (about 1400); but these are not the structures that now exist in those places. The bridge of Ardree across the Owenmore, of Ballygrania across the Uncion, and of Drumcliffe across the Codnach, date from the last century. The fine bridge of Templehouse was built in 1812; the bridge of Easky in 1818, on a Presentment of £398, 7s. passed in the Lent Assizes of that year, "To Colonel John Irwin to build a bridge of three arches over the river Easky;" and the latest as well as one of the best bridges which the county can boast of, that of Billa, designed by our talented county surveyor, and promoted, with his accustomed liberality, by Mr. O'Hara, is only just finished. An inscription on a finely-chiselled stone in the structure records the following particulars of the erection :—

Built by the Cesspayers of Leyney,

Assisted by

C. W. O'HARA, Esq., D.L.,

Annaghmore.

C. B. JONES, M. Inst. C.E.,

Co. Surveyor.

A.D. 1887.

MACDONOGH, Builder, Ballisodare.

While these roads are so beneficial to the inhabitants of the county by opening up communications, they are hardly less serviceable to the tourist, now that they are in connexion with all parts of Ireland through the Midland Great Western Railway opened to Sligo on the 3rd December, 1862, and the Sligo, Leitrim, and Northern Counties Railway, opened on the 7th November, 1882. The latter line carries passengers to Sligo from the North, while the Midland Great Western takes them, mediately or immediately, from the three other provinces.

In their arrangements the chairman and directors of the Midland company never lose sight of the interests and comforts of tourists. If the stations of their line were intended for the special convenience of this important class of passengers, they could not be more favourably situated than they are at present, standing, as they do, close to the most interesting scenes and sights of the county.

From Boyle station the tourist can visit, at his ease, in a few hours, the far-famed battlefield of Moytura, the historical Curlews, and the sacred valley of Corradooey, still fragrant with the odours of St. Patrick's virtues and labours.

At Ballymote the train drops the tourist under the shadow of as fine a ruin as there is in Ireland, the castle of the renowned Red Earl of Ulster, and brings him within a couple of miles, on one side, of the mysterious coves of Keash, and, on the other, of the much-admired Templehouse, so striking for its antiquities and for its natural beauties.

At Collooney and Ballysadare the visitor will be at a loss which most to admire, the castle and church ruins of the district, its corn and flour mills—the largest in Europe—or the beautiful river Owenmore, as admired by the utilitarian as by the lover of the picturesque—by the former for its wonderful water power, capable of working all the machinery in Ireland, and by the latter for what Frazer, in his "Handbook for Ireland," styles "the finest rapid in the kingdom."

And in the town of Sligo tourists will find themselves in the centre of a region literally teeming with scenes of surpassing

interest and beauty—the majestic range of Benbulbin, the beautifully outlined Hill of Knocknarea, the incomparable Lough Gill, the Eden-like valley of Glencar, the noble demesnes of Hazelwood and Lissadell, the world-renowned antiquities of Carrowmore and Deerpark, and not a few others, all within easy reach of the town.

With such attractions and such facilities for enjoying them, Sligo is sure to become the favourite resort of tourists. It is little wonder that this class of travellers kept away from the place in the past when it took twenty-six hours to get from Dublin to Sligo, when the country was so disturbed that people had to travel in the company of “a well armed guard,” and when the mode of conveyance was a lumbering, jolting vehicle, in which passengers were exposed to rain, wind, and the other severities of the weather; but now, that all this is changed, that the district is as peaceful as it is picturesque, that the Limited Mail glides, in four hours, from Dublin to Sligo, and that its carriages are as cozy as boudoirs, it is a law of travel, as sure as the law of gravitation, that the main tourist stream of Ireland must in future flow into Sligo.

MUSIC AND DANCING.

Great as is the change which has taken place, within a century or so, in the appearance of the town and county, it is not more remarkable than that which has occurred, within the same time, in the ideas, the manners, and the habits of the people. If Lady Morgan and the artists of the Hon. Mr. Conyngham, who have left interesting accounts of the state of things in their day, could now revisit the scenes they described, they would, probably, be more struck by the moral, than by the material, change that has supervened.

Both dwell on the free and friendly relations which then existed between the gentry and the lower classes. In a graphic description, by Beranger, of a Cake-dance at Glencar—that is, a

dance in which a cake, set up in a conspicuous position before the meeting, was to be the reward of the best dancer—he tells, that gentlemen and ladies, on horseback and on foot, mingled with the country people, and formed a considerable part of the triple ring of spectators, that surrounded the dancers, while contending for a prize, which they valued hardly less highly than those who contended in the Greek and Roman games valued the laurel crown.

Lady Morgan mentions several instances of similar friendly intercourse between the Croftons of Longford, with whom she was staying, and the people of the neighbourhood; from which we may infer that a like state of things existed in other parts of the county. When writing, Beranger and her Ladyship had little thought that those pleasant scenes would be soon followed by the estrangement, not to say hostility, which at present prevails between the classes, and which renders social life in the county so different from what it used to be sixty or seventy years ago. If a gentleman showed himself now at popular sports, it is not unlikely that he would be regarded as a spy; and if a young peasant, as was usual in the past, went to the “big house,” to pass an hour or two of the evening, there are ten chances to one that he would be treated as a moonlighter.

Since the beginning of this century the love of amusement, for amusement sake, has greatly declined. Cake-dances were not confined to Glencar, being common enough in other places; but, with or without the cake, dancing was practised in, perhaps, every village of the county. Country boys and girls were proficient in the art, having nearly all undergone a regular course of training in the dancing school, which was generally kept at night, for the double purpose of not interfering with the hedge-school, and of giving grown boys and girls, who were commonly engaged during the day, an opportunity of attending. The dancing-master was in such demand that persons of other occupations found it worth their while to combine the business with their own. Lady Morgan, in *Patriotic Sketches*, instances this combination in the case of a carman who, having been sent

for to do some cart work, excused himself by saying that "he was a dancing-master by trade, as well as a carman, and that his pupils had become so numerous, he could not possibly absent himself from them." It will be well to dwell somewhat on those *Sketches*, as nothing can bring home to us better the great social changes which have taken place in the county.

Like Beranger, Lady Morgan paints the Cake-dance and marks its peculiarities—the large cake exhibited conspicuously on a distaff or pole, fixed in the earth; the piper seated on the ground with a hole dug in it near him for the contributions of the dancers; the spectators made up of the young and the old of both sexes, who had come for miles round to witness the performance; and the performers themselves in the centre of the ring, exerting themselves with as much earnestness and vigour as if life and death hung in the balance. Lady Morgan loved to attend those exhibitions, and it was while witnessing and studying them she realized what she calls "the inordinate passion of the Irish for dancing."

Music was more cultivated in those days in the county Sligo than since. The dance itself implied some acquaintance with the strains which were to regulate its movements. Several villages included among its inhabitants a fiddler, or a piper, or both; and so many were able to perform on the flute and the fife, that if a professional, at a merry meeting, got tired, and wished for a little rest, he could find plenty of young fellows around him to manage the instrument till he was able to resume. A harper, male or female, might still be seen from time to time, in Lady Morgan's day, about the county, though the passion for music had even then greatly declined from what it was fifty years previous, when O'Neil, the famous harper, having come to the house of Mr. Irwin, found assembled there thirty-seven musicians, professional and private:—"I made," says O'Neil, as quoted in *Patriotic Sketches*, "the thirty-eighth; and before we concluded the evening, a piper claimed admittance, and according to the good old Irish custom was received, and accommodated with a good supper and bed."

As might be expected in a county so noted for its patronage of musicians, Carolan was always a welcome guest, and, in return for the hospitality received, he devoted many of his songs to its inhabitants, as "O'Connor Sligo," "Edward Corcoran," "Peggy Corcoran," "Nancy Cooper," "Charles Coote," "Sir Edward Crofton," "Mr. James Crofton," "Mrs. Crofton," "Miss Crofton," "Edward Dodwell," "Maud O'Dowd," "Mrs. Fleming," "Doctor Harte," "Colonel Irwin," "Loftus Jones," "Planxty Jones," "Abigail Judge," "James Plunket," and "Kian O'Hara," (Hardiman's *Irish Minstrelsy*, Vol. I., p. lviii.) Of these compositions we have in the *Irish Minstrelsy*, "Edward O'Corcoran," "Doctor Harte," "Madam Crofton," "Peggy Corcoran," "Nancy Cooper," and the "Cup of O'Hara," both originals and translations, the famous Thomas Furlong being the translator. Notwithstanding the fame of Sligo for music and song in the past, popular as well as refined music was at a rather low ebb in the county, when both received an impulse, the former from the Fife and Drum Bands, and the Brass Bands, of the Land League, and the latter from the lessons and concerts of Messrs. Delany and Froggart.

In her interesting survey of county Sligo persons and things Lady Morgan does not forget the

HOLY WELLS

of the district. While out of an evening for a ramble with some of the Croftons, she came across the well of Dromard, near Longford, and has left a good account of its appearance and the observances connected with it. The well itself lay in a little circular spot shaded with trees, was approached through a rude arch, and was covered with a broad, flat stone, no doubt to preserve it from contamination by fowl or cattle. Round it was traced the circle, which its visitors used to traverse in their devotions, stopping at certain stages to say the prayers appropriate to them. Near it "stood a simple altar enriched with stones," and over the altar rose an oak tree, from the trunk of which was

suspended a wooden crucifix, and to the branches of which were fastened small bits of linen or other cloth as souvenirs of the pilgrims' visits. At the close of his visit the votary drank some of the water out of a vessel, secured for the purpose by a chain to an adjoining stone.

The foregoing may be accepted as a sufficiently close description of all the holy wells of the county, and of the ritual observed at them. The enclosed and protected spring; the circle round which the votary moved in pious meditation and prayer; the little altar with its mysterious, rounded, sea stones, at which he finished his pious exercise; the vessel which supplied the draught of cold water; the votive offering which recorded the gratitude and good resolves of the pilgrim; and the crucifix in wood, as here at Dromard, or in stone, as at Killaraght (see p. 382) and some other places, which showed that the visit, as well as everything done during it, was referred to Him who was thus represented; are all duplicates of what might be found at Kilmacteige, at Achonry, and at all the holy wells of the country.

It is not well known when pilgrimages to wells began. No doubt the springs from which Saint Patrick and the primitive saints took the water with which they baptized their converts were held in veneration from the beginning, as memorials of the national apostle and his associates; but though individuals or small numbers may, on this account, have visited them in pre-Reformation times, it is likely that it was only under the pressure of the persecution and Penal Laws which followed the Reformation, the popular frequentation set in.

When Catholics had no houses of worship they assembled round those venerated wells for the performance of the ordinances of religion; and the small altar would go to show that they not only went through their private devotions in those places, but that they also assisted at Mass there. At first everything passed off decorously and edifyingly, but in the course of time abuses sprang up of so serious a character, that both the ministers of religion and the authorities of the state

felt called on alike to stop them. The first Act to Prevent the further growth of Popery enacted that all "resortings of pilgrims to pretended sanctuaries, Patrick's Well, &c., should be deemed riots and unlawful assemblies;" while ecclesiastical synods condemned some of those "patrons" as "scenes of drunkenness and quarrelling, and of other most abominable vices, by which Religion herself is brought into disrepute, nay, mocked, and ridiculed; intemperance and immorality are encouraged; the tranquillity of the country is disturbed, and the seeds of perpetual animosities and dissensions are sown."

Lady Morgan has only one allusion to

WAKES.

It is where she mentions meeting a young man who was going to sing the songs of Ossian at a wake which was held in a place seven miles distant from where she met him. Though the songs of Ossian were little suited to such an occasion, it were well if no greater irregularity occurred.

It is well known that Irish wakes were often scenes of great disorder—coarse, not to say indecent, songs, and disgusting as well as criminal "tricks," being rather common incidents of the vigil. The songs were generally composed for the occasion by some village poetaster, and were little else than lampoons on people present. The "tricks" were still more incongruous and reprehensible, and, with their other faults, were made to serve for offensive caricatures of obnoxious persons.

The principle of making those tricks the means of gratifying personal spite and revenge was carried so far, that one of them, called "The Hen," seemed invented for that special purpose. It consisted in some young fellow muffling himself up in a white sheet, so that he could not be recognized, and carrying in his hands a piece of iron fashioned and sharpened like an awl, with which he *pecked* after the manner of a hen, and punctured in a barbarous manner the skin and flesh of somebody against whom he or his friends had a grudge. If the injured party

was high-spirited, and, particularly, if he had friends present, this cruelty would be resented, with the result, that a free fight took place in the wakehouse, turning everything upside down, extinguishing the lights, and, perhaps, throwing the corpse out of its resting place, as sometimes happened.

It was not often the evil proceeded so far, though on one occasion at least it proceeded further, even to the length of murder. This happened about forty years ago in a wake at Carrickbanagher. The wretch, acting "The Hen," agreed with confederates that they would station themselves outside the door of the wakehouse, and when he, by pecking and puncturing, had forced a certain young man to quit the house, that they would fall on him with bludgeons, when seeking escape. The plot was carried out; and the unfortunate young man, who was the son, and the only son, of a widow, was stretched dead on the spot the moment he appeared outside. Providence draws good out of evil; and it may be owing a good deal to this enormity that the parish of Ballysadare, to which Carrickbanagher belongs, has been long, as it is at present, more free from disorder or irregularity at wakes than any other in the county.

Other evils hardly less criminal sometimes took place in the wakehouse, which there is no need to describe here, but of which the reader will get a good idea by perusing attentively the following extract (Renehan's Collections, p. 144) from an ecclesiastical ordinance on the subject:—"Similiter et pro defectu quem alibi in exequiis obrepere conquerantur piæ et timoratæ conscientiæ, ut per quorundam nebulonum et joculatorum nequitiam, quæ nec in domo convivii ferenda, inhonestæ cantationes, lascivæ gesticulationes, quandoquidem etiam cum tenebris opera tenebrarum turpiora exerceantur, et cum extinctione luminis pariter extinguitur timor mortis cujus ut imago in cadavere est exposita oculis, ita memoriæ mentis, debet occurrere."

Apart from such iniquities, which were exceptional, country wakes were much oftener scenes of revelry than of sorrow or

even seriousness. While the house in which the corpse lay was full of commotion, and the voices of the singers were drowned in the uproarious noises that prevailed, there were sometimes several fires lighted in different places round the house, each with its own company, each probably with a singer, a *seanachie*, and a *farceur* of its own. Without the house as well as within, whiskey circulated freely, the consequence being that the night seldom failed to bring with it altercations or unpleasantness of some kind. It was a common remark that no wake was so extravagant in outlay on whiskey and lights as that of a miser, like Jack Phibbs, thus verifying the lines :—

“When Hopkins dies a thousand lights attend
The wretch who, living, saved a candle’s end.”

It must not be inferred from what has been said that all wakes were orgies like those described. This would be at variance with the fact, as the majority of them were grave, sober and edifying meetings of the friends of the deceased. In general, the relatives of the deceased were opposed to scenes of disorder; and if some of them offered no active opposition, it was because they were unable to make head against the torrent of custom, and afraid to make enemies for themselves of the singers, rhymers, trick-mongers, and other ill-conditioned persons (the “*nebulones*” and “*joculatores*” of the ecclesiastical ordinance), who were for ever on the look-out for a wake, that they might have a night’s carouse. The families, however, who were powerful enough of themselves, or with the aid of friends, to defy the “*shulers*,” took care to keep them at a distance, and thus prevent the house of mourning from being turned into a house of riot, though refreshments were usually provided in it for all the decent people that attended. Such entertainments were spread even in the houses of the gentry, who had not as yet adopted the present unsocial practice of locking up, immediately after death, the corpse of the deceased in some remote room, and leaving it there, without light or attendant, till the day of the funeral. When Mr.

Charles O'Hara died in 1822, the neighbours all crowded to the wake, and were received with welcome, and regaled with the customary hospitalities.

The popular

SPORTS

of the county have undergone much the same sort of change as its popular music. Lady Morgan, in one of the Patriotic Sketches (Sketch XVI.), acquaints us with the manly exercises in which the young men of the country were in the habit of passing the afternoon of Sundays and holidays, in the early years of the century. According to her it was the custom, after returning from Mass, to move to a secluded field, and to engage, some in a hurling match, some in throwing the stone, and some in running and jumping, most of whom, later in the day, betook themselves to the Cake-dance, either as spectators or performers. The stone throwing, or *cathu clogh*, as it was called in Irish, she thus describes with the accuracy of an accomplished athlete:—"The candidate who pants for the fame of those

‘ Virtues that are placed in nerve and bone,’

takes a stone of immense weight in his right hand, inclines his body a little forward, advances one leg, poises his arm, and after two or three balancing motions, flings it from him to a considerable distance." The exercise here described she identifies with the pastime of the *discus* among the ancient Greeks, though in this she is in error, as it is clear from the famous statue of "Discobolus throwing the Discus," that the Greek game resembled rather the modern game of quoits.

This way of passing the afternoon of festivals came down from remote times, and left marks of its existence in the names of several places, as, for instance, *Tawnaphubble*—Field of the Congregation—near Cairn's Hill, which must have got that appellation from the congregation, after hearing Mass in the

Abbey, retiring to it for relaxation and amusement. Like the national music, these sports have been revived within the last few years ; and if they are now less spontaneous and hearty than in the olden time, they are better organized and regulated, and more dignified than ever they were before. And what is still more to the credit of the revival, the games of the present day are free from those exhibitions of ill temper and rude manners which too often in the past led to a general quarrel, and made it the *finale* of the exercises of the day.

Another product of remote times, the

SEANACHIE,

or Storyteller, was disappearing in the days of Lady Morgan, and seems now entirely gone. His self-imposed functions were, firstly, to serve as the depository and exponent of all local traditions; and, secondly, to sing or recite at wakes and other popular gatherings old Irish songs and poems, particularly those of Ossian. So familiar was he with his Ossian, that on being asked for a given passage, he would proceed without hesitation to repeat or deliver it, like the young man of whom Lady Morgan speaks (Sketch XIII.), who, at her instance, repeated "in a species of recitative," and "with some degree of epic fire," the account of Fingal's combat with the Danish monarch. If asked to continue, he would run on as long as one liked, like Rory M'Alpine in Scott's "Antiquary," who could repeat the whole book from one end to the other; at least, "if he was allowed whiskey enough, could repeat as long as anybody would hearken to him."

If such performances were more ornamental than useful, and served for little else than to prove a phenomenal memory, which might perhaps be better employed, the *seanachie's* other function of local annalist was of real use in preserving a knowledge of interesting facts, which must otherwise have been lost. John O'Donovan, when preparing his "Tribes and Customs of

Hy-Fiachrach" for the press, got valuable help from the late Shane Ban Tempany, of Tireragh, whom he describes as a living library of local traditions. Though every one could not be a Shane Ban Tempany, there were plenty of others in Tireragh and elsewhere who possessed a good knowledge of the folk lore of the country, acquired, for the most part, on the long winter nights, when the elders and youngsters of the village gathered round some fireside, and passed the time in telling of the days that were gone, and the remarkable deeds that were done in those days. In this way the young learned from the old, and handed on what they learned to those who came after them, so that the tradition was kept up continuously.

After a life nearly as long as Mathusalem's, the Irish *seanachie* is dead and gone, killed by the penny newspaper, which is now the chief informant and teacher of Ireland, as of the rest of the world. Under the new order of things no one talks or thinks of the olden time, all being absorbed in the passing present. The "news of the day" has taken the place of the lore of the past; Balfour and his captives, of Niall and the Nine Hostages; Gladstone's Church and Land legislation, of the enactments of Felim the Lawgiver and Cormack O'Quinn; the Royal Irish, of the Fenian militia; the raids of the moonlighters, of the Pursuit of Diarmaid and Graine; and the multifarious communications of "our own correspondent," of the legends of the saints, and the myths of the "good people." Patriotic proprietors and editors of newspapers are not insensible of the duties devolving on them in the situation thus created, and, accordingly, by devoting much of their space to Irish history and archæology in editorials, in reviews of publications on these subjects, and in reports of transactions connected with them, make ample amends for the extinction of the race of our Shane Ban Tempanys.

CONTRASTS.

In Sketch XII. Lady Morgan draws a graphic picture of the interior of a Tireragh cabin, as it appeared on the occasion of an evening visit paid to it by herself and her friends—an itinerant “musical” tailor seated in the centre of the earthen floor, plying the needle by the light of a rush candle, and singing aloud as he stitched; the younger children squatted round him, engrossed alike with the song, and with the little frieze jackets he was making for them; the eldest brother stretched on some straw near them, with the head of a calf resting on his arm, and “the parent cow slumbering at his feet;” and the smoke, which had no means of escape but the door, so thick that, though it had no effect on the inmates, it obliged the visitors to hurry away. All this is so altered that you would now search Tireragh in vain for the counterpart of the scene.

Petroleum oil, struck for the first time in 1859, has not only banished the rush candle, and the tallow dip, that succeeded it, but has furnished the humblest houses in the county with a lamp, which in the past was an illuminant confined to the mansions of the rich; the ready-made department of our woollen warehouses has spoiled the trade of itinerant tailors, “musical” and other; the sanitary laws, which require that steadings for cattle shall stand apart from dwelling houses, have largely modified the *tender* relations so often existing between cattle and their owners; and if more smoke than is good for the eyes may still be found in a peasant’s or herd’s residence here and there, this nuisance, too, is greatly abated, and will soon be put an end to, by the modern practice of supplying all new houses, big and little, with a suitable chimney.

A corresponding improvement has taken place in the other matters referred to in the “Patriotic Setches.” The scandals, so often witnessed near holy wells, have entirely ceased, and, with the exception of an occasional devotee who still finds aids to piety in the associations of the place, the crowds that thronged them in times past have abandoned them, and betake themselves

now for their devotions to the fine churches and chapels which have been recently erected. The wake-house, far from being the resort of the idle and dissolute, by whom it used to be frequented, is shunned by such persons, since wakes have become what they now are : orderly and solemn meetings of aged and staid people, who pass the night commonly in alternate prayer and becoming conversation. And with the rough and disorderly element, which too often showed itself formerly, eliminated, athletic sports, as they are now carried on under the rules of the Gaelic Athletic Association, are not only a manly and bracing exercise for those engaged in them, but also a school of good manners for both the athletes themselves and the spectators. The chief drawback, in connexion with them, is that the field is confined practically to persons of one religious denomination, instead of being open, as every lover of his country and of all his countrymen should wish, to every young man of the neighbourhood irrespective of party or sectarian consideration. All round, as well as in the points noticed, the present state of things compares favourably with the past, and not alone in Tireragh, to which Lady Morgan limits her remarks, but throughout the whole of the county.

All who are acquainted with the facts will admit that the improvement which has taken place in regard to wells, wakes, and other objects, is due mainly to the action and influence of the Catholic Church. Wells were an occasion of great religious error previously to the arrival of Saint Patrick ; and the *Vita Tripartita* gives an instance of this in one, called "Tobar Finmaighe," which the people honoured as a god.

Trees, too, and stones were sources of superstition among our ancestors, as well as on the Continent, where they often engaged the solicitude of ecclesiastical councils (Baluze, *Conciliorum Nova Collectio* ; Richard, *Analyse des Conciles* ; Labbe, *Collection des Conciles*).

It is a pity that no description is handed down of the stones thus condemned, though they would seem to have been of different kinds, as they are sometimes styled *saxa*, sometimes

petræ, and again *lapides*. The rounded or oval sea stones found at Saint Attracta's well in Killaraght, in the graveyard of Inismurray, in the burying-place of Killerry, on the so-called "altar" in Toomour, and in several other places through the county, are no doubt relics of this widely-extended superstition.

The exact nature of the practices connected with these stones is not known, but judging from what is told of the "Malediction Stones" of Inismurray, it would appear that the stones were manipulated for the purpose either of clearing oneself of a charge, or of fixing one on others, and invoking vengeance for it. It is only a year or two ago that an angry islander of Inismurray, who fancied himself wronged by a person with whom he had some dealing, went to the priests of the parish, and asked them for leave to "turn the stones" on the supposed wrong-doer. In the Bollandist life of St. Kevin of Glendalough (See O'Hanlon, Part 61, p. 41,) there is an account of a man who stole an animal belonging to St. Ligid, and of whom it is said, "*Accessit ad signa sacra ut juraret;*" and the writer cannot help thinking that the *signa sacra* in question are no other than the seventeen sea stones which, after the multitudinous accidents of fourteen or fifteen hundred years, may be still seen, safe and undisturbed, on the "altar" of Toomour, the superstitious veneration of the people serving as their safeguard all this time.

These barbarous and sinful customs, whenever they were introduced, became enormously aggravated about the close of the sixteenth and the earlier years of the seventeenth century, when the Catholic Church was under the ban of the Government, its action paralysed, and its priests in banishment. Other evil practices—drunkenness, magical incantations, keening at wakes and funerals (*ululatus*)—extended widely at the same time; and, in the absence of regular religious ministrations, the country was filled with impostors of all kinds—fortune tellers, soothsayers, "wise men," herb curers, and, godless wretches, who, though laymen, carried about to wells, and fairs, and other scenes of public resort, crosiers, crosses,

bells, and pretended relics ; blessed wells ; imposed hands ; and parodied other ecclesiastical functions and ceremonies—these disorders illustrating well the evils of interfering with the free action of the Church.

Such sacrilegious abuses afflicted the ecclesiastical authorities, who, though unable to appear in public on account of the persecution, managed to hold a Provincial Synod, for the province of Tuam, in some unknown hiding place (*in quodam refugii loco*) on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th January, 1660, denounced those fearful scandals, and concerted measures for their suppression. The blow thus dealt was followed up in other synods, diocesan and provincial, with the result that most of the province of Connaught is now entirely free from the evils in question ; and so it is right to remember that, if the drunken revels and other indecencies formerly prevalent at wakes and funerals have nearly ceased ; if the superstitions connected with wells, trees, and stones have practically disappeared ; if fortune-tellers and other professors of the “ black art ” are no longer heard of ; we are mainly indebted for these blessings to that Synod of 1660, held with such risk to all who took part in it, “ *in quodam refugii loco*.”*

* The following are some of the acts of the Council :—

“Cum ebrietas sit radix multorum malorum, monentur omnes prædicatores et parochi ut acriter invehantur contra potatores, et maxime cogentes alios ad excessivas potationes et immoderates propinationes.

“Prava jurandi consuetudo, blasphemandi, execrandi homines, aut alias creaturas Dæmonibus devovendi ; item maleficia, veneficia, incantationes, pacta Dæmonica, consultationes cum Pythonyssis, Sagis et similibus suspectis personis, item omne genus superstitionis, quales sunt Cruces, Imaginum aut *lapidum collectiones*, orationes supersticiosæ, herbarum curationes, insufflationes, mensurationes, collectiones supersticiosæ herbarum et curationes, cum similibus e medio tollantur ; transgressores vero et eorum participes severe puniantur.

“Prohibentur tripudia, tibicines, symphonix, comissiones et alii abusus in visitatione fontium et aliorum Sacrorum locorum, maxime tempore indulgentiarum.

“Ob temporum injuriam et confusionem irrepsit prava consuetudo inter nos ut quidam laici intuitu lucri soleant circumire cum crucibus, baculis, campanulis, lapillis in reliquiariis, imponentes manus plebi, et benedictionem impertientes quasi more clericorum, aquam benedicentes, &c.; statuit hæc Synodus ut hic abusus aboleatur, et ut minime liceat circumferre incertas reliquias.

“Moneantur omnes ut in Exequiis Catholicorum abstineant ab immoderatis potationibus, commissationibus, tripudiis, lysis et similibus profanis corruptelis injuria temporum introductis, atque item incondito mulierum ululatu; transgressores vero inducantur ut excessivos hujusmodi sumptus seu notabilem eorum partem in Eleemosynam et pro Missis faciendis impendant animabus defunctorum.

“Cohibeantur in quantum fieri potest frequentationes nundinarum et mercaturarum absque gravi necessitate diebus festivis relicto sacro, et rixantes in eisdem puniantur severe ab Ordinariis.”

Ireland is less disgraced at present by superstitions than England, where “Pills made of spiders’ webs are prescribed as a remedy for ague; warts are charmed away by pronouncing a magic formula; evil spirits are exorcized; horse shoes are nailed over doors to avert witches; a belief in fairies, or, as they are called, Pharisees, has not died out; and circular growths of fungus are attributed to them.”—Article On Sussex in *Nineteenth Century*, Aug. 1884.

RETROSPECT.

Whoever studies the history of the county Sligo, even in the imperfect version contained in the preceding pages, will see that society in the county has been always progressive, at least since the time of St. Patrick. There is little known of the state of things which prevailed here, or in other parts of Ireland before the arrival of the saint, though there is good ground for thinking that, in the absence of religion, of letters, and of intercourse with the rest of the world, barbarism and crime must have been general, and that society, if anything worthy of the name existed, must have been in a very archaic state.

And, coming to times subsequent to St. Patrick, it is not easy to reconcile the common opinion, that Ireland was a kind of Paradise for three centuries after its conversion, with the facts recorded in the national annals for that period, where entries of battles, murder, "*jugulatio*," burnings, &c., form the staple of the compilation. No doubt there were eminent saints and servants of God in the county in those days—Saint Molaisse, of Aughris and Innismurray; Saint Nathy, of Achonry; Saint Fechin, of Bille; Saint Aidan, of Cloonoghill and Monasteredan; Saint Attracta, of Killaraght; Saints Osnata, Muadhnata, and Talulla, of Carbury, and several others; but it does not follow from those isolated cases that the county in general was in so very perfect a condition in regard to religion and morality. The primitive Church of Ireland was remarkable for its monastic character, and it would appear that most of the fervent souls of the time betook themselves to religious houses, while outside those abodes of piety, the spirit of the world ruled not a little as before, so that crime may not have been as much checked and diminished among the mass of the population as is commonly supposed.

Bishop Lugid's monastery at Toomour may serve as an illustration of this, for while the greatest piety was practised within

the establishment, we find enormities of all kinds, wholesale murder, robbery, and sacrilege, taking place in the neighbourhood. (See p. 210.) Cardinal Newman, on this principle, explains the co-existence in Ireland, at a later period, of great enlightenment and great ignorance, the enlightenment existing in particular centres, and the ignorance outside. He adds, that this state of things was no disparagement of the Irish monasteries, as, "it is not of the nature of colleges and cloisters to radiate knowledge and manners through a population."

A somewhat similar condition of society to what is here supposed may be found in the county, as in most of Ireland, through all the middle ages. The two antagonistic principles of anarchy and culture were constantly and vigorously at work; the former showing itself in petty wars, raids, and family quarrels; and the latter, chiefly in the multiplication of religious houses and the extension of their influence. It is admitted that the invasions of the Danes and Anglo-Normans introduced new elements of mischief, but it would be a mistake to set down their influence as all evil. Excepting the attack on Innismurray, which did not extend to the mainland, there is nothing to show that the Danes had anything to do with the county, good or bad; and as to the Anglo-Normans, if they wrested the county from the native chiefs and held it for a hundred years, it must not be forgotten that they founded great religious establishments, like the Dominican convent of Sligo; while the castle of Sligo, which Maurice FitzGerald erected, and the other castles erected by the Bourkes through the county, if they helped the invaders to terrorize the inhabitants, served also to diffuse enlarged ideas of architecture and other arts among the natives, and even to bring home to them the necessity of providing some such places for themselves.

We read of many heinous crimes of a private kind that happened in these times, such as the assassination of Teige O'Connor in the castle of Sligo by Donnell O'Connor, with his own hand (see Vol. I., p. 100), and the sacrilegious murder and robbery in the abbey of Drumcliff (see Vol. I., p. 501), but the crying

evil of the period was the reckless wars which were constantly on foot, in which neither age nor sex was spared, in which churches were destroyed with as little scruple as private houses, and in which enormities like those that occurred in Glean Fathroimhe (see Vol. II., p. 145), were often perpetrated. Cathal Oge O'Connor of Sligo was counted the most chivalrous and enlightened chief of his period, and yet, our annalists record of him that he harried both church and territory, and that a couple of months before his death, he not only devastated Meath, but "burned fourteen churches." (Vol. I., p. 94.) Still, under his rule, there was great material progress in and around Sligo; for he built a stone and mortar bridge—one of the first in Ireland—over the river of Ballysadare, and erected houses in stone and wood, which have elicited the warm admiration of all our annalists.

Froude, in his *English in Ireland* (Vol. I., p. 15), writes:—"There has been always a difficulty in understanding how, among a lawless people, the churches and monasteries escaped destruction." It is hard to tell where or how this historian acquired his notions of the conduct of the Irish in regard to their churches. It was not, certainly, in the authentic annals of the country, which witness in every page to the wholesale destruction of those sacred structures by our ancestors. The real difficulty in connexion with this matter is to understand how Christians could burn a church, as they constantly did, with as little scruple as they would burn a barn.

A much better authority on Irish history than Mr. Froude, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, thus discourses on this subject in his Introduction to the second volume of the Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts: "As for the Irish chiefs, they scrupled not to burn churches and cathedrals dedicated to the service of the old religion, with as little compunction as they would have destroyed a Protestant barn or a Protestant sanctuary. An O'Neil in Armagh or a Fitzgerald in Kildare, would have been as little withheld by religious considerations from sparing churches or cathedrals, had it suited his purpose, as Bale of Ossory, or George

Brown of Dublin, would have been tender of a friar's house or the shrine of our Lady at Trim."

The Insurrection of 1641 opened a new epoch of evil on the country. The ten years or so between the beginning of this insurrection, in the last months of 1641, and its close, in 1652, stand out as the most destructive decade through which the country has passed. This seventeenth century, with its monsters of blood and iron, like Sir Frederick Hamilton, and its hypocritical scoundrels of the Titus Oates type, like Jeremiah Jones and Jeremiah Fury, weighed heavier on the county than all the preceding centuries. Sir William Petty, the most clear-headed of political arithmeticians, sets down the loss of life, during the decade mentioned, at the startling figure of 600,000 souls. Though the eighteenth century was more free from wars than any that had preceded, it had its share of the curse in 1798, when the French invasion led to considerable loss of life and property. Competent authorities state that the insurrection of this year was crushed only by an army of 100,000 men, and at an expense of 60,000 lives. A good many men of the county Sligo fell during the campaign started by the French, who landed at Killalla; and the money paid, under the name of compensation, to so called "suffering loyalists," alone amounted to £3,881, 5s. 3d., a sum equal to twice that amount at present.—See Appendix.

This epoch, which opened in 1641, and which may be called the Cromwellian Epoch, lasted down to our own time; the aim of the State, during the period, being to aggrandize the few—the descendants of Cromwell's settlers—at the cost of the many—the mass of the people;—and the means employed for the accomplishment of this gigantic injustice being, first, the sword, and, after the disuse of the sword, the law, and the tyranny practised under the law, by Cromwellian landlords, magistrates, and country gentlemen. It is strange that all this should result, as it has resulted, in the loss of the petted minions of the State, and the gain of the robbed and persecuted body of the people.

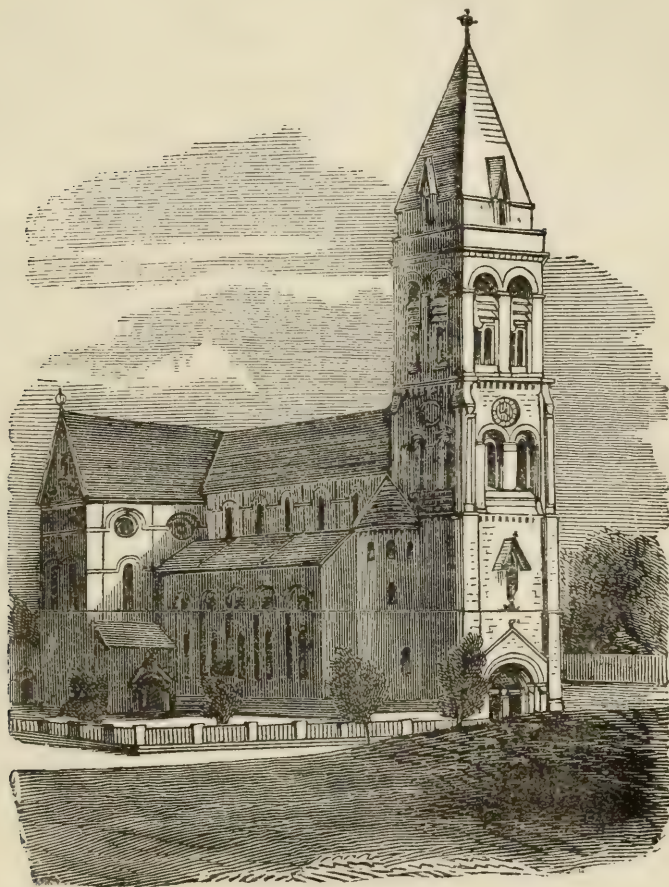
Society then in the county has been always progressing, if with varying velocities. The tide was ever on the flow, though circumstances made it sometimes look as if it were receding. The advancement was never so marked as within the present century. The sword, used so unsparingly and so long, has been returned, it is hoped finally, to the scabbard ; the law is no longer the chief instrument of injustice ; and the tyranny practised by individuals is greatly restricted, if not yet quite abolished. On the other hand the principal elements or factors of progress—RELIGION, EDUCATION, and MATERIAL WELL-BEING—have prevailed all round and hold the field.

RELIGION—taking the word in a wide sense, so as to include the systems of faith and worship of the different local denominations of Christians—was never so prosperous in the county as at the present time. Instead of being degraded or persecuted, as it was about a hundred years ago, when the Presbyterians used to be turned out of the Market House of Sligo to make room for strolling players ; and when the Catholics, after surviving the sword of Cromwell, and the laws of Anne, had to celebrate their rites with fear and trembling in secluded fields or other out-of-the-way places, as if they were felons ; the religion of the one and of the other is now not only free and flourishing, but honoured and respected by all.

Of the many signs and proofs of social progress that surround us, there is none so striking as the activity and energy with which the members of the different religious denominations of the county support their respective churches. There is no occasion to say anything here of the Catholic Church, as the position, which it occupies in the town and county, is known and acknowledged. Without being able to compete with it in numbers, in houses of worship like the stately cathedral and some other churches, or in splendour and solemnity of ceremonial, the other denominations exhibit at least equal zeal in maintaining their different forms of belief and worship.

And this is proved not only, nor so much, by the edifices consecrated by each to the service of its religion, as by the

personal efforts and sacrifices daily made for it. Read the Sligo newspapers and you will find there abundant proofs of what is here stated. There you see the clergy of the different sects trying to satisfy and edify their flocks by supplementing, from time to time, their ordinary service with new special



THE CATHEDRAL OF SLIGO.*

services—"choir services," in which as many as ten choirs, containing hundreds of well-trained voices, take part; "mission services," in which Protestant clergymen, like the members of religious orders in the Catholic Church, give "missions" to the

* Drawn from a photograph by W. F. Wakeman for the Rev. Dr. O'Rorke, Parish Priest, Collooney.

people; "revival services," with which they try to stir up the cold and the tepid, and to fill them with fervour; "harvest home services," in which, while the places of worship are suitably decorated and furnished with specimens of the fruits of the earth, they praise and thank God "for giving the increase;" "midnight or watchnight services" on the 31st of December, the last night of the year, in which, beginning about ten o'clock and lasting till twelve, all present have the happiness of joining in thanksgiving for past, and petitions for future, blessings, and of singing "out the old and singing in the new year;" and various other services, as for confirmation, for ordination, and such like ordinances, rites, or functions.

The contrast between the actual rectors of the late Established Church and their predecessors of eighty or ninety years ago, evidences a great religious advance. Like Martha in the Gospel, the rectors of the early years of the century were "troubled about many things." Most of them were magistrates, and thus implicated constantly in secular business; others, as Rev. William Grove, of Kilmacshalgan and Templeboy,* Rev. James Nelligan, of Kilmacteige, and Rev. Charles West, of Ahamlish, were land agents—an office, then as now, little conducive to a religious frame of mind; while some, like the Rev. Carn Cross Cullen, held high rank in military corps—a position, one would think, still more incompatible than that of magistrate or land agent with the ministry of the Prince of peace.†

* The *Sligo Journal* of December 21st, 1804, contains the following advertisement:—

"NOTICE.

REV. WM. GROVE will be at M'Bride's Hotel on the 4th January next, to receive the rents of the Sligo estate of Chas. Tottenham, Esq., when he hopes to meet the tenants, and requests they will bring with them their last receipts. Dec. 21st, 1804."

† The following Address and Reply appeared in the *Sligo Journal* of August 23rd, 1805:—

Our modern rectors, on the other hand, leaving civil magistracies, land agencies, and military captaincies to laymen, have, with Mary, chosen the "best part," and regard devotion to clerical duty as the "one thing necessary."

The laity on their side exert themselves with corresponding zeal. So diligent are they in the cause, that it would appear as if they were constantly engaged in raising funds for "building," "enlarging," "restoring," "re-modelling," "repairing," or "decorating" "churches" and "schools." In furtherance of such undertakings, young ladies of the first county families figure before the public in *amateur* theatricals, in which, by the way, they acquit themselves in a style that would do credit

"To the Rev. CARN CROSS CULLEN, Captain of the Manorhamilton Corps of Cavalry.

"WE, the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Manorhamilton Corps of Cavalry, beg you to be assured how very sincerely we participate with you on the loss of our much valued and respected Captain.—We, at the same time, are anxious to express how highly gratified we are at your succeeding him, and as a Token of our Esteem and Approbation, beg your Acceptance of a Sword.

"(Signed by Order),

"PATRICK GREGG, Pt. Sergt.

"August 11th, 1805."

"To the Officers, Non-commissioned Officers and Privates of the Manorhamilton Corps of Yeomen Cavalry.

GENTLEMEN,

"THE approbation you are pleased to express at my being appointed to the Honour of commanding you, is highly gratifying to me. I request you to be assured of my Inclination to promote, to the utmost of my power, the welfare of the Manorhamilton Corps, as that Consideration alone induced me to accept the Command of it.—The sword you are pleased to honour me with, I accept with the greatest Pleasure, as an additional Pledge of the Regard you entertain for me.

"I have the Honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your faithful and assured humble Servant,

"CARN CROSS CULLEN,

"Capt. Manorhamilton Cavalry.

"Skreeny, July 12th, 1805."

to trained professionals. Young men help the work with concerts, lectures, debates, recitations, entertainments, and *soirees* of a hundred other kinds.

Bazaars, it need hardly be added, are in frequent requisition. In addition to the two great annual bazaars held in Sligo—one for the Sisters of Mercy, and the other for the County Sligo Protestant Orphan Society—there is hardly a village in the county that has not its local bazaar. So potent are the influences at work, that professional men and public officers, carried away by the fashion of the time, and the exuberance of their own zeal, in the midst of all their urgent engagements and avocations, manage to get up little lotteries or bazaars of their own.

Collection cards are so common that you meet them everywhere—on the road, in shops, at fairs and markets, in the houses of friends, and in your own house, where “pushing” little boys and girls, like drivers of bread vans, bring you the article, just to save you the trouble of looking for it elsewhere. In a word, available agencies of all kinds are set in motion, with the result that everybody, to use an Americanism, is “utilized,” and made to contribute one thing or another—the rich, money; rich and poor, objects for bazaars; the musical, the eloquent, the facetious, their respective gifts in concerts, lectures, and entertainments; paterfamilias, his advice and experience as an organizer; and his pretty and precocious little folks, their incomparable services as ticket touters.

There is one great evil that might result from the entertainments referred to, and more especially from these lectures and debates, if they were not carefully and charitably managed. It is the stirring up of sectarian feeling. The subjects which are more commonly chosen, as St. Patrick, the Armada, the Inquisition, Cromwell, Luther, the Reformation, may, no doubt, be handled so as to do good, without causing harm to anyone, but it is only by avoiding the traditional treatment they receive at the hands of platform spouters, that this can be accomplished.

At present the outside public have not the means of judging

the real character of these lectures from the summaries of them that are sometimes published; for the abstracts may be so manipulated as to leave out the obnoxious parts, perhaps the very passages which were most energetically enforced in the delivery. It is to be hoped that most lecturers would be incapable of this double dealing, and that they would leave these esoteric and exoteric manœuvres to the Pagan philosophers who invented and practised them; but if some unprincipled man, in order to inoculate his juvenile hearers with the anti-Roman rabies, should make use of the denunciation of "Pope and Popery," which is the usual contrivance employed for the communication of the virus, he would be sure to keep his most offensive utterances out of the newspapers. All that need be said here of such a man is, that it might be well for him to reflect on what is said in Proverbs of "him that soweth discord among brethren." The speaker in question might gain from some silly people the reputation of a "sound Protestant," but it is likely he would be regarded by men of sense as a rather *equivocal Christian*.

If let alone and unprovoked, the people of Sligo, without distinction of creed, are inclined to live on friendly terms with one another. In this respect Sligo compares favourably with many other districts. When several districts were disturbed by the doings of the Whiteboys in the latter years of the last century, of the Molly Maguires in 1845, and of the Fenians in 1867, Sligo was as tranquil as if nothing unusual were happening elsewhere. The attitude of the people during the last seven or eight eventful years is highly creditable to them, for though they may have wished well, like others, to the political and economic movements in progress, they took care to avoid the outrages which brought discredit on other places. Except the deplorable tragedy of Monasteredan, and the disagreeable doings in the chapel of Gurteen, and one or two other regrettable occurrences, there was no serious crime in the neighbourhood. This, no doubt, may be due, in some measure, to the moderation of those who had control of the police, and, in large

measure, to the prudence and humanity of the Sheriff, in the discharge of his vexatious duties, but it is mainly referrible to the intelligence and morality of the people themselves, who shrank from crime as a means even for the vindication of rights or the removal of grievances. The man has much to answer for who throws the apple of discord among such a people, be he priest, parson, landlord, or merchant.

And whatever excuse may be alleged, or pretended, for the priest or the parson, who is under official obligation to the section of the population that forms his flock, there can be none for the landlord or merchant who, receiving like rents or commodities from Catholic and Protestant, owes a like return to both. There is as little room for partiality and "respect for persons" in landlord and tenant relations as in religion, so that the landlord who takes the tenants of his own religion to his bosom, and keeps the others at an arm's length, violates one of the most elementary of his duties.

This is bad enough, but the persons in question are open to a still weightier charge, that of hindering and preventing the union of Irishmen. To this, considering the place they occupy in their respective districts, their example necessarily leads. *Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis*; and when those connected with him, or depending in any way on him, see the local magnate systematically excluding Catholics from friendly relations, they conclude that the surest way to gain his favour is to imitate his exclusiveness. Accordingly their convivialities are tabooed to Catholics. One can understand why meetings for religious purposes should be, and meetings for political purposes may be, exclusive, but the line should be drawn here, and should not be extended so as to include gatherings for social pleasures, such as a tea or a dance, which, though coming off in public places, and with admission by priced ticket, are becoming in some quarters as exclusive as a select vestry, or an Orange lodge.

While such one-sidedness is practised, the country can never prosper. Under this system, Protestants and Catholics would live together just as the Danes and Irish formerly did, side by

side, it is true, but without ever amalgamating. Whoever then aids in perpetuating this system, be he landlord, landlord's agent, merchant, or, as sometimes happens, public official, incurs no common responsibility ; for though the man whom the shoe pinches may think rack-renting a greater evil, those who take a more comprehensive and disinterested view, will set down this fostering of divisions among the people as the greatest of social crimes.

The example thus set by men of position is more far-reaching than they would wish. In the interdependence that exists between the different sections of the people, the influence which affects one section, is sure, sooner or later, directly or indirectly, to affect the rest, though, perhaps, in a different manner. Thus the scandalous partiality of a landlord for his co-religionists tells on others in a way that may prove inconvenient to him and the country ; for it drives many, either in self-defence or in retaliation, into combinations which too often are formed on the principle of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." For this there is perhaps no justification, if there is some palliation ; but if the peasant, the mill operative, the farm labourer, the hodman, is blameworthy for such proceedings, how much more inexcusable is the landlord, or other gentleman of position, who sets the bad example, and to whom his education, position, and the charities of civilization should have taught better things.

Every one who feels the laudable ambition of serving his country, in however humble a way, should exert himself to put an end to the estrangement of our countrymen from one another, and to substitute the fusion and mutual friendship of all Irishmen, whether they be Protestants or Catholics, of Saxon or of Celtic descent. Let people be as fervent as they may in the profession and practice of their respective religions—and the more fervent they are, the better for the country as well as for themselves ;—but let them never forget that patriotism is a religious as well as a natural virtue, and that it binds one to love and help all one's countrymen without distinction of creed, class, or race. Fair play to all, partiality to none, should be the motto of every genuine patriot.

There are some silly people who think, if our English and Scotch settlers took themselves away to-morrow, bag and baggage, the country would be well rid of them. This is not the opinion of those whose opinion carries weight. There is room enough among us for them all. Sensible people would count the day a bad one for Ireland on which it lost the English and Scotch elements of the population.

Let us by all means retain and cherish the genuine "old stock"—our O'Connors, O'Haras, McDonoghs, and the rest, but let us welcome, rather than reject, an infusion of new blood. What is wanted is an amalgamation of existing elements, and not an elimination of any of them; and if the assimilation could be effected, the more numerous the constituents the better, as in the case of the great English nation, which, to use the words of Cardinal Newman, is "the composite of a hundred stocks."

EDUCATION, though it has not made as much progress as religion, nor perhaps as much as it ought, is in a fairly satisfactory condition. As to primary education, every parish in the county is well supplied with National schools, and in the matter of secondary, St. John's College, Sligo, Mr. Eades' School, Sligo, and Primrose Grange School, Knocknarea, leave little to be desired. It is to be regretted that there is no technical or art education to be had in the county, and this want may explain how it is that Sligo men do not come to the front in the battle of life as often as the inhabitants of other Irish towns of similar size and population.

The MATERIAL WELL-BEING of the county is in a much more advanced state than it ever was before. The mass of the people are now very differently housed, fed, and clothed from what they used to be in times past. Mud cabins, so common formerly in the county, and not uncommon even in the town, have nearly disappeared; and stone houses, consisting of one apartment for the family and the cattle of the family, are hardly to be found—animals being now kept in some kind of separate stabling.

A like change for the better has taken place in the people's

food. No one would put up in these days with the potatoes and salt, which not unfrequently formed the poor man's meal in the first years of the current century ; nor with the potatoes and salt herring, or potatoes and buttermilk, which, more commonly, served about the same time for the dinner and the breakfast of labourers and their families. You might travel now through the whole county without meeting an instance of the "poor man's meal," as described by Arthur Young something more than a century ago :—"The potato basket placed on the floor, the whole family upon their hams around it, devouring a quantity almost incredible, the beggar seating himself to it with a hearty welcome, the pig taking his share as readily as the wife, the cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, the cur, the cat, and perhaps the cow—and all partaking of the same dish."

With this picture under the eye one can appreciate the progress that has been made as well in regard to the meal itself as to the serving-up of it. If the potato forms still the chief article, the *piece de resistance*, of the poor man's dinner, the sweet milk, the bit of butter, the occasional egg, or the slice of American bacon which accompanies it, gives it a palatableness and nutritiousness which it lacked in the past ; while the breakfast of bread, butter, and tea, and the supper of stirabout, or of bread and milk, give the diet of the day the variety so conducive to health and enjoyment.

The table and the table things—appointments is too big a word for the occasion—indicate still better than the fare the progress made. The humblest cabin in the county contains in these days a small table of some kind, on which a coarse delf dish and a couple of plates do duty for the basket of Arthur Young's time. Though the beggar is still welcome to a share of what is going at meal hours, the pig and the cow, the dog and the cat, and the rest of them, do not take their places now as commensals with the members of the family, who no longer push the kindness they still feel for their cattle to the revolutionary length of equality and fraternity. It is pleasant to

be able to report, for the satisfaction of the æsthetic, that the ungraceful fashion of "resting on the hams" is, except at the pic-nics of the gentry, gone out quite as much as the recumbent posture of the old Romans at their meals.

Improvement in the wearing apparel of the lower classes is as marked as the changes for the better in their houses and their food. Instead of the "concrete of glutinous rags," which, according to John Hill Burton in his *History of Scotland*, formed the "national costume of the Irish peasant" in the beginning of the century, the humblest countrymen are now clad in fair suits of frieze or tweed.

In looking back then on the march of events in the county, there is no great reason to complain, as it has been, on the whole, and, generally, in a forward direction. While the town, with the adjoining district, has passed, as we have seen, through several phases, each new phase has proved in the long run, if not at first, an advance. To say nothing of the state of things which existed anterior to the arrival of the English in the district, Sligo in the time of the Fitzgeralds was a mere camp for the foreigners employed in fighting against the local Irish chiefs. Under the O'Connors it was a Celtic chieftainship like those that flourished at the same time in Scotland. In the days of Cromwell and the Commonwealth it was a garrison for keeping hold of the country; and it is this garrison which developed through time into the oligarchy of Cromwellian landlords, who have been the virtual rulers of the county for more than two hundred years, doing with its inhabitants pretty much as they liked in the meantime.

There is no occasion to be a seer to be able to tell that this latest social phase is fast passing away, and is, at the moment, only a simulacre or ghost of what it once was. Undermined by Mr. Gladstone's Church and land legislation; discredited by revelations in the law courts, as in the case of Lord Clanrickarde; and looked on with aversion by both legislature and the public, "Cromwellian landlordism" is just now in the condition of the barren fig-tree, and the order, which is already

on the lip, must soon go forth, "Cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?" Statesmen and politicians lie under weighty responsibilities in connexion with this new social change; and it is the duty of those who are neither statesmen nor politicians, but who wish well to all their fellow countrymen, to hope and pray that the revolution in progress, for revolution it is, will be carried out in peace, and in conformity with both divine and human law.

This is not the place to forecast the combinations and figures which the next shift of the political kaleidoscope will bring to view in the county. There is good reason, however, for thinking that the coming phase of society will be a great advance on those that preceded, especially as far as the body of the people is concerned. Judging by what we read in the leading organs of public opinion, the great object of everybody at present appears to be to ameliorate the condition of the masses. As it is with this aim, and in this spirit, political problems are now studied, large modifications of local government advocated, and sweeping measures in regard to the tenure and ownership of land recommended, a vast improvement in both the civic and the rural economy of Sligo, as of other counties, seems certain. In these circumstances, though we cannot tell the specific changes that shall be accomplished, we know their direction and tendencies, and, knowing this, we are sufficiently warranted in believing that, on the one hand, they will be free from the dominant evils of the past—the SWORD, UNJUST LAWS, and the TYRANNY OF INDIVIDUALS, OR OF A CLASS; and that, on the other, they will foster and safeguard the priceless blessings of RELIGION, EDUCATION, and the MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF THE SUFFERING CLASSES—*quod bonum, felix, faustumque sit.*

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF SLIGO CHIEFS.



O'CONNOR SLIGO.



O'HARA.



O'RORKE.



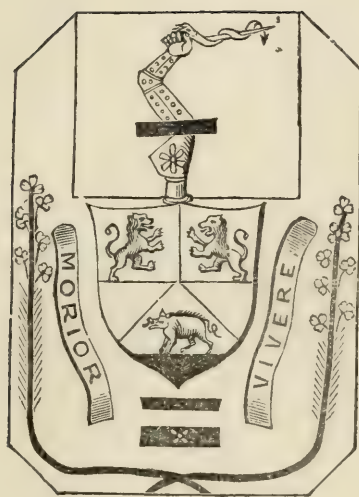
O'HEALY.



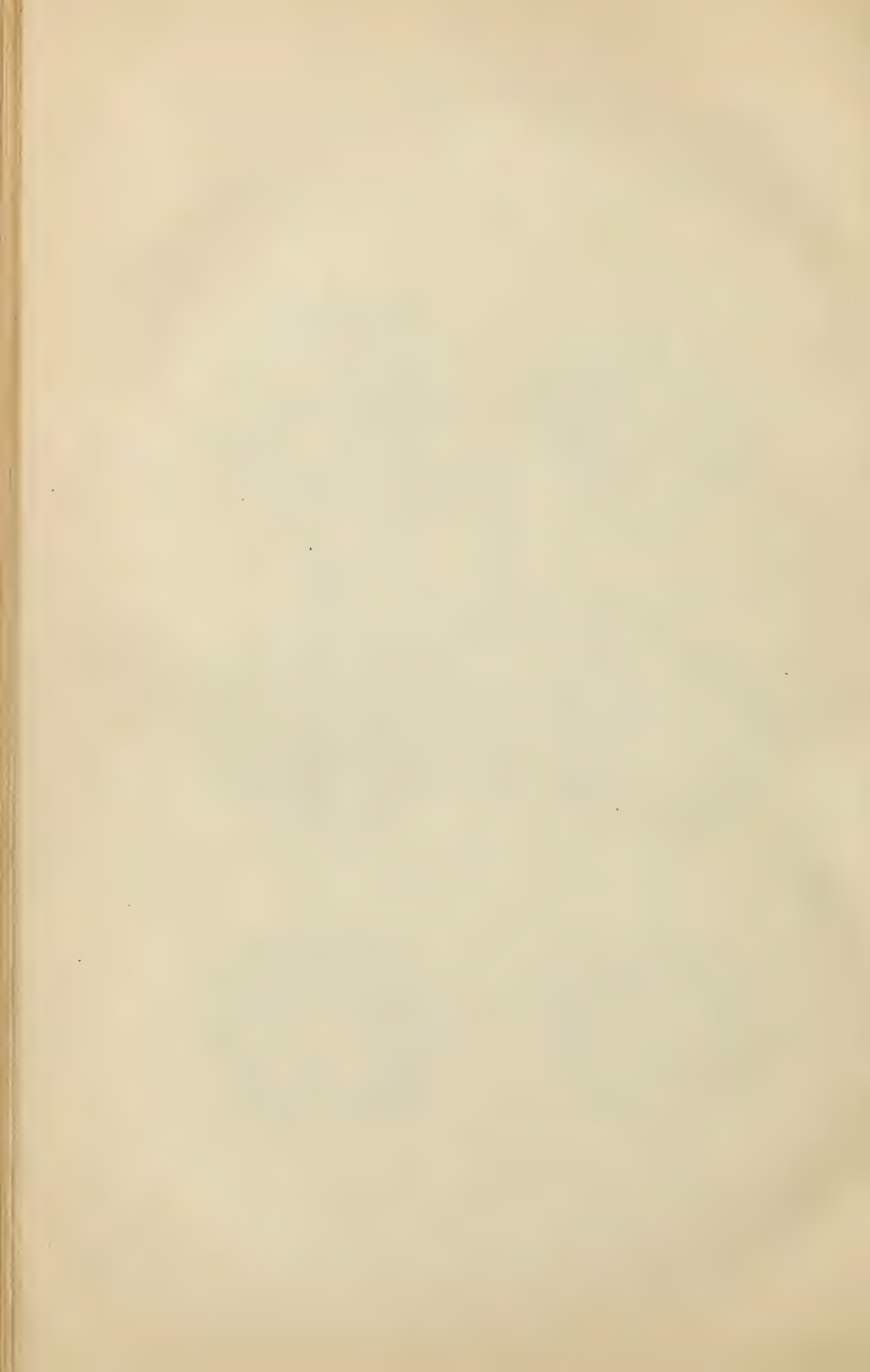
O'DOWD.



MC.SWEENY.



MC.DONOGH.



APPENDIX.

I.

(See Vol. I., pp. 376-7.)

This List of Suffering Loyalists contains the names of the County Sligo claimants for compensation in 1798, with the sums awarded, and the Minutes of the Court in cases where no compensation was allowed.

	£	s.	d.
1 William White, Woodfield	30	0	0
2 James Dunlevy, of Ballygawley. After examining him and his son, Morgan Dunlevy, on oath—claim rejected, “himself being a disaffected person,—and not having proved his claim”—			Rejected.
3 John Armstrong, of Tullymore—claim postponed			Postponed.
4 Robert Reed, of Ardnasbrack	5	3	0
5 Martin Brennan, of Knocktubber	6	16	6
6 John McDonogh, of Collooney—“his claim not within our cognizance”—			Rejected
7 Wm. Evans, Cunghill	7	19	3
8 Wm. Fenton, Dromore—claim postponed			Postponed.
9 Wm. Conboy, Ballintogher—claim postponed			Postponed.
10 Mary Farrell, Collooney	18	0	9
11 James Armstrong, Rathosay	7	11	4
12 Michael Haran, Glan—“his claim should be rejected, having no certificate of his loyalty, nor satisfactory proofs”			Rejected.
13 Charles Maguire, Ballintubber	1	10	0
14 John Armstrong, Rathosay	6	0	3
15 Abraham Fenton, Tyreragh	63	15	8
16 George Stokes, Coolnacur	12	3	9
17 Robert Kivlegan, Collooney—claim postponed			Postponed.

	£	s.	d.
18 David Rutledge, Carrowmore—"not within our jurisdiction."			
19 Daniel McKim, Ballykilcash	3	12	0
20 John Thompson, Killoran	7	5	0
21 Patrick Tiernan, Shancough—"informal, there not being any Certificate from the resident clergyman."			
22 James Armstrong, Dunnahentra	3	0	0
23 Michael Hayle, Easky—"claim to be rejected, he having prevaricated in his evidence, and over-charged" ,			Rejected.
24 Patrick Phibbs, Leitrim	9	0	0
25 John Craven, Woodfield	10	4	9
26 Ingram Williams, Altitalure	6	16	6
27 Robert Broder, Cloonsallagh.	12	10	3
28 Robert M'Kim, Collooney	72	19	10
29 John Low, Collooney	31	12	0
30 Adam Powel, Loughborough	20	0	0
31 Thomas Atkinson, Lacken—postponed			Postponed.
31 Thomas Martin, Dunmoran—postponed			Postponed.
32 Thomas Church, Coolany	22	10	3
33 John Armstrong's claim resumed	17	1	3
34 Thomas Atkinson's claim resumed	9	9	0
35 Roger Dodwell, Esq.	79	10	0
36 Robert Kivleghan	4	1	0
37 Wm. Hamilton	85	16	8
38 Charles Wood, Esq.—claim postponed			Postponed.
39 Robert Leach—claim postponed			Postponed.
40 James Simpson, Tullaghan	28	0	0
41 Joseph Kivleghan, Frenchford	6	0	0
42 William Harrison, Frenchford	7	18	0
43 Patrick Kivleghan, Frenchford	11	16	6
44 John Grayhan, Rathmoney—"are of opinion that from the known bad character of himself and his witness, not entitled to any compensation whatever, and reject his claim"			Rejected.
45 Elizabeth Ormsby, Coolany	62	8	8

			£	s.	d.
46	Charles Wood, Esq., Chapelfield	.	158	12	0
47	Thomas Martin's claim resumed	.	122	12	0
48	Rev. Isaac Dodd, Kingsfort	.	9	16	4
49	James Conelly, Collooney	.	20	0	0
50	Wm. Scott, Carrowdurneen	.	57	15	0
51	Wm. Fenton's claim resumed	.	7	8	4
52	Jacob Martin, Keighroe	.	16	8	3
53	John Scott, jun., Carrowdurneen	.	13	1	4
54	Thomas Scott, Ardnaglass	.	9	4	0
55	Francis Hill, Carrownapull	.	3	8	3
56	James Scott, Carrowdurneen	.	8	18	6
57	Robert Rutledge, Knockahullen	.	3	8	3
58	Henry Meredith, Tubbercurry	.	17	0	0
59	Patrick Moore, Corkhill	.	80	0	0
60	Wm. Burroughs, Carrowcashell	.	16	0	0
61	George Routledge, Killeens—"from the prevarication of his witnesses, and from the whole of the business, not entitled to any compensation whatever"	.			Rejected.
62	Thomas Clarke, Ardabrone	.	3	16	5
63	Wm. Higgins, Carrowdurneen	.	5	0	0
64	Charles Ormsby, Ardnaree	.	77	10	4
65	Mary Dunbar, Dooneane—"has proved her claim, but we recommend security to be had that the children of her late husband be secured in the above claim, as she now lives with a noted rebel"	.	14	10	0
66	Frances Armstrong, widow, of Bochane	.	17	13	3
67	James McKim, Grangemor	.	11	11	9
68	Charles Beatty, Lugdoon	.	9	0	3
69	Edward Simpson, Ballisodare	.	14	15	9
70	Patrick Coulter, Ballinfull	.	10	16	1½
71	Peter Rutledge, Knockahullen	.	9	2	0
72	John Smith, Quiguboy	.	48	5	7½
73	Thomas Fawcett, Finnid	.	92	0	0
74	John Scott, Ballyholan	.	127	3	7½
75	Margaret Joint, Ballyglass	.	89	11	0
76	George Smith, Carrowhubbuck	.	46	3	0

			£	s.	d.
77	Robert Walton, Cuignashee	.	49	11	10½
78	James Townley	.	4	10	5
79	John Fawcet, Quiguboy	.	6	7	1
80	Henry Fawcet, Park	.	18	13	5
81	Robert Atkinson, Easky	.	102	12	4
82	Robert Smyth, Park	.	34	19	4
83	Richard Smyth, Park	.	8	13	10
84	Margaret Bourns, Dooneen	.	7	2	4
85	Thomas Strong, Ardaboley	.	17	12	8
86	Margaret Mallon, Killeenduff	.	18	4	0
87	John Strain, Quiguboy	.	10	12	0
88	Nathaniel Walton, Iceford	.	25	0	0
89	Arthur Lewis, Easky	.	9	0	0
90	Sarah Bourns, Scormore	.	9	17	6
91	Henry Atkinson, Cabragh.	.	9	16	5½
92	John Fawcet, Park	.	4	13	1
93	Wm. Nicholson, Ardnaree	.	5	2	4½
94	Wm. Atkinson, Cabragh	.	22	12	4
95	Anthony Bell, Ardvalley—"Upon the whole of the claim we are of opinion that his claim should be rejected, for if he done his duty as a loyal man, he would not have suffered any loss."				
		.			Rejected.
96	George Reed, Ardnaree	.	46	19	5
97	Edward Wallace, Easky	.	27	0	0
98	John Atkinson, Cabragh	.	9	0	0
99	Rodger Smyth, Sligo	.	96	17	9
100	Anne Rutledge, otherwise Ormsby, Killeens	.	93	14	10½
101	John Townley, Parke	.	10	0	0
102	John Moore, Ardnaree	.	4	19	9
103	Wm. Patton, Belville	.	5	14	3
104	George Wright, Dooneen	.	7	11	2
105	Wm. Burnes, Park	.	3	17	2
106	Robert Armstrong, Oughal	.	36	5	11
107	James Fawcet, Donahantra	.	17	0	0
108	Bart. Kean, Ardnaree	.	13	8	3
109	James Smyth, Lachencahill	.	84	18	4
110	John Armstrong, Ballymeay	.	9	0	0

	£	s.	d.
111 James Wallace, Ballymeeny . . .	13	2	9
112 Henry Kearen, Frankford . . .	72	5	6
113 Wm. Magee, Ballyglass . . .	12	4	0
114 John Brown, Finnid . . .	12	16	7
115 John Atkinson, Dooneen . . .	7	0	6
116 Patrick Glochane, Rawmeel . . .	11	11	8
117 Charles Cavanagh, Rawmeel—"Upon the whole of the claim of Charles Cavanagh, we are of opinion that his claim should be rejected, not believing him a loyalist" . . .			Rejected.
118 Michael Scott, Doonowla . . .	5	18	3
119 James Shannon, Carrowparden . . .	1	19	4½
120 Matthew Shannon, Carrowparden . . .	5	10	0
121 James Earlis, Gaddenstown—"His claim should be rejected, not thinking him a loyal person" . . .			Rejected.
122 James Greer, Dooneen . . .	5	12	7
123 Adam Wilson, Carrowreagh . . .	3	14	7
124 Joseph Wilson, Carrowreagh . . .	1	15	7
125 John Dempsey, Rathdonnell . . .	4	11	0
126 George Morrison, Carrowreagh . . .	3	7	0
127 John Connelly, Ballymeeny . . .	11	13	2
128 Wm. Mayle, Ardnaree . . .	17	0	0
129 Antony Keary, Stokane . . .	17	17	6
130 Patrick McKeal, jun., Newtown . . .	8	6	10
131 Thomas Gilgan, Fortland . . .	5	13	9
132 Patrick McKeal, Newtown . . .	17	19	2½
133 Robt. Atkinson, Ballybeg . . .	48	18	10
134 Thos. Rutledge, Knockacullen . . .	16	3	8
135 Thos. Robinson, Cloonageen . . .	45	10	0
136 Robt. Leech—claim resumed—"Having consider- ably overcharged, is entitled to no compensation whatever, and therefore we reject his claim" . . .			Rejected.
137 Oliver Dodd, of Kingsfort—claim postponed . . .			Postponed.
138 Owen Keary, Teretick . . .	4	0	0
139 James Hart, Ballygrahan . . .	3	0	0
140 John Grove, Carrowcar . . .	19	4	9
141 Francis Morgan, Corranrush . . .	8	15	9
142 James Ferguson, Rathurlish . . .	9	3	4

	£	s.	d.
143 James Shaw, Grangemor,	17	1	0
144 James Walker, Cartron	19	11	1½
145 Matthew White, Larkhill	9	1	3½
146 Matthew Giblin, Carrowdurneen	1	15	0
147 John Mulveagh	2	0	0
148 John Connelly, Collooney	7	7	6
149 James Morton, Pullaheeny	135	17	5
150 John Scott, jun., Carrowdurneen	1	0	0
151 David Bourke, Culleens	22	15	0
152 William Hopps, Collooney	30	0	0
153 Michael William, Coray	27	10	3
154 Wm. McCleery	4	18	4
155 James Wood, Esq., Leekfield	26	19	7
156 Bridget Knox, Ardnaree	16	0	0
157 Henry Morton, Ardnaree	36	0	0
158 Wm. Dunbar, Rathbane	12	6	3
159 Richd. Walsh, Scormore	4	11	2
160 Samuel Fitzpatrick, Iceford	5	17	9
161 Robt. Greer, Dooneen	9	7	2
162 Andrew Bourns, Scormore	7	11	2
163 Late Rev. Oliver Dodd	27	15	9½
164 Bridget Greer	15	0	0
165 Matthew Bourns, Scormore	9	0	0
166 John Murray, Ardnaree	20	0	0
167 Winifred Dogherty, Collooney	3	19	1½
168 Wm. Foster, Collooney	37	0	0
169 Wm. Wood, Sligo	92	11	1
170 John Ormsby, Ballymeeny	4	0	0
171 Wm. Flannelly, Killrusheighler	6	0	0
172 Wm. McKinly, Carrowhubbuck	14	0	0
173 Mary Ormsby, Ballymeeny	2	0	0
174 John Caffry, Leffony	22	0	0
175 James Ginly, Tourneens	4	12	8
176 John Dunken, Pollabracca	3	3	3
177 Wm. Conboy, Ballintigh	17	0	0
178 Michl. McDonnell, Easky—" His claim should be rejected, as we don't believe he suffered for his loyalty "			Rejected.

	£	s.	d.
179 Thomas Sheridan, Carranagap—"Don't believe he suffered on account of his loyalty" . . .			Rejected.
180 Wm. Power, Ardnaree	4	6	10½
181 Francis Long, Ballynagraugh	3	8	3
182 Patrick Mullarkey, Ballynagraugh	6	0	0
183 James Quinn, Ballynagraugh	4	11	0
184 John Naney, Ballynagraugh	4	0	0
184 (<i>sic</i>) Thomas Shannon, Rinroe	3	8	3
185 Arthur Steen, Scurmores	11	0	0
186 Thos. McCarrick, Coolany	3	0	0
187 John Shannon, Forgetown	2	8	0
188 Elizabeth Tully, Ardnaree	5	0	0
189 Thomas Carroll, Ardnaree	59	0	0
190 James Martin, ———	6	8	4
191 Francis Beolan, Tully	6	10	0
192 Charles Magarahan, Mullafin—rejected—"he hav- ing <i>considerably</i> overcharged			Rejected.
193 Elinor Lynn, Finid	2	16	10½
194 Francis Kirkwood, Killalla	41	17	0
195 Andrew Ferguson, Leafony	2	16	10
196 Thomas Keary, Knockowen	9	7	6
197 John Finan, Ardnaree			
Total . . .	£3881	5	3½

APPENDIX No. II.

(See Vol. I., pp. 178-9.)

The following Census (printed now for the first time), giving the number of inhabitants, English and Irish, in the townlands, parishes, and baronies of the county, together with the names of the Tituladoes, shows the desperate state to which the population of Sligo, town and county, was reduced in 1659, near the close of the Cromwellian regime.

COUNTY OF SLIGOE.

BARONY OF CARBURY.

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish
Aghamlish	Sligoe Towne	488	Humphrey Booth, gent. Rowland Thomas, gent. Henry Crafford, gent.	130	358
	Ballyconnell	8		2	6
	Lislarry	3			3
	Shrehidagh	13			13
	Grange	27	Thomas Soden, gent.	2	25
	Monidualt	2			2
	Carne	7		2	5
	Cliffney	9			9
	Cryickeelee	16			16
	Greenimore	9			9
	Mullaghmore	6			6
	Bunduff	24			24
	Mardneglasse	7			7
	Killsard	21			21
	Derilehan	16			16
Drumcliffe	Cloonergo	4			4
	Inismores	3	Philip Sulevane, gent.		3
	Dunawna	17			17
	Ballyconnell	8			8
	Ballyknocke	10			10
	Dunfuard	10		4	6
	Ballynagallagh	9			9
	The Rosses	28		2	26

BARONY OF CARBURY—*continued.*

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish.
Drumcliffe— con.	Ballytemple	10	Charles Colles, Esq.	6	10
	Ardtermion	}			23
	Ballymolury				
	Cloandelrar	31			25
	Coille Ruala	8			8
	Rahaberny	18			18
	Dunally	20			20
	Gortnagrelly	7			7
	Glan	13			13
	Cloonin	6	6		
	Court and Finid	17	Roger Parke, gent.	2	15
	Drumcliffe	17		4	13
	Ballygilgan	13	13		
	Culadruman	6	6		
	Castle Garan	8	8		
	Monananeen	12	12		
	Lisananorus	6	6		
	Aghagan	3	3		
	Bradcolline	55	Thomas Griffith, gent.	4	51
	Ballencarthy	24		2	22
	Kantogher	9		9	
	Maghergillernew	6	Anthony Ormsby, gent.	2	4
	Lishadoill	23		23	
	Cargin	20		2	18
	Ballinternan	11		2	9
	Lismarkie	16		6	10
	Calgagh	12		2	10
	Faght qur.	12	Thomas Osborne, gent.		12
	Shanoonoghter	5		2	3
	Shanoone Iegher	6		2	4
	Maghercarnass	16		7	9
	Anagh	214		26	188
			William Tod, gent.		
			Henry Nicholson, gent.		
			Thomas Ormsby, gent.		
			Manus Lenaghan, gent.		

Principal Irish Names and their Number in Carbury.

Bryan . . .	7	McGwyre . . .	4
O'Connor . . .	17	Gallagher . . .	8
Canughan . . .	5	McGara . . .	4
McDonogh . . .	6	Gilconnell . . .	6
Finy . . .	11	O'Hart . . .	34
Gillgan . . .	6	O'Higgin . . .	5
Gillin and Gillan	9	Kelly . . .	10
McGuan . . .	11	Martin . . .	7

In Barony of Carbry, 211 English, 1,187 Irish—Total, 1,398.

BARONY OF LEYNE.

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish.
Achonry	Belary	62	Captain Edmond Wood, gent.	6	56
	Moineagh	16		4	12
	Coillcaner	8			8
	Cloonleaucoil	19			19
	Carryunnane	8			8
	Rahmagorra	19			19
	Rahscanlane	18			18
	Ballencurry	11			11
	Curry & Garrywane	26			26
	Cashall	35			35
	Dougharne	37			37
	Maclagha	22			22
	Magheranoir	17	Edward Poole, gent.	2	15
	Ougham	19		3	16
	Aghonry	14			14
	Muckalta	28			28
	Carrowcarragh	25	Thomas Rosevill, gent.		25
	Tully Hugh	18		4	14
	Cungall	14			14
	Coorte Abbey	19			19
	Cashall	8			8
	Carrownedin	10		1	9
	Cloonderar	7			7
	Cloonacrivy	16			16
	Carrowcallue	6			6
	Cloonbanue	14			14
	Leatrim	12			12
	Dromore	10			10
	Carrowneagh	26			26
	Molane	28			28
	Tullyvaly	13			13
	Sessucomane	14			14
	Sessugarry	19			19
	Sessumas	62		4	58
Kill McTeige	Benana	22			22
	Colrecoile	12			12
	Binagh	11			11
	Tullanagglog	12			12
	Gorterslin	13			13
	Knockbreak	16			16
	Cladagh	20			20
	Kill McTeige	32			32
	Tullamoy	4			4
	Kincolly	6			6
	Glenvee	22			22
	Carrowneagh	6			6
	Cloongaragh	7			7
	Castlecaragh	17			17
	Drinine	9			9
	Rooes	21		6	15

BARONY OF LEYNE—*continued.*

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladotes' Names.	English	Irish.
Killvarnett	Templehouse	12			12
	Carrowentawa	8		4	4
	Munuossane	8			8
	Claragh	16			16
	Munuossar	9		2	7
	Anaghmore	7			7
	Edernin	11			11
	Finlogh	4		2	2
	Anaghbeg	9			9
	Ardcreeochter	11			11
	Killvarnett	8			8
	Ragraine	4			4
Ballyossadara (Half Parish)	Keltyliny	15			15
	Karrownegirath	19		11	8
	Coany	8		4	4
	Abytowne	16		4	12
	Killinemonogh	8			8
	Cortawnagh	23		7	16
	Killinbridge	9			9
	Killinbridge again	5			5
	Billy	16		2	14
	Lognamakin	23		3	20
	Ballyassadare	13		3	10
	Doomderig	9		4	5

Principal Irish Names and their Number in Leyne.

O'Brenane . . .	17	Gallagher . . .	40
Brenagh . . .	8	Hara and O'Hara	15
Bourk . . .	6	O'Higgin . . .	11
Conellan . . .	6	McHenry . . .	5
Corkran . . .	6	Kelly . . .	8
Conelly . . .	6	McLenany . . .	9
McDonell . . .	5	O'Mullinially . .	7
O'Duhy . . .	5	McManus . . .	6
McDonogh . . .	4	McMurray . . .	5
Dogherty . . .	7	Mullarkey . . .	5
McEnchae . . .	8	Roney and Reynay	8
O'Finagan . . .	5	McSwyne . . .	7
O'Fahy and Farihy	6	McStayne . . .	8
McGwyre . . .	6	McTeire . . .	5

Persons in Leyne, 76 English, and 1,105 Irish. Total, 1,181.

BARONY OF CORRAN.

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladotes' Names.	English	Irish.
Imlaghfada	Lishanany more	12	William Webb, Esq.	14	12
	Cloonagain	6			2
	Emlafada	4			4
	Corhuber	9			6
	Cargagh	40			34
	Ballymote	112			98
	Dorin	8			8
	Ardnaglasse	13			13
	Cloonamanagh	12			12
	Clonyne	6			6
	Carownaclooda	24	Francis King, Esq.	5	24
	Rathdowney	28			23
	Ballybrenan	24			24
	Ardconnell	10			10
	Portinshy	15			15
	Emlaghnaghten	10			10
Kilturrow	Ballyfay	18			18
	Knockaylor	6			6
	Rabane	8			8
	Kilterrow	13			13
	Ogham	15			15
	Ballindow	15			15
Cloonoghill	Bunanadan	30	Timothy Howes, gent.	4	26
	Ballinvally	19			19
	Collere	17			17
	Clooneoghill	13			13
	Cloonimeehan	8			8
	Againa	6		4	2
	Ballinaglogh	13			13
	Carewreagh	7			7
	Knockanurhar	14			14
	Lislea	2			2
Killoshahy	Ballenspur	13	Richd. Meredith, gent.	6	7
	Ballylonahan	13			7
	Ballintrohan	13			13
	Runelaghta	11			11
	Killoshalvey	8			8
	Clunecumry	6			6
	Clunnagh	6			6
	Cloonbunagh	12			12
	Cluneen	5			5
	Thawnaghmore	3			3
	Collnahary	4			4
Drumratt		14			14
	Rathmolin	10		3	10
	Knockgrane	9			9
	Ardlaherly	3			3
	Cloonenacladry	10			10
	Liscoway	11			8
	Clunesalbaly	20			20
	Knockbrach	20			20

BARONY OF CORRAN—*continued.*

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Titulados' Names.	English	Irish.
Killmurrán	Kinchurm	20	John Duke, gent., John Geale, gent.	6	14
	Cnocmonagh	13	Donnell Conellan, gent.		13
	Cloonlurgo	8	John Clifford, gent.	2	6
	Durley	16	Edward Tibb, gent.	2	14
	Drumfin	4			4
	Ardrea	4	Henry Bierast, gent.	2	2
	Lacahaky	4			4
	Thomune	10			10
	Kilmurrin	9			9
	Clunegallell	14	Robert Duke, gent.		14
Tumour	Dunemigin	16	John Houlder, gent.	2	14
	Levalley	24			24
	Ballinascaragh	13		2	11
	Drumnegrangy	40			40
	Thumore	8		2	6
	Roscribb	38		2	36
	Cnockloch	6	Robert King, gent.	1	5
	Templevaney	68			68
	Carrowreagh	15			15
	Cloonecaher	8			8
	Lorga	8			8
	Thrinemore	12			12
	Morhy	21			21

Principal Irish Names and their Numbers in Corran.

Brenane . . .	12	O'Gara . . .	6
O'Cunane . . .	5	O'Heiver . . .	5
Conellan . . .	5	O'Horchoy . . .	9
Conor . . .	5	O'Healy . . .	13
McDonogh . . .	30	O'Kerin . . .	6
O'Dacy . . .	5	Mullronifin . . .	16
McDier . . .	5	McSwyne . . .	6
O'Fluen . . .	10	O'Scanlan . . .	19
Gillelorin . . .	7	Trumble . . .	8
McGilltrick . . .	8	Tanist . . .	6

Persons in Corran, 76 English, 1,031 Irish. Totall, 1,107.

HALFE BARONY OF CULAVIN.

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish.
Killaragh	Rossmoyle	19			19
	Lesgalen	31			31
	Sexifina	71			71
Killfry	Killfry	16	Henry Tifford, gent.		16
	Cloonlahkeene	31			31
	Ratharmon	15			15
	Carrownorclare	5			5
	Ardsorine	7			7
	Killaragh	9			9
	Clogher	8			8
	Tawneymucklagh	23			23
	Moygara	38			38
	Mullaghroe	34			34
Totall, 307					307

The totall in Halfe Barony of Culavin, 307 ; that is, 3 English, and 304 Irish.

BARONY OF TIRERAGH.

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish.
Castleconor	Castleconor and Newtowne	76	John Nicholson, gent.	10	66
	Killanly	23	Lewis Wingfield, Esq.	3	20
	Carne	15			15
	Scormore	37		2	35
	Carrownorlaire	4			4
	Carrowcarden	23			23
	Ballevohey	11			11
	Ballyfinane	19			19
	Ballymonine	23			23
	Cottellstowne	57		8	49
	Arnery	18			18
	Browhy	17			17
	Quigumanger	4			4
	Quigunalerike	17			17
	South Cromley	14			14
	North Cromley	15		2	13
	Quigunasher	8			8
Templeboy	Graingebeg	29	Christr. Armstrong, gent.	2	29
	Ballyarish	8			8
	Garraduff	38			36

BARONY OF TIRERAGH—*continued.*

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Titulados' Names.	English	Irish.
Templeboy— <i>contined.</i>	Corraghmore	22	Nicholas Rutledge, gent.		22
	Graingemore	14			14
	Donaghentrae	13		4	9
	Donecohy	56		13	43
	Aghres	12		5	7
	Templeboy Dun- anelt	18			18
Dromard	Longford	19	Henry Croston, gent.		19
	Drumard	28			28
	Clonagh	11			11
	Carrow McCar- rick	17			17
	Tonregoe	34	John Irving, gent.	4	30
	Lagbane	24			24
	Bunany	42	Edward Erving	2	40
	Mullaree	12			12
	Farren-Iharpy	22			22
	Dunflyn	8			8
Skreen	Larragh	18			18
	Ardnaglass	60	Lewis Jones, Esq., Jeremy Jones, gent.	7	53
	Carrowcashel	35			35
	Carrowenlaghane	10			10
	Carrownecalany	6			6
	Carrowentehane	10		2	8
	Carrow-Isteryne	4		2	2
	Dunegole	7			7
	Skreene	25			25
Killglass	Eskerowne	31			31
	Leackantleavy	17			17
	Cloonederavally	8			8
	Leackan M'Fir- bisy	26	Thomas Wood, gent.	7	19
	Polikinny	8	John Moore, gent.		8
	Cabbragh	11		2	9
	Leffony	16		5	11
	LeahvaleNedyne and Kilglass	25			25
	Carrowcaller	21			21
	Coyllin	25			25
Kill McSal- gan	Doneile	38	John Burke, gent.		38
	Downemychin	18	Robert Hilla, gent.		18
	Dunowla	8			8
	Carrowruish	29	William Edwards, gent.	2	27
	Carrowmabline & Balle McGil- christ	19	John Irwin, gent.	3	16

BARONY OF TIRERAGH—*continued.*

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish.
Kill McSal- gan— <i>con.</i>	Leahcarrow	25			25
	Keanconally	31			31
Eskagh	Rachly	43	William Ormsby, gent.		43
	Fynidy	3	William Boswell, gent.	1	2
	Lissaghan	10			10
	Rossly	17	James Ormsby, gent.		17
	Killyn	21	George Ormsby, gent.		21
	Coogylaghlen	16			16
	Castletowne	31			31
	Ballyvoney	15			15

*Principal Irish Names and their Number in this Barony and
Half-Barony of Culavin.*

Albonagh . . .	5	Flanagan . . .	9
Bourke . . .	15	Ferbishy . . .	10
Beolan . . .	14	McGillaghlen . . .	6
O'Connor . . .	7	Geraghty . . .	6
Carsey . . .	8	O'Gara, &c. . .	14
Conellan . . .	13	Helly . . .	6
Clery . . .	6	Hanraghan . . .	6
Dowde . . .	17	O'Hara . . .	6
Dowda . . .	7	O'Hart . . .	9
McDonogh . . .	9	Kelly . . .	15
McDermott . . .	5	Loghlin . . .	6
Dunegan . . .	6	McMurey . . .	6
McDonell, &c. . .	14	Mollany . . .	6

In Barony of Tireragh, 86 English, 1,409 Irish. Totall, 1,495.

BARONY OF TIRERIL.

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Titulados' Names.	English	Irish.
Achanagh	Belanafada	32	Henry Hughes, gent.	9	23
	Ballymullany	10			10
	Mullaghfearna	4			4
	Carricknehorna	22			22
	Ballyhely	16			16
	Drumdony	4			4
	Carrowkeel	4			4
	Claghog	18			18
	Souldiers and their wives in Belanafad	24		11	13
Drumcolan	Bricklieve	45	Edwd. Nicholson, gent.	9	36
	Coolskeagh	7			7
Kill McCulan	Coillmore	13			13
	Coredynce	6			6
	Cleavry	12			12
	Drumraine	13			13
	Lisbrislean	6			6
	Cloonene	7			7
Drumcolam & Killmac- collanes	Lisconay	18	Wm. Mortimer, gent.	2	16
	Knockanarva	4	Ralph Carter, gent.	4	
	Cloghfin	8	John Ferguson, gent.	2	6
	Clooninclagh	9			9
	Ballyederdaowne	18	Charles Cartwright, gent.	2	16
	Carrowsparanagh	9			9
	Achulback	11			11
	Cnockro	7	Archy Naper, gent.	2	5
	Drumleaghin	9			9
	Corlly	14			14
	Drumvicoill	4			4
	Anaghearny	10			10
	Drumcollum	3			3
	Ardvarnagh	16			16
	Carrowreagh	22			22
	Ross	19			19
	Coilltelacha	8			8
	Drumshehin	11			11
	Anagh	4			4
Ballisadara	Cnockbegg	25	Richard Coote, Esq.	5	20
	Killinbridge	39		14	25
	Coolooney Castle	37		10	27
	Cloonercurra	19			19
	Ballenboll	19			19
	Cnockmolin	19	Morgan Farrell, gent. John Perchy, gent.		19
	Carrickbeanaghin	24			24
	Lissrunty	6			6
	Cloonmahin	15			15
	Tuberscanamnam	4		2	2

BARONY OF TIRERIL—*continued.*

Parishes.	Townlands.	No. of People.	Tituladoes' Names.	English	Irish.
Ballisadara— <i>continued.</i>	Markrea	17	Edward Cooper, gent.	3	14
	Rathgrany	6			6
	Ballisadara	23			23
Kilmac- trahny	Gevagh	27	Henry Ellis, gent.		27
	Sraduff	10			10
	Tullanure	8			8
	Ballinashia	9			9
	Killkeire	21			21
	Ballinloy	12			12
	Darinclare	8			8
	Ballenay	14			14
	Drumbeg	12			12
	Coolmurly	6			6
	KillMcTrany	14			14
	Killamoy	28			28
Kilwogoone	Ballindoone	11			11
	Anagh & Knock- glass	13			13
	Kilwogoone	12			12
	Ballaghabo	17			17
Shancogh	Carrownaquillo	6			6
	Darghny	15			15
	Umarero	10			10
	Carrowmore	20			20
	Shancogh	9			9
	Cabragh	9			9
Bally- somaghan	Gorworck	7			7
	Gidlane	10			10
	Drumnye	15			15
	Largan	13			13
	Carrownuin	7		4	3
	Knocknagey	18			18
	Lehbully	10			10
	Drumaigh	6			6
Killrasse	Lowally	8			8
	Castleloghdergan	104			98
	Tobernany	200	Thomas Croston, Esq.	2	198

Principal Irish Names, and their Numbers in Tirerrill.

McAwly . . .	10	O'Higgin, &c. . .	13
McBrehuny . . .	15	O'Hely . . .	14
O'Bennaghan . . .	7	O'Hart . . .	10
Conilan . . .	18	Kelly . . .	11
Connor . . .	6	O'Keoyne, &c. . .	9
McDermott . . .	8	O'Keron . . .	5
McDermottroe . . .	10	McLoghlin . . .	15
McDonogh . . .	37	McMulronifin . . .	5
Ferall . . .	8	O'Molleany . . .	12
O'Feeny . . .	6	McMorey . . .	15
Flynn . . .	10	Muligan . . .	5
Gauna . . .	9	O'Scanlane . . .	5
Guan and Gowen . . .	9	McTeige . . .	5

The Number of Persons in the Barony of Tyrerill, 89 English, 1,300 Irish.
Total, 1,389.

Number of People in the County of Sligo, and in each Barony.

BARONY.	English.	Irish.	Total of English & Irish.
Carbery	211	1,187	1,398
Leyne	76	1,105	1,181
Corren	76	1,031	1,107
Culavin halfe Barony	—	307	307
Tireragh	86	1,409	1,495
Tirerill	89	1,300	1,389
Total,	538	6,339	6,877

At the end of Census Mr. Harding certifies as follows:—"I certify that the preceding is a true transcript of a census return of the County of Sligo attributed by me to the year 1659, and placed in my custody by direction of the Marquis of Lansdowne.

"Landed Estates Record Office,

"Custom House Buildings,

"Dublin, July 27th, 1865.

"W. H. HARDING."

* * * *Want of room necessitates the omission of other pieces intended for the Appendix.*

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